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'CHILDREN IN GOOD ORDER'

**A STUDY OF CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILD PROTECTION IN THE WORK
OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF
CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND, 1960-1989**

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Chris Robinson
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Contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	3
Chapter 1 - Background to the Study	9
1. Foundations of the study	10
2. Contexts of the study	11
3. How and why I became involved with RSSPCC	12
4. The Scottish context	16
5. Growth of the RSSPCC	20
Conclusion	27
Chapter 2 - Discovering the RSSPCC Archives	29
Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework	45
Introduction	45
1. Grounded theory	48
2. Currency and periodisation - understanding the past	50
3. Social Problems	54
4. Organisational context	57
5. Roland Summit's Adocentrism	60
6. Donzelot's reluctant families	63
7. The contribution of Foucault	65
8. Feminist approaches	72
9. Children in good order	79
10. Paradigms of practice	83
11. Bourdieu and language	86
Conclusion	89
Chapter 4 - Methods	90
1. Ethics and confidentiality	91
2. Phase 1 of the study	96
3. Phase 2 of the study - Documentary sources	101
3.i Quantitative data	105
4. Evaluating the archives as a source of data	106
5. Interpreting the case records	108
6. Phase 3 of the study	111
7. Presenting the material	112
Conclusion	113

Chapter 5 - 'RSSPCC Families'	115
1. Profiles of the families	116
2. Sources of income and occupation of parents	120
3. Accommodation	124
4. Religion	127
5. RSSPCC families' experience of discrimination	127
6. Quality of life	129
7. Why families came to the attention of the RSSPCC	131
7.a. Neglect (1960-1990)	131
7.b. Immoral Surroundings (1960-1975)	136
7.c. Ill-treatment and assaults (1960-1979)	138
7.d. Begging, singing and selling (1960-1969)	141
7.e. Abandonment (1960-1980)	141
7.f. Other wrongs (1960-1969)	141
7.g. Advice and Assistance (1970-1985)	142
7.h. Family stress (1985-1989)	142
7.i. Violence between parents (1979-1982)	142
7.j. Family violence (1983-1989)	143
8. Who instigated referrals to the RSSPCC?	143
8.a. Neighbours	145
8.b. Anonymous	146
8.c. Social Work Department	147
8.d. Benefits Agencies	147
8.e. Schools	148
8.f. Health GP, Health Visitor, Hospital	148
8.g. Reporter	149
8.h. Other	149
Conclusion	149
Chapter 6 - Patterns of Practice	151
1. Visiting	151
2. Inspecting the home	153
3. Warning	155
4. Prosecution	158
5. Practical help	162
6. Advice	166
7. Mediation	173
8. Liaison and advocacy	174
9. Maintaining standards of child care	177
10. Casework	180
Conclusion	187

Chapter 7 - Reluctant Families	188
1. Power	188
2. Public and Private areas of family life	195
3. Assessment	198
4. Recording practices	206
5. Creation of the roles of mothers and fathers	210
6. Family response to intervention	212
6.a. Flight	215
6.b. Withdrawal of co-operation	216
6.c. Hostile co-operation	217
6.d. Co-operation	220
6.e. Conscientious co-operation	222
6.f. All in good order	224
Conclusion	225
Chapter 8 - Missing Children	226
1. Who were the children?	226
2. What was expected of them?	229
3. Intervention in the lives of children	234
3.a. Interaction with children for evidential purposes	234
3.b. Interaction with children as an aspect of intervention with parents	239
3.c. Intervention with children	244
4. Why were the children invisible?	250
Conclusion	252
Chapter 9 - Reflections	253
1. Reflecting on the data	253
2. Protecting children?	258
3. Constructing child protection with travelling families	261
4. Seeking help from the RSSPCC	263
5. The changing nature of practice	271
6. Under representation of aspects of the RSSPCC's work	274
7. The end of investigation	277
Conclusion	279
1. The RSSPCC as an agency of child welfare	279
2. The data which informed the study	280
3. The theoretical perspectives	281

4. Circumstances of the families	282
5. Changing patterns of intervention	284
6. Why were the children invisible?	286

Bibliography	293
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Appendices

Map of Glasgow and Central Scotland	Appendix 1
Letter to Chief Executive of RSSPCC dated 12 April 1994	Appendix 2
Letter from Chief Executive of RSSPCC dated 20 April 1994	Appendix 3
Glasgow Caledonian University internal memo. 16 November 1993: RSSPCC Glasgow Office Papers	Appendix 4
Contents of RSSPCC Archive	Appendix 5
Glasgow Caledonian University internal memo. 10 January 1994: RSSPCC Archive	Appendix 6
RSSPCC Archive Project Group Meeting 17 January 1974	Appendix 7
Letter from RSSPCC to Glasgow Caledonian University	Appendix 8
Glasgow Caledonian University internal memo. 20 June 1994: RSSPCC Archive	Appendix 9
Meeting of Archive Group 22 August 1994	Appendix 10
RSSPCC Archive Access Document	Appendix 11
Referee's Report: Joint Funding Councils: Libraries Review Group	Appendix 12
Letter to Director, Children and Family Services, RSSPCC, 8 December 1994	Appendix 13
RSSPCC Database Fields	Appendix 14
Letter from RSSPCC re access arrangement for Archive dated 19 April 1995	Appendix 15
Memo. from John Powles: Children 1st Archive	Appendix 16
Letter from Director of Children & Family Services, RSSPCC, 9 July 1996	Appendix 17
Timetable Phd Studies Children First Archive	Appendix 18
Questions identified by RSSPCC staff	Appendix 19
Questions identified by RSSPCC retired staff	Appendix 20
Issues identified in storming session with RSSPCC staff	Appendix 21
SNSPCC return of cases 1899 and RSSPCC 1969	Appendix 22

List of Tables, Figures and Diagrams

Figure 3.1	Theoretical Framework roots and rootlets	46
Figure 3.2	Paradigms of RSSPCC practice	46
Figure 3.3	Continuum of response to intervention - RSSPCC families	46
Figure 4.1	Sources of data	90
Figure 5.1	Average size of RSSPCC families 1960-1989	117
Figure 5.2	Numbers RSSPCC children in case records 1960-1989	117
Figure 5.3	Family size - % of children - RSSPCC families 1960-1989	118
Figure 5.4	UK households by % size 1961-1991	119
Figure 5.5	Occupation of RSSPCC fathers 1960-1975	120
Figure 5.6	Occupation of RSSPCC mothers 1960-1989	123
Figure 5.7	Sources of referral to RSSPCC 1960-1989	144
Figure 6.1	Prosecutions Glasgow and West by RSSPCC 1960-1975	159
Figure 6.2	Topics of advice to families 1960-1989	167
Figure 6.3	RSSPCC staff inter-agency work 1979	177
Figure 7.1	Continuum of family response to RSSPCC intervention	212
Figure 7.2	Family response to intervention 1960-1989	214
Figure 8.1	Numbers RSSPCC children in case records 1960-1989	227
Figure 8.2	Location of RSSPCC children away from home 1960-1989	227

Abstract

How did the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children protect children in post war Glasgow? The analysis in this study of the 'construction' of child protection is centred upon three questions relating to the practice of the RSSPCC:

What forms did intervention take?

Who was the focus of practice?

How and why did practice change during the 30 year period, 1960-1990, of this study?

The period 1960-1990 witnessed rapid political, economic and social changes which contributed to the recognition by the state of social problems which affected families. The RSSPCC (founded in 1884) was established by the beginning of the twentieth century as the principal arm of the state in the investigation and prosecution of child abuse and neglect throughout Scotland. The Society sustained this key role up to the middle of the 1970s and then lost it completely in 1992. This study is not a history of the RSSPCC. However an historical perspective was adopted to further understanding of the organisation's role in Scottish society and in the lives of families whose standards of parenting were causing concern. The sources of that concern were found often within the family. Many mothers (less often fathers) sought assistance from the RSSPCC only to find themselves subjects of intense scrutiny and intervention.

The analysis and conclusions of this study are derived from: the RSSPCC case records of intervention in the lives of 1,500 families, the records of 120 prosecutions of parents for cruelty and or neglect, a selection of Annual Reports from 1889 to 1993, and interviews with 51 RSSPCC staff.

A theoretical framework which brought historical sociology, post structuralist models of power and feminism together with the concept of '*Adocentrism*' (the unswerving allegiance to adult values) was developed to illuminate the puzzles, paradoxes and complexities of the

changing constructions of child protection.

This study concludes that the 'construction' of child protection developed and changed in response to a number of factors. However, the power to define and negotiate the subjects and boundaries of intervention was invariably retained by the professionals and furthermore the focus of that intervention was predominantly with and between adults.

Introduction

'The mother was severely warned of her responsibilities to her family and the maintenance of standards in the home. She was instructed to give up work forthwith and care for the children.... The father was instructed to rise from his bed and seek work.'
(RSSPCC Case Records, Glasgow 1961)

This study grew out of a piece of work I undertook with the RSSPCC in Glasgow in 1992 at a time of organisational crisis which followed Lord Clyde's (1992) inquiry into the investigation of suspected abuse and removal from home of a group of nine children from the Orkney Islands.¹ The initial research question was comprehensive: how did the RSSPCC in Glasgow construct child protection? The choice of the topic stemmed from my experience as a practitioner in child protection, together with the discovery of abundant archival material belonging to the RSSPCC. Despite the extensive literature available on child abuse and protection, relatively few studies have examined day to day practice with families within three decades. The period 1960 to 1989 was one of rapid political, economic and social change. Social problems which affected families (poverty, child physical abuse, domestic violence, child sexual abuse, alcohol and drug misuse and racism) emerged or re-emerged in the United

¹ Lord Clyde made 194 recommendations, almost all of which were general recommendations to all local authorities including Orkney Islands Council. The majority of these related to the ways in which child protection cases were handled. Lord Clyde also made three additional recommendations directed specifically to Orkney Islands Council. Lord Clyde's report was very critical of the RSSPCC's practice. The report identified specifically deficiency in the experience and skill of the RSSPCC interviewers (14.71) inadequate control of their practice (14.72) and no clear system for supervision and support (14.73). An approach to the interviewing was adopted by the RSSPCC and allowed by the Orkney Social Work Department which was inappropriate for investigative work (14.86). The interviewers failed on occasions to pursue matters raised by a child and were unduly concerned with their own agenda (14.87). The interviewers failed to plan adequately how to deal with a child's denial of allegations (14.88) and how to introduce explicit information (14.89) and they over-stressed their belief in the truth of the allegations (14.90). The interviewers made inappropriate use of the techniques of re-introducing earlier drawings (14.91), of leading questions (14.92) and in one case of personal material (14.93). Neither the number (14.94) nor the programming (14.95) of interviews were planned in advance while their duration varied with the circumstances (14.96). The timing and the scheduling of the interviews was varied (14.97) and in some instances the number was excessive (14.98). The purpose of the interviewing was not explained fully to the children (14.99). The children were satisfactorily looked after at interviews (14.100) and all the interviewers demonstrated a proper care and concern for them (14.101).

Kingdom during the years covered by this study. They became to differing degrees subjects of media attention, legislation, social policy and social work practice. All of these social problems 'emerged' in the policy statements and case records of the RSSPCC. Within Scotland, sectarianism achieved only marginal or temporary status as a social problem and consequently has received less attention from politicians and policy makers. However, the impact on the lives of some families included in this study was considerable. Throughout the entire period of the study, records recount harassment of neighbours by each other on grounds of religion, Catholic and Protestant. Racism emerged in the early 1980s reflecting Scotland's different patterns of migration from the rest of the United Kingdom.

The RSSPCC intervened in child protection at three levels, political, legal² and personal. At a political level the Society sought to influence government policies on child and family welfare. For most of the twentieth century they were responsible for prosecuting cases of neglect and abuse of children. At a personal level the Society intervened directly in family life.

The right to prosecute neglectful or abusive parents was established firmly by the end of the nineteenth century. The RSSPCC became influential rapidly at a political level in Scotland, culminating in the granting of the Royal Charter in 1922. RSSPCC council members served on many government committees and sought to exert influence at a policy level on the care of children in Scotland. For example, during the period of this study the RSSPCC was represented on the influential McBoyle (1963) and Kilbrandon Committees (1964) which contributed significantly to the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. The Society was involved

² The RSSPCC used the law to justify and support their intervention. They also sought to influence law makers particularly in the early years of the Society's work (Ashley, 1985).

in the Child Care Law Review (1987) and the legislation concerning child witnesses. This study acknowledges that all of these levels were important to the RSSPCC sustaining a power base in child protection, but the main focus was on the patterns of intervention in the lives of families.

At a local level the RSSPCC was responsible for prosecuting neglectful and cruel parents. Prosecution or the threat of it had great symbolic significance in the work of the RSSPCC. Despite being a relatively minor aspect of the Society's work, the possibility of prosecution by '*the cruelty man*' was a feature of Scottish life in urban, rural and island communities for most of the twentieth century.

The majority of inspectors were men up to the late 1970s. In the mid 1950s women were recruited as volunteers to support the work of the male inspectors. The Women Visitors became an important part of the RSSPCC's intervention in family life from the late 1950s onwards. The introduction of women as volunteers or staff came late to the RSSPCC compared to many other child welfare organisations which had always relied on women staff at grass roots level.

The day to day interventions in the lives of families constructed and reported by RSSPCC staff were used as a source for this study. The records of 1,500 families written between 1960 and 1989, together with the prosecution records of 200 adults and interviews with 51 RSSPCC staff, (serving and retired) formed the data base from which practice was analysed.

A grounded theory approach enabled the framework to be developed in response to problems which arose from considering the data. Seeking to understand the construction and meaning of child protection constituted a wide agenda. The power of the RSSPCC in the lives of poor Glasgow and rural West of Scotland families was a complex phenomenon. The exercise of power by intervention into families' lives combined a mixture of threat, surveillance,

encouragement, advice and material aid. The proportions of the ingredients of this cocktail changed in each period of this study.

I developed a three-fold representation of practice (practical-chauvinist, protectionist, feminist-welfare) to conceptualise and analyse changing patterns of intervention. The first phase (1960-1974) which involved the study of 1089 families, I designated practical-chauvinist. The quote from the records at the beginning of this chapter sums up the emphasis of intervention on the practical aspects of family life. The twin peaks of practice in this phase were the warning and material aid. In 73% of the families studied in this period mothers and fathers were warned to improve their standards of care of the home and the children. 81% of these families received material aid in the form of food, cooking utensils, clothes and fuel.

The practical-chauvinist phase was superseded by the protectionist phase (1975-1983) which reflected growing recognition of child physical abuse. The number of records of families in this phase was 261. This figure indicates the declining work load of the RSSPCC by the middle of the 1970s. The protectionist phase began in 1975 with the introduction of a new comprehensive assessment form. This fresh approach to recording reflected the Society's growing concern with child physical abuse and collected details of wide ranging aspects of family life, including for the first time for the RSSPCC, data on 'problem behaviours' of children. The power of the RSSPCC was by the mid 1970s beginning to be transferred to local authorities. However, for a few more years the power of the RSSPCC to intervene directly in the lives of poor families remained relatively undiminished.

The third phase feminist-welfare (1984-1989) involved the study of 150 families and reflected the RSSPCC's preoccupation with housing and financial problems. Unlike the earlier phases the style of intervention reflected a feminist perspective, the case records indicated a recognition by RSSPCC staff of the rights of women.

All of the three phases were concerned with relationships of power between RSSPCC staff and families despite their differing approaches to intervention in each one. Foucault's (1980) approach to power was important in developing the theoretical framework for the study. He recognised that wherever there is power there is resistance in many forms. Foucault believed that resistance, like power, is not a single phenomenon, and in his later work he recognised a distinction between domination and power. Power offers the subject the possibility of resistance whilst domination does not. The resistance of many adults to the power of the RSSPCC was apparent in all the phases of this study. The intransigence of travelling families in the early 1960s to any suggestions, threats or advice was perhaps the most absolute example of resistance to the RSSPCC found in the archives. Urban and rural families subject to RSSPCC intervention demonstrated a wider spectrum of resistance. I developed a continuum from co-operation to outright resistance and or flight from the Society, to analyse the complex and at times paradoxical relationships between mothers, fathers and RSSPCC staff.

Analysis of the subtlety of the usage and change of descriptions of interactions within the families was important in illuminating changing discourses of the family and RSSPCC practice. The majority of power relations between adults encompassed in various combinations, RSSPCC staff and mothers, fathers, children, grand parents and other relatives. Patterns of intervention were gendered throughout the three phases of practice of this study. An analysis of the whole study informed by feminist approaches illuminated the roles and expectations of women and men as parents and the importance of the 'public' and 'private' realms of family life.

To reach conclusions on the ways in which child protection was constructed three questions were explored:

- What forms did intervention take?
- Who was the focus of practice?
- How and why did practice change during the 30 year period, 1960-1990, of this study?

Answers to these questions led in a number of directions which were developed in the study. One of the most striking findings from the data is that out of possible 4,897 children identified in the sample, there were records of conversation with only 621 of these children. The study seeks to understand why a Society dedicated to the protection of children devoted most of its resources to engaging with adults. As this concluding extract shows, the tone of intervention has changed from the quote at the beginning of this chapter, but the focus of intervention has remained with the mother.

'Mother impresses as being a genuine person who is doing her best for her family - within severe physical limitations, she remains philosophical about her life style, although whether she looks far into the future at this stage is difficult to assess. Although declaring her desire to remain as independent as possible I believe she would welcome help if not thrust upon her.' (RSSPCC Case Record, Glasgow 1987)

Presentation of material

There is extensive use of quotations in this thesis to support the discussion and argument.

The material is presented as follows:

- Quotations from RSSPCC Case Records and staff interviews are presented in italics with quotation marks.
- Extracts from literature are presented in italics.
- Substantial extracts of RSSPCC case materials are presented in blocks.
- RSSPCC Annual Reports extracts are presented in italics.

Chapter 1

Background to Study

It is not easy to find any individual, at least amongst the principal actors, and of the whole story of events relating to the removal of the nine children, who is not open to some criticism.
(Clyde 1992:47)

The day after the publication of Lord Clyde's devastating critique of practice with the children from Orkney (Clyde Report 1992) the RSSPCC withdrew from the investigation of child abuse in Scotland. It was the end of an hundred-year-old tradition. The foundations of this study were laid in the crisis for the RSSPCC which followed the publication of Lord Clyde's Report in 1992. In response the RSSPCC decided upon a number of initiatives to review their work. In the West of Scotland one strategy was to recruit someone with experience of child sexual abuse practice and management to work with the staff teams in Glasgow. I was invited to undertake that work. In the autumn of 1992 I started to undertake a review of staff roles and tasks which is described in Chapter 2. In the course of this project I discovered in the attics of the Society's Glasgow offices a collection of archival material dating back to the nineteenth century. In my work with the staff I found that some were willing to talk at length about their experiences of work for the RSSPCC in the preceding twenty or thirty years.

The research potential of the archives together with the enthusiasm of experienced RSSPCC staff that the story of their work should be told, led me to approach the senior management of the RSSPCC for permission to study the archives. At this stage, I was not in a position to be able to be precise about the direction of the study. I had had the opportunity to glimpse only a fraction of the 7,000 case records, prosecution records and ledgers stored in the attics. I discovered from studying a random selection of the archives in the three decades 1960 - 1989, that there were changes in style, presentation, language, professional practice and attitudes to women and children, and that each decade presented evidence of changing discourses of the family and professional intervention.

This chapter explains how the study originated and outlines contextual elements, which underpin it. There are six sections which explain the foundations and context of the study.

Foundations of the study

This study of the RSSPCC's intervention into the lives of poor families has far reaching roots. At a macro level is the account of the traditions and eventual termination of the RSSPCC's role in investigating child abuse in Scotland. The RSSPCC was part of the development of welfare provision in Scotland, which in turn had its roots in post Reformation history. The stories of the lives of poor Glasgow families who engaged with the RSSPCC in a range of negotiations from co-operation to hostility are recounted at a micro-level. And at another level of detail the study explains the narrative of the discovery and subsequent destruction of the later archival material. The destruction of much of the material half way through the study had implications for both the development of the theoretical framework and the methods which I used. The study does not fall neatly within a 'traditional' research approach; for example Lynch and Bogen (1997:488) identified the standard conception of a research project as characterised by six distinct phases, from selecting the problem to analysing the results.³

The research 'problem' chose me at least to begin with. I came to the RSSPCC with a background of working in child abuse in voluntary and statutory settings. Inevitably my experience and theoretical background in child abuse influenced what I 'saw' in the data and the direction of the study. Therefore another narrative in the completion of this study is the development of a theoretical framework which would bring together and make sense of all the 'stories' and combine them into a coherent analysis, as presented in Chapter 3.

³ Lynch and Bogen identified that the standard conception of a research problem involved: 1. Selecting a research problem; 2. Reviewing the literature; 3. Formulating an hypothesis; 4. Choosing a method; 5. Collecting data; 6. Analysing the results. They noted that many research texts envisaged a straightforward progression through these stages.

Context of the study

This study is located within a number of contexts, which both inform and are part of the analysis and conclusions. The principal contexts are:

- Scotland's legislative and welfare systems
- The RSSPCC as an organisation
- Glasgow and environs
- Poor families in the West of Scotland
- The discovery of the RSSPCC archives
- The development of the theoretical framework of this study

The contexts are built up from the base line which is the Scottish cultural, economic, social and political environment. The West of Scotland was the setting for the study where poor families, mostly resident in Glasgow, were subjects of intervention by the RSSPCC. The archives covering their work form a major part of the data. This study was developed from the perspective of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1998). Their approach refers to theory 'emerging'. Writing in a feminist tradition, Ely et al (1997)⁴ maintained that theories do not 'emerge' but arise from the perspectives of the researcher.

...as researchers our stances, our angles of repose, do affect what we are interested in, the questions we ask, the foci of our study, and the methods of collection as well as the subject of analysis. (Ely et al, 1997:38)

Therefore the theoretical framework of the researcher influences what is selected for inclusion. As Ely et al (1997) recognised,

⁴ 'A feminist tradition' is a very broad term, the complexity and contribution of feminisms to this study is discussed in chapter 3.

As researchers the meanings we make from our research projects are filtered through our beliefs, attitudes, and previous experiences as well as through both formal and informal theoretical positions we understand or believe in. (Ely et al, 1997:38)

The theoretical framework of this study influenced the choice of material included in the contexts. For example any account of Scotland's welfare system will inevitably be selective; that selectivity is in part at least swayed by the relevance of aspects of that system to the analysis and conclusions of the study. Goldman's (1966) comment that only at the end of a study do we truly know what should come at the beginning is relevant here. It seems natural to start with Scotland and set out briefly the legislation and social policy underpinning child welfare. However as the study discovered substantial empirical evidence of sectarian discrimination between families, a brief acknowledgement of post Reformation Scottish religious history is essential to making sense of what was happening on a daily basis in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The later archives from 1975 onwards, describe the experiences of minority ethnic community families enduring racism. Scotland's particular patterns of migration and housing policies are relevant to understanding why these appear in the late 1970s. Before embarking on an account of these contexts, the origins of the study from my perspective as a researcher are outlined, followed by the key elements of the theoretical framework.

How and why I became involved with the RSSPCC

This study began with the events surrounding the investigation of suspected child sexual abuse in Orkney in 1990. One of the agencies involved in that investigation was the RSSPCC. Orkney Islands Council Social Work Department had requested help from mainland agencies to undertake a joint investigation. Staff were recruited on a temporary basis from Strathclyde Region, Central Region Social Work Departments and from the RSSPCC.⁵ Since the mid

⁵ Highland Region and Strathclyde Region provided foster carers for eight of the children. One boy was accommodated in a residential school.

1980s the RSSPCC had been developing expertise in working with child sexual abuse at the Overnewton Centre in Glasgow (Asquith, 1994). The Centre received substantial funding from the Scottish Office⁶. However it was from the Society's generic fieldwork teams in the West of Scotland that staff were recruited to assist the investigation in Orkney.

In 1990, Glasgow had two specialist child sexual abuse projects: Overnewton Centre and the National Children's Home Action for Children Centre. The latter was funded jointly by the Scottish Office, Strathclyde Regional Council and NCH Action for Children. Both specialist centres were approached by Orkney Islands Council to provide staff experienced in child sexual abuse work. Both declined to help. The NCH Centre declined on the grounds that their remit was not to investigate child sexual abuse but to offer a therapeutic service once abuse had been established. As a voluntary organisation NCH Action for Children had no statutory basis within Scotland to undertake investigation. The RSSPCC had been investigating child abuse in Scotland since 1884. The introduction of the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 resulted in the Society's role in investigation diminishing as local authorities assumed greater responsibility for child protection.

Why, when the RSSPCC's specialist unit declined to become involved in Orkney, other RSSPCC social work staff were sent is not known. The Society's role had been changing rapidly since the mid 1970s. The traditional pattern of investigating, warning and supporting poor families had declined from 6,000 long-term cases in 1960 to less than 300 in 1989 (RSSPCC Annual Reports 1960, 1989). The Society explored other forms of social work with families and the Annual Reports illustrate a range of initiatives including family centres, holiday caravans, after school clubs and counselling services. In the early 1980s women social workers with an interest in working with women who had experienced domestic violence and abuse were appointed by the RSSPCC in Glasgow. They brought a feminist

⁶ Following the opening of the Scottish Parliament 1999 the Scottish Office became the Scottish Executive.

perspective to their work and recognised sexual abuse as an abuse of male power, not a failure of family functioning.⁷ It was from the ranks of these workers that staff were drawn to assist in the investigation and interviewing of children from Orkney.

When the children were removed from their homes in Orkney some of them were fostered in the Glasgow area and the RSSPCC staff undertook 'disclosure' work with them.⁸ This work drew particular censure in Lord Clyde's Report (1992, Sections 17.56, 17.77). Although Lord Clyde concluded that all professionals involved in the removal of the children were open to criticism, he was particularly scathing about the 'disclosure' work undertaken by RSSPCC staff (1992, Sections 14.60 to 14.99).

For the first time in a long history of involvement in Scotland's protection of children, the RSSPCC was the subject of intense public censure. At the same time the Society was experiencing a growing financial crisis which was not related directly to the professional crisis created by the publicity surrounding their involvement in Orkney. The Scottish Office withdrew the funding of the Overnewton Centre, which closed in 1993. By the end of 1992, the Society was in crisis, staff morale was low, and they were no longer sure of their role and professional purpose. As noted at the beginning of this section, in response to Lord Clyde's damning comments, the RSSPCC withdrew from investigating child abuse in Scotland.

The RSSPCC began in Glasgow, but once established the headquarters were located in Edinburgh. Scotland's two largest cities have traditionally enjoyed rivalry and tensions. In Glasgow the RSSPCC had its own management structure, but ultimately was answerable to

⁷ There is extensive literature on the development of a feminist perspective in child sexual abuse. Feminists were critical of work which relied heavily on psychoanalytic concepts, (e.g. Bentovim & Boston, 1988) or considered abuse to be a problem of family functioning, (e.g. Dale, 1986). These approaches look to mothers as having a role in either not recognising or colluding with abuse. MacLeod & Saraga, (1988) adopting a feminist approach were very critical of 'mother blaming'. These issues are discussed further in Chapter 6.

⁸ In Strathclyde two sisters were placed together with one foster carer, their brother was with another foster carer and one boy was in a residential school (Clyde 1992:345).

the senior management in Edinburgh. In 1992/3 the management in Edinburgh decided to introduce an extensive review of the Society's work. Two pieces of work were commissioned covering the Society as a whole.⁹ The Society's management in Glasgow commissioned the third. The teams in Glasgow had provided personnel to work in Orkney and because of their involvement there, the RSSPCC management in Glasgow was looking for a more localised response to the issues. They wanted a review which would address the particular needs and aspirations of Glasgow staff.

I had started recently as a lecturer at Glasgow Caledonian University (GCU). I had spent most of my professional life working with children and families in Local Authority Social Services Departments (London Boroughs of Lambeth, Greenwich and Newham) and specialist child abuse projects with Barnardo's in West Ham in London and Falkirk in Scotland. Immediately before going to GCU I worked for NCH Action for Children in Glasgow as Head of Counselling and managed their Child Sexual Abuse Unit. As one of the two specialist projects already mentioned earlier, I had worked closely with the Overnewton Centre. As chair of the training sub committee of the Glasgow Area Review Child Protection Committee, I had been responsible for organising short courses on the impact of child sexual abuse work on staff.

I was somewhat surprised, however, when shortly after starting at GCU, the Head of the Division of Social Work and I were approached by the RSSPCC in Glasgow to request my services as a consultant. The staff and management were looking for an independent person who had some knowledge and experience of child abuse work, to work with the teams to review roles and expectations for the future. I agreed initially to an exploratory meeting with the whole staff group in the autumn of 1993. Staff were feeling demoralised and powerless

⁹ These were an internal management review of the whole Society, 1992 and a study commissioned by the Scottish Office undertaken on their behalf by Coopers and Lybrand, 1993. Both these studies were confidential to the RSSPCC and are not quoted in this study.

and as the most appropriate tactic appeared to be an empowering one, an action research approach (Zuber-Skerrit 1996) was chosen. The outcome of this work, which is discussed in Chapter 2, led to the discovery of the archival material.

Throughout the period of this study the RSSPCC respond to a range of *social problems*.¹⁰ The context of the emergence and recognition of social problems is developed in Chapter 3. This study acknowledges the recognition of poverty, child physical abuse, domestic violence, and racism and child sexual abuse.¹¹ There is also substantial empirical evidence of religious discrimination between families. Whether sectarianism has been recognised fully as a *social problem* in Scotland is debatable, and is discussed later in the study. It was, however, an issue for the families with whom the RSSPCC worked and addressing the impact on the families formed part of their intervention. The context of Scotland's cultural and welfare basis is relevant to this study. The next section reviews these themes briefly and considers the significance of the differences between the child protection systems of Scotland and England and Wales.

The Scottish Context

This study is located within the West of Scotland (Appendix I) and the conurbation of Glasgow city. The themes of power and intervention into the lives of poor families are not peculiar to Scotland; for example similar issues are discussed by researchers in America (Gordon 1989), France (Donzelot 1977), England and Wales (Parton 1985, 1991, Farmer and Owen 1995) and Ireland (Ferguson 1992). Power is exercised within a political and social context, and Scotland has a different cultural and political history from England and Wales (Scott 1993). The impact of history on the provision of welfare is difficult to measure, and this study does not seek to do so. However, the context of Scottish welfare as discrete and

¹⁰ The sociology of social problems has a long history Rubington and Weinberg, 1971. The emergence and impact of a range of social problems for families is discussed throughout this study.

¹¹ All are immense and complex topics and this study cannot encompass in depth the emergence and development of these social problems.

separate from the rest of the United Kingdom is relevant to understanding the role and functions of the RSSPCC. *In 1707, by the Act of Union, the Scottish state ceased to exist and was submerged in a British polity, dominated by English custom, practice and institutions...* (Murphy, 1992:8) The important separate institutions of law, education and Church were preserved by the settlement of 1707. The legislative relationship between Scotland and England and Wales was and is complex. Common statutes covered social service legislation e.g. the Children Acts of 1908, 1948 and 1963 and the National Assistance Act of 1948. Because of their operation through different court and educational systems the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 (England and Wales) and 1932 and 1937 for Scotland were separate.

The RSSPCC and the NSPCC had similar origins, but the latter developed differently from the late 1960s onwards (Allen and Morton, 1961; Ashley,1985). The NSPCC established the Battered Child Research Department (Denver House) in 1968 under the personal influence of Henry Kempe (Dale 1986). In the 1970s a number of Special Units were opened which provided intensive treatment facilities for identified abusing families. Many of the Units also offered management of child abuse procedures through chairing case conferences and providing a consultation service to other professionals. Dale (1986) notes that:

The work of the Special Units was a complete contrast to the traditional NSPCC social work (an individual inspector, often covering a very large area, responding to calls from the public about children thought to be at risk). The inspector's role was essentially a preventive one, with much emphasis on material welfare. (Dale, 1986:27)

By the 1970s the two Societies were developing in different directions. In later legislation the NSPCC retained its role in investigation enshrined within the Children Act, 1989 (S31 (9),

S31 (6), S43 (11), S44 (11)).¹² The RSSPCC has no role in the Children (Scotland) Act of 1995.

The origins of the RSSPCC are important in understanding their philosophy and practice in the 1960s and beyond. The RSSPCC emerged in the late nineteenth century at a time of rapid social reform in Britain. Nicholls (1956) indicated that supervision of poor relief in Scotland lay with the Kirk Session who were responsible for its distribution. In the early nineteenth century, Glasgow had only two bodies which administered relief to the poor, the Town Hospital and the General Session of the Church of Scotland. As well as administering funds to the poor the Session was responsible for the moral welfare of parishioners, who could be summoned to appear on various grounds, including: *ante nuptial fornication, irregular marriage, and intemperance* (Brodie 1974:27). The pattern of Kirk Session visiting established by 1820 was on all the available evidence, (Alison 1840; Craik 1901; Ferguson 1958; Brodie 1974;) undertaken by men. Brodie's (1974) study of the Parish of St George's Tron in Glasgow found them to be middle class merchants.

The motivation underlying the administration of Session discipline was essentially an ideological one. It was a manifestation of the belief that social problems arose fundamentally from spiritual destitution....It also represents a specific interpretation by the Session of the authority and jurisdiction in religious and moral matters conferred upon them by the city magistrates in 1819. The discipline procedure, in addition, required a number of committed personnel who would be aware of the moral standing of the parishioners and be prepared to recommend their appearance before the Session.
(Brodie, 1974:28)

The housing pattern in Central Glasgow at this time meant that the middle and working classes lived close together and the poor could be supervised by their more affluent

¹² The Children Act (1989) refers to 'A Local Authority' or 'an authorised person' (the NSPCC) as being able to apply for Care and Supervision Orders. The powers of the NSPCC are specifically stated in: S32 (9) the NSPCC is able to apply for a care or supervision order, a child assessment and an emergency protection order. S32 (b) states that the NSSPCC has the same powers as a Local Authority. S44 (1) states that the NSPCC can apply for an emergency protection order.

neighbours. However, concentrating on class only does not capture fully the complexity of the relationships between the Kirk Session and its poorer members. Power over the moral and welfare needs of the poor was exercised by individuals who were part of a network, the Kirk Session. There was an established tradition of men visiting and intervening in the lives of poor Glasgow families at least seventy years before the foundation of the RSSPCC.

The intervention by the Kirk Session and the imposition of discipline was based on a particular set of moral prescriptions, e.g. disapproval of *irregular marriage*, and of *paramours* resident within the home. This terminology is not very different from that used in RSSPCC records up to the end of the 1960s. The term *paramour* frequently occurred to describe an unmarried partner.

Two other historical developments may also have contributed indirectly to the foundation and ethos of the Society. The first, the rapid influx of Irish workers into the West of Scotland created a group of people who were outside the parish structure. Furthermore, as they were Catholics, the Kirk Session was unable to exercise moral or financial control over them. This was a contributory factor towards the growing tension between religious groups and sowed some of the seeds of the sectarianism, which divides parts of Glasgow to this day (McFarland 1996).

The second major development of the nineteenth century was the Disruption. This term is used to refer to the divisions within the Church of Scotland in the 1840s. The Disruption resulted in the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland. Kellas (1968) concluded that:

The bitterness which grew up between the Established and 'dissenting' Presbyterian Churches pervaded Scottish life for two generations, affecting politics, education, social welfare and family ties. (Kellas, 1968:54)

The power of the Kirk Session in the lives of poor families became diffused by 1860 as many of the middle class members left to join the Free Church. The Poor Law Amendment Act of

1845 removed the care of the poor from the Church. Under this Act the Central Board of Supervision became the overseer of poor relief administration in Scotland. At this time the Church of Scotland also lost control of education. Into this climate of change and secularisation of Scottish welfare, the RSSPCC was born.

Growth of the RSSPCC

Two texts cover aspects of the role of the RSSPCC in Scottish society. Ashley (1985) was commissioned to write a centenary volume celebrating the history and work of the RSSPCC. Ashley describes the development and work of the Society up to the early 1980s. A more recent work (Abrams 1998) on organised responses to child deprivation in Scotland draws on aspects of the work of the RSSPCC. The definitive history of the RSSPCC is still to be written. What follows is an outline of the way in which the RSSPCC established a power base and gained political acceptance and subsequent key changes. The work of the Society cannot be understood in isolation from political, economic and social events, which have shaped organised responses to *problem* families.

The RSSPCC began in Glasgow in 1884. In both Britain and America, societies to protect children were established towards the end of the nineteenth century (Platt, 1969). A Glasgow merchant, Mr Grahame, visiting New York read about the New York Society and returned determined to form a similar Society. On 23 July 1884 the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was formed. By the end of the first year of its operation, 1173 children had been investigated (Ashley 1985). A similar Society was formed in Edinburgh in the following year. In 1889 the groups merged to become the Scottish National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.¹³

¹³ The Scottish National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1889 with HRH the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) as president. There were various negotiations with the English SPCC, later the NSPCC. In 1908, the two societies pursued a separate existence. In 1922, the SNSPCC was granted a Royal Charter, becoming the RSSPCC.

The London SPCC founded in 1884 was the organisational base for the NSPCC, founded in 1889. After the passing of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act in 1894, the Society in Scotland affiliated with the Society in England, and became known as the NSPCC, Scottish Branch. This continued until 1907 when it was discovered that the Scottish branch had not been legally affiliated; the Scottish society reverted to its former title and a new constitution was adopted in May 1908. For a period, in the early twentieth century the RSSPCC was known as the SNSPCC.¹⁴ For convenience the Society is referred to as the RSSPCC throughout this study. In 1896 the RSSPCC stated that its duty was to look at cases brought to its attention in three ways. These are quoted directly from the RSSPCC records as the wording illustrates the threefold rationale for their intervention, and claim for public support.

From the child's viewpoint.

If it can be left, after warning, with its parents or guardians with due regard to its immediate future, moral and physical, it is left. It is only when it is perfectly clear that it would suffer both morally and physically that the Society appeals to the law for power to remove it from the charge of its parents or guardians. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

From the community's view point.

Every child that is rescued from an untimely end and made a useful citizen, or who is saved from becoming a criminal, is a distinct gain to the community. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

From the parents' view point.

The Society is bound to consider refraining from interfering with the sanctity of home life by removing children from the guardianship of their parents, unless it is apparent that the latter are totally unfit to be trusted with their children...(SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

The RSSPCC established rapidly a persuasive argument for its intervention and claimed

¹⁴ The RSSPCC changed its name to Children First in 1994.

widespread support from politicians of all parties. The Society claimed public support on three grounds.

First

they, and all those 'who know the facts' and who are convinced that children amongst us are suffering from cruelty and neglect, are bound to call upon their fellow citizens to aid them in their work. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

The second appeal is to patriotism

...to render their land (Scotland) "Sweet and wholesome", not only at present, but for years to come, by rescuing infant life from premature termination and many young children of Scotland from a career of crime and vice. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

The third appeal was based on economy

...it is a most economical and wholesome way of relieving the ratepayers from the charges which would otherwise be incurred if these children were permitted to become members of the great army of criminals...(SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895-96)

The early meetings of the Scottish Society were concerned to establish a suitable organisation. The minutes of the first two meetings reflected the need for funds; a group of lady collectors were recruited across the country. The full time collector was a man. By the year 1894 the Society had dealt with 3932 cases.

Of these cases 182 have been of such a serious nature that it has been found necessary to have the parents prosecuted, and 182 convictions were secured under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Acts 1889-94. (Ashley, 1985:12)

By the beginning of the twentieth century the RSSPCC had established claims to being Scotland's agency for investigation and intervention in child abuse. The patterns of practice established by 1920 continued largely unchanged up to the 1960s, apart from one significant development, the introduction in 1955 of the Women Visitors.

During the year the Society introduced by way of experiment a scheme for following up in certain cases the preventative work done by the Inspectors by the appointment of Women Visitors. Preliminary reports have shown the value of work of this kind. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1955)

Limitations to this new venture were however noted by one of the Inspectors:

Women visitors afforded an opportunity for more involvement in work of a social nature in certain cases and where a Woman Visitor was more suited to deal with mothers who were largely responsible for neglect and inadequacy in handling of money. (Ashley, 1985:163)

The limited role of women in the work of the RSSPCC contrasts with many other social welfare organisations, which from the nineteenth century onwards were staffed by women workers and volunteers (Cree, 1995).

The RSSPCC in the 1960s was still responsible for the majority of investigations of concern about children. A number of factors would impact on the Society, changing its role forever, by the end of the decade. These included developments in the provision of welfare in Scotland and a significant divergence from the model adopted by England and Wales, (Murphy, 1992), the end of the post war economic boom, (Clarke, 1993) and the re-emergence of child abuse as a social problem (Parton, 1985). In Glasgow post war housing policies resulted in the creation of giant outer-city perimeter housing schemes, which rapidly became notorious for their crime and social problems (Power, 1996).

The first major piece of Scottish social work legislation was the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. The Social Work Scotland Act (1968) resulted in Scottish Local Authorities accepting increasing responsibility for investigating concerns about children. Until the 1968 Act the RSSPCC had occupied a central position within Scottish welfare for almost a hundred years.

Between the Children Acts of 1908 and 1948, the RSSPCC, in spite of the education authorities having gained power to intervene in care or protection cases, was virtually the sole

agency interested and active in how children were treated in their own homes. (Murphy, 1992:27)

The changing position of the RSSPCC in Scotland is reflected in the Annual Reports of the 1970s. Policy was the opening theme of the Annual Report for 1975, which was noted as being a difficult year for statutory and voluntary organisations that cared for children.

The year produced Reports following Committees of Inquiry on children who had been abused; the Memorandum from the Scottish Office on non-accidental injury to children; the Code of Practice by the British Association of Social Workers and the Children Act of 1975. These developments emphasised the need for vigilance in protecting children and the importance of having effective and well co-ordinated services. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975:6)

This report identified the beginning of financial problems for the Society.

The difficulties of the year were that despite the need to respond to new initiatives, the ability to do this was governed by stringent economic conditions. Accordingly, the Society decided that vacancies in the staff should be individually reviewed before any replacement was made. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975:12)

The report commented under Finance -

At a time when the economic position is causing financial hardship and restraint everywhere we can only express heartfelt relief and gratitude to those past friends who remembered the Society in their Wills. At the same time the precarious nature of this situation can be easily highlighted by referring back to 1972 when the total income from legacies was only £46,000.... A glance at the expenditure indicates an upward trend with an acceleration which widens the gap each year. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975:13)

This Report began to signal the gradual withdrawal of Local Authority support for the Society.

COSLA¹⁵ in 1974 recommended that the support for the Society from the Regions should be on the basis of £12 per 1,000 head of population. This placed a considerable financial burden on the Local Authority with the greatest population, Strathclyde Region. Particularly in its early years the Region was reluctant to develop partnerships with voluntary organisations. Strathclyde Region Council was the largest local authority in Western Europe. With a population of over two million people it stretched from the border with Dumfries to the inner Hebrides and included the urban West of Scotland together with Glasgow, Paisley, Clydebank, Motherwell and Hamilton. The Local Authority adopted a politically left wing perspective and was opposed to partnerships with voluntary organisations. Government pressure to encourage financial partnerships between statutory and voluntary organisations through Section 10 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 encouraged Strathclyde to change their stance on working with the voluntary sector.

By 1979 the finances of the RSSPCC had reached a crisis.

As this Annual Report goes to print the financial figures for the RSSPCC reveal a deficit for 1979 of critical proportions which, coupled with the economic gloom in the Country as a whole, means that at present an urgent re-appraisal is taking place of the services the RSSPCC can afford to provide in the years ahead. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1979:7)

The Society responded by a gradual reduction of its services. However the Report for 1979 ends on an optimistic and reflective note.

As we enter the 80s it is possible to look back on what has possibly been one of the most significant decades for child protection since the earliest history of the RSSPCC. The broader developments have followed the setting up of Local Authority Social Work Departments, ... Within that framework there has been a sharpening of focus on the problem of the battered child, the deliberately chosen emotive phrase being eventually replaced by "non-accidental injury". As sometimes

¹⁵ Convention of Scottish Local Authorities.

happens, human tragedies where cases went wrong provided the incentive to seek more effective procedures ... In the long term the search for actual prevention of such problems must continue. In such a world the relevance of the principles by which the RSSPCC operates cannot be doubted. (RSSPCC Annual Report,1979:11)

The RSSPCC were involved closely with issues of child protection, rather less so with the wider trends in social work. The Annual Reports of the RSSPCC between 1969 and 1989 provide snapshots of social policy and wider debates on child welfare within the UK as a whole as well as Scotland. The reports were written well and often encapsulated the issues of the day in a paragraph. This study draws upon them to illustrate issues which are relevant to the analysis of the work of the RSSPCC. Their Annual Report for 1983 reflects the concerns and contradictions within child welfare.

Today's child in contrast finds himself the focus of the most comprehensive legislation, much of it introduced in the last 20 years. The present condition of Child Welfare Law in Scotland is under some criticism because of the complexity and need for it to be put in some rational order, a concern actively shared by the RSSPCC. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1983:6)

The Report noted,

The future of the Overnewton Centre in Glasgow has been secured for a further three years....Since 1978 it has done much to explore the problem of non-accidental injury to children. In 1984 it has been agreed to broaden the scope of the Centre's remit so that other areas of abuse and neglect can be similarly explored. This is of immense value at a time when childcare workers are criticised for their actions. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1983:8)

The Annual Report for 1988 recognises rightly that:

Child sexual abuse work is particularly complex. The diverse interests and traumas of child victims, the non-abusing parent, the siblings and the abuser are all intertwined. The pain, the anger, the resentment and the guilt are so deep-seated, and the behaviour patterns of the abuser are so entrenched, that direct therapeutic work is necessarily long term. At the same time, the work must be carried out within the criminal justice system, if

there is to be any chance of influencing a change of behaviour in the abuser. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1988:7)

The work of the RSSPCC was developing into the area of child sexual abuse work. A number of feminist workers in the West of Scotland were sympathetic to an approach which focused on the construction of male sexuality and was critical of *mother blaming*. Feminists have argued that mothers are seen as responsible for everything which happens to their children (e.g. Saraga, 1993; Nelson, 1992). The RSSPCC practice suggested a powerful discourse of the responsibility of mothers, evidenced throughout this study. The reaction to that discourse by women workers in the RSSPCC led to conflict within the Society, which is discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Conclusion

The RSSPCC was, it is suggested, searching for a new role at the end of the 1980s. This may have contributed to the willingness of the Society to offer staff to Orkney Islands Council. The details and circumstances of the events in Orkney and the role of the RSSPCC are outlined in Lord Clyde's Report (1992). Lord Clyde made 194 recommendations, intended to provide the basis for a review of childcare in Scotland. The day after the publication of the Clyde Report the RSSPCC announced that they were withdrawing from all investigations involving child abuse.

The RSSPCC Annual Report for 1992 noted that:

In principle we accept the main criticisms of the Report of the Orkney Inquiry in so far as they apply to the RSSPCC. We have also, as Lord Clyde suggested, studied the Report in depth and are ensuring that it will influence our future planning. The remaining tragedy of the whole costly affair is that the crucial question of whether the children involved were or were not at risk was never fully tested, an outcome not brought about by any of the agencies who were operationally involved. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992:1)

The RSSPCC's role in investigating concerns about children in Scotland had come to an end. In the aftermath of Lord Clyde's Report the RSSPCC undertook a range of initiatives to review and reassess their role and work. The next chapter explains how one of these initiatives led to this study.

Chapter 2

Discovering the RSSPCC Archives

This chapter charts the discovery of the archives of the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland.

There are six themes:

- the recognition of the research potential of the materials
- a brief outline of their structure and content
- a description of the transfer of the archives to Glasgow Caledonian University
- an account of the subsequent destruction of the later (post 1975) archive material
- an outline of the implications of their destruction for the research process.
- issues in researching child protection data

As outlined in the previous chapter, 1992 marked a watershed for the RSSPCC; the Society had withdrawn from all investigation of child abuse. There was a financial crisis, some areas of work were closed, and staff made redundant. The Scottish Office withdrew the funding for the specialist Overnewton Centre. Staff morale throughout the organisation was low. Many staff felt they had been unfairly criticised at the inquiry conducted by Lord Clyde, and in the subsequent media coverage.¹

The RSSPCC responded to the crisis by commissioning a number of projects to examine and review its work. Three separate initiatives are relevant to this study. First an internal management review (The Management Review) which was conducted by the Society's senior staff into the structure and purpose of the organisation. Secondly a management study undertaken by Coopers and Lybrand (The Coopers and Lybrand Report). The Scottish Office funded this study which reviewed the history and development of the organisation and made

¹ The media coverage of events in Orkney was extensive and world wide. The inquiry by Lord Clyde was covered every day by the Scottish Television channels. The final report was published on the same day as Sheriff Kearney's Report into problems, which had arisen in Fife between the Social Work Department and the Children's Hearing. The Scottish Office decided to release both reports on the same day, 28 October 1992. All of the media covered Lord Clyde's findings in depth. The Kearney Report was barely mentioned. The Glasgow Herald devoted one paragraph to it, compared to the Clyde Report, which took up the whole of the front page. The basic tenets of Kearney's Report were that social workers in Fife were not being proactive enough in protecting children and removing them from home when necessary, whereas Clyde was criticising social workers for excessive zeal and insensitivity in removing the children from their homes.

recommendations for the future. The third report was an action-research project engaging with staff in the West of Scotland to review organisational change and the impact on social work practice. [Research into Team Change: RSSPCC - Confidential Report (Robinson 1994).] This report is subsequently referred to as The West of Scotland Review. All of these studies were confidential to the Society. With the permission of the RSSPCC (Appendix 2 - request for permission to study the RSSPCC archives, Appendix 3 consent to the study from the Chief Executive of the RSSPCC) non-confidential material gathered in the course of preparing the West of Scotland Review has been included in this study.

Since 1945, the West of Scotland Regional Office had been based in a large Victorian house in Parkhead, in east Glasgow. The rooms at the top (formerly housemaids' bedrooms) were used to store unwanted items, e.g. old prams, filing cabinets, broken desks. One small room, really a large cupboard with a skylight, contained the Society's records. Bundles of case papers, notebooks, ledgers, meeting books were stored on shelves and as that space had been used up, on the floor. They were dusty but otherwise in good condition. The materials of greatest interest in illuminating the history of the Society were the prosecutions boxes (box files containing details of the cases), the incident books and case records. The archives dated from the end of the First World War. The case records were stored in date order, bundles of twenty were tied together with string. It was very difficult to estimate the volume; the room was full to overflowing.

My initial inspection of the material was for the purpose of understanding the background and work of the Society in the West of Scotland. Browsing through the early records enabled me to gain a picture of the work of the Society and the lives of poor people in Glasgow. The records contained detailed descriptions of closes,² housing conditions, contents of cupboards, children's clothing and family income. People with occupations such as lamplighters,

² Term for the entry to a tenement leading to the common stair.

upholsterers, shipyard workers lived in streets in the city, many of which could no longer be found on the modern maps of Glasgow. The inspectors, who in those days wore uniforms, were part of the local community. The ease with which they consult neighbours about the welfare and whereabouts of children together with their knowledge of local employers and landlords, combine to suggest an approach to working with poor families which involved a mixture of practical help and advice with the authority of the state to warn or prosecute recalcitrant or neglectful families. The detailed accounts of life and actions contained in the archives suggested their potential for further research.

The prosecution records comprised a ledger, which gave a summary of the prosecution by date, name and number, the charge and the outcome. Each entry could be linked to the prosecution boxes. The prosecution records were entered in a leather bound ledger, which had over 500 pages. The prosecution lists were crammed on to the pages with the result that if the work of the Society had continued unchanged prosecutions could have been recorded in the same ledger for the next fifty years. The prosecution boxes consisted of box files, which could be located in date order. Only 1946, 1947 and 1957 appeared to be missing. Prosecutions declined steeply after 1970 reflecting the changing role of the Society and the transfer of child protection responsibilities to the Local Authority. The prosecution papers had been retained in full and usually contained:

- i) Information for the Procurator Fiscal provided by the Society, typed and hand-written, original statements had all been retained.
- ii) Date, age and occupation of the accused.
- iii) Address or location e.g. custody.
- iv) Summaries of home circumstances, accounts by wife, neighbours, police, relative.
- v) Corroborating statement from police or other officer in RSSPCC.
- vi) Occasional statements from older children, usually girls.
- vii) Details of home circumstances; accommodation; state of it, clean, filthy, etc.; food; contents of cupboards; bedding; mattresses, sheets, blankets, etc.

- viii) Description: e.g. 'the dog was tied to the bed', 'the children were filthy'.
- ix) Police statements.
- x) Outcome, both in terms of the offence and whether the child/children were taken into care.
- xi) Press reports of media coverage if serious case, e.g. murder.

The prosecution material is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 in relation to family responses to intervention and the changing pattern of those prosecuted. In the early 1960s men were in the majority of those prosecuted, but by the time prosecutions ceased proportionately many more women were subject to charges for neglect and cruelty. This suggested clues to the value of the archives as reflectors of changing social patterns e.g. the increase in lone parent households between 1965 and 1985 and the emergence of social problems of child abuse and domestic violence. The implications of these social forces alone cannot adequately explain the issues raised by an examination of the RSSPCC prosecution records.

Prosecution was a relatively minor part of the Society's work in the 1960s. As discussed in Chapter 5, the vast majority of families (70%) were warned about their parenting standards. Examination of the referral pattern for the total range of work was important for gaining a picture of intervention in the lives of families. The case records, numbering about 6,000, contained a wealth of detail. All incoming work to the Society was noted in the Incident Book. The incident book was a hand-written ledger, which recorded in date order all the reports of the referrals to the Society. The book gave a concise overview of the day to day work of the inspectors. The ledger contained the date and time of the report and who made it. Each incident was given a number enabling it to be traced to the case papers and to the ledger, which records actions. The detail of children always included their age and name. The signature of person who noted down the incident was always entered. Linked to the incident book was the account of actions by staff, which was recorded in another, equally impressive, leather bound ledger. This system enabled the numbers on the case papers to be linked to this ledger. Cases therefore could be traced relatively easily.

The accounts in the action book were laid out as follows:

- i) Date, time, name and number. (Name of the family if known).
- ii) Address and area of Glasgow, e.g. Gorbals.
- iii) Note of issue or incident, taken from Incident book, e.g. neglect, careless parent, assault.
- iv) Action taken, very brief outline, the detail could be found in the case papers, e.g. warned (the majority outcome), prosecution, no further action.
- v) Children, their age, name, sometimes school. There were many large families.
- vi) Illegitimate children were underlined in red.
- vii) Religion.³
- viii) Father's employment. Many followed trades which no longer exist.
- ix) Some indication of finance e.g. rent arrears, debt, or no debts.
- x) Reference to alcohol e.g. father drinks, mother inebriated.

This ledger provided a concise summary of the family and some indication of what the Society did, and it enabled the family to be traced to the prosecutions ledger and case papers. The case papers described the day to day work of the Society. The numerous bundles suggested, at a rough count, that there were several thousand accounts of intervention in the lives of families in the West of Scotland. The administrative officer who had kept them in date order and tied them together with string in bundles of twenty had carefully preserved the records.⁴ The vast majority of the records appeared to be concerned with work in the late 1950s and 1960s. Fewer records were available for the later period up to 1980s, reflecting the declining volume of the Society's work, and concomitant decrease in the depth of recording. Initial browsing revealed that case papers contained a gold mine of information not only about the

³ Religion of the families was always noted. The issues of religious discrimination are discussed in this study, as it is a particular phenomenon in the West of Scotland.

⁴ The administrative officer for the Glasgow Office was a long standing member of the RSSPCC staff. He had been 'advised' by Head Office in Edinburgh that the records should be destroyed, but he had been reluctant to do so, regarding the records and an invaluable source of the Society's work.

practice of the Society but life in Glasgow and the surrounding area.

Each 1960s case had a front sheet and some had further papers attached such as letters and accounts of visits. They were held together by paper clips, not in files, but all seemed intact. A selection from 1961, 1962 and 1963 were perused. The records were all hand-written but the majority of them were easy to read.

The Front Sheet showed:

Date, address, and occupation of father, income, accommodation, and number in family.

Children name, age, school, date of birth, note of e.g. mental incapability.

Relationship of family members to each other, illegitimacy.

Religion.

Complaint or wrong.⁵ These were the two terms used to describe the reasons for intervention.

The Record of Work contained detailed accounts of the inspector's work, visits, and always included the date and time the visit had been made, and included routinely an account of who was present, the state of house and the welfare of the children. The family finances were invariably recorded, e.g. 'rent book seen up to date', or note of arrears. There were accounts of dialogue between the inspectors and the adult members of the family, which usually included advice, e.g. clean up the house. Suggestions for action were also found frequently, e.g. mothers were advised to get their *paramour*⁶ out of the house, and in the 1960s to give up work and stay at home.

The records contain frequent offers by inspectors to negotiate with the factor⁷, National Assistance Board, gas and electricity boards and suggestions for saving. In addition to advice, inspectors intervened actively for example by arranging to go with a woman to meet her

⁵ These terms had been used to describe the initial reason for the Society's work since 1901.

⁶ Paramour. The term is found in the nineteenth century records of the Church of Scotland, describing a man resident in the family who is not married to the woman with whom he is living. The term is found in the RSSPCC records up to the late 1970s.

⁷ Factor - Scottish term for a housing manager.

husband as he came out of work and collect his pay packet and then take money to the landlord. Although primarily factual in their style the records did contain comments by the inspectors, e.g. *the mother is employed in a bread shop, it makes one shudder to think that one could buy food from a shop where a mother like this is employed.*

Children were always seen by the Inspector and their whereabouts noted, e.g. in the bedroom asleep in bed, or in the close playing. If they were not present, where they were (e.g. in hospital, visiting a neighbour) was recorded. Comments on the emotional state of the children were only occasionally included e.g. child appeared nervous.⁸ In the selection of records for 1961, 1962, 1963 there were no accounts of an interview with a child. The records were sent routinely to Edinburgh for inspection and the supervisor made occasional notes in the margins. In particular, if the whereabouts of a child was not noted, the Inspector was reminded to check on the next visit.⁹ There appeared to be implicit assumptions that children were entitled to good quality physical care and that parents must provide it. Chapter 7 discusses an example of the parents being told by the RSSPCC to clean the house all night and the police were asked to check at hourly intervals that the parents were cleaning (1961 in Govan, Glasgow).

The amount of material in the case records indicated the scope for examining these early impressions and questions in greater depth. I approached the Chief Executive of the RSSPCC in early April 1994 for permission to study the archives from 1950s onwards. (Appendix 2) He granted consent for access to all the archives on 20 April 1994. (Appendix 3) I began by studying the records of the 1960s. The development of methods and theoretical framework is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Whilst the research journey on the data was being undertaken the archives themselves began their own journey.

The intention of the RSSPCC management had been to destroy the archives. The

⁸ Before the 1980s it was quite exceptional for there to be comment in the case records on children's feelings.

⁹ In the 1960s the RSSPCC inspectors were part of a bureaucratic structure, the major '*casework*' decisions re prosecutions of families or the closure of a case were made in Edinburgh. Case records were routinely sent through to Edinburgh and there was evidence that they were read carefully.

administrative officer responsible for the archives had chosen to retain them. The potential value of the archives was discussed at the research group, which supported the West of Scotland Review Project.¹⁰ Negotiations began between the RSSPCC and Glasgow Caledonian University Faculty of Health for the archives to be transferred to the University.

Dr Stafford (RSSPCC) informed the meeting (11.11.93) that much of the RSSPCC's papers and documents from H.Q. and a 10% sample of case records from Branch Offices is lodged with the Scottish Records Office. The RSSPCC's current policy is to retain all records for ten years. Apart from the above requirement the Society's records are available for archive creation by a reputable and suitable institution. A transfer of records is likely to be done on a permanent loan basis with actual ownership being retained by the RSSPCC...Some of the records contain important information to persons who are very much alive...Sensitive material will need to be treated as highly confidential and access to it restricted to bona fide research students, academics and officers of the RSSPCC etc. An access agreement will need to be drawn up. A formal agreement on the terms of the permanent loan is also required. (Appendix 4)

All the RSSPCC members agreed that in principle the transfer should occur (subject to committee approval).

The contents of the archive was classified into the following groupings:

Referrals, Case Records, Prosecutions, Petitions, Collectors, Notebooks, Cash Books, Office Records, Investigations Register, Crookstone Home Materials, Finance Files, Legacy Papers, Glasgow District Committee Minutes, Finance Committee Minutes.

The report by John Powles, Librarian, Glasgow Caledonian University (10.01.94) set out the content of the material and plans to move the material. The plan was in two phases: the first

¹⁰ The action-research project which I undertook for the RSSPCC had a small research advisory group. The group comprised - RSSPCC senior manager, Glasgow, two social workers (elected by the staff group), a representative of the RSSPCC Central Policy Committee, (Edinburgh). The Administrative Officer, Glasgow, a senior lecturer in social work from GCU (chair) and myself.

involved the packing and movement of the documents to Glasgow Caledonian University.

The documents would be unpacked at Glasgow Caledonian University and arranged in chronological order, and within any year by running number, this is the sequence employed at the moment; although as already mentioned the archive is very disorganised. (Appendix 6)

A meeting at the University (17.01.94) discussed accommodation for the archive in the library at the University's Park Campus. (Appendix 7) A week later, the RSSPCC Committee agreed to the move going ahead pending a suitable agreement between the two organisations being drawn up. (Appendix 8)

The archives were moved to Glasgow Caledonian University on 1 July 1994. Access to the archive was restricted to a small number of people, with a note that only Chris Robinson has an individually negotiated agreement for access for research purposes. (Appendix 9) The archives were then stored in a small room in the library at Glasgow Caledonian University Park Campus. A meeting of the Archive Group in August 1994 noted that *The full development of the archive requires a computer database. The next stage will need substantial additional resourcing.* (Extract Meeting Archive Group 22.08.94 Appendix 10) An access document was drafted. (Appendix 11)

The University decided to make application to Scottish Higher Education Funding Council for a grant to preserve and classify the archives. Professor Crowther, Head of Department of Economic and Social History, University of Glasgow, Council Member, Scottish Records Advisory Council, provided a reference on the research value of the RSSPCC collection:

The records of the voluntary sector are preserved most erratically.... Voluntary bodies have been (and are becoming again) a major source of social support, supplementing the role of the State. Hence the great importance of preserving their records especially of major societies such as this. The only comparable archives in Scotland are the central files in the S.R.O. and many are not on open access. Nor do these give

such extensive detail of the day to day activity. The C.U. archive is a most substantial cache with voluminous case papers from the 1970s in particular, but with a wide variety of papers from earlier periods. I entirely endorse the applicant's claim that the collection is important not only as a record of the Society at work, but for social history generally, as the case papers contain detailed social records of great interest. (Extract of Referee's Report 1994 Appendix 12)

The University was subsequently awarded a grant of £50,000 by SHEFC to preserve and classify the archives. At this time, there was a change of personnel within the RSSPCC and, with that, a change of attitude towards the archives and access to them. A revised access agreement was proposed in a letter asking for RSSPCC formal agreement in December 1994 (Appendix 13). Work continued on the archives and data base fields were developed (Appendix 14).

In March 1995 a telephone call from the RSSPCC to the Chief Librarian at Glasgow Caledonian University indicated that the Society would be withdrawing from the agreed access arrangement and would be substituting another one. The basis of this new proposal included the intention to destroy the majority of records dated after 1970 retaining only a:

sample of personal case files for the Archive selected by Children First as benchmark cases I do appreciate that our decision in relation to the access arrangements differ significantly from the more open access proposed by the University staff, and that it has taken us some considerable time to establish our position. I can only sincerely apologise for our shortcomings in this respect. The Society did not fully consider the complexity of this undertaking, and there has been very little experience on which to draw in relation to archiving social work records. In fact we know of no other Child Care Agency who has developed an archive of this nature. I am aware that you and your colleagues will wish to consider your position in relation to this proposal, particularly whether the research funding can be utilised in relation to the access arrangements I have outlined. (Extract letter from RSSPCC to Glasgow Caledonian University 19.04.95 Appendix 15)

Negotiations continued during the early summer and at this stage only one person (myself) had studied the archives in depth. There were meetings and discussions with library staff. By June

1995 it seemed certain that much of the post 1975 material was to be destroyed.

I have now analysed the archive to see how much material we would in fact lose, and the results which I find quite alarming, are detailed on the attached sheet. As you can see, in terms of numbers of documents, we would lose 45% of the present holdings: if a more favourable linear footage measure is used (on the basis that the older files are thicker than the most recent ones) we still lose 33% of all materials held. The core of the whole archive is the papers relating to the Glasgow Office, here the loss would be very significant 38% for numbers of documents and 30% for linear footage. (Note by John Powles, Librarian, Glasgow Caledonian University Appendix 16)

At the same time as the destruction of part of the archives was being proposed, the RSSPCC requested further details of the archival research being undertaken (Appendix 17). My reply indicated a respect for confidentiality and the nature of the research together with an outline of the central area of my research.

Nothing further was heard from the Society for over a year. With the imminent destruction of the material for the 1970s and 1980s plans for the research inevitably changed and in discussion with my supervisor the design of the study was amended.

Unfortunately a potentially serious problem of access has arisen. Children First (RSSPCC) are considering destroying a selection of the case materials in the archives and introducing new rules concerning vetting of case files prior to authorised access. If these declared intentions are implemented, the research will not be feasible in its current form. As Chris Robinson has been fully cleared for access, and has already undertaken a substantial amount of work in the archives, I have advised her to concentrate on archival work pending any final decision on destruction of the records, and to abandon the existing planned schedule of work. (Extract Progress Report for Postgraduate Research Student - University of Stirling 25.10.95).

I decided to collect as much of the data due to be destroyed as possible. I read systematically

the case files for the 1970s and 1980s and large extracts were dictated on to tape. No identifying data was collected, ensuring confidentiality of the subjects.

Some family problems, namely parenting, alcohol misuse, housing issues and (for a significant minority) harassment by neighbours on grounds of religion, are found throughout the decades of the study. Other problems emerge towards the end of the 1960s (physical abuse of children), in the mid 1970s (domestic violence), in the early 1980s (racism), in the mid 1980s (sexual abuse of children). The emergence of these 'social problems' is discussed in depth in Chapter 5. The records indicated cases of explicit physical abuse and neglect of children and others where these could be interpreted and inferred. In addition there were 'clues' to what in later years would be recognised as sexual abuse.

The archives due for destruction revealed evidence of all these themes. Reading them onto audiotape was less than ideal and there was, unlike the earlier material, no opportunity to check an area of inquiry or re-visit themes which were being examined. The implications for the research methods are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

I heard nothing further from the RSSPCC until the summer of 1996, when a letter requested that:

For the purposes of keeping things in order this end and also in your interests I think it is important that your access to the archive is in line with the conditions and criteria set out for researchers. To determine this we would greatly appreciate from you a detailed research proposal and note of what kind of access to the archive you need... (Extract of letter from Children First 09.07.96)

An outline of my research was provided (Appendix 18). My letter was never acknowledged in writing. However I was on the Management Committee of the RSSPCC's Prisoners Families Project and I met the Director of Children and Family Services at a meeting and she confirmed that support for the research continued. Nothing further was heard from the

Society.

This chapter concludes by reflecting on the issues for this study in researching child abuse. The University employed two archivists, both women, to read and code the data in the case records, and to remove identifying material including third party letters and reports. I met with the archivists regularly during 1995 and we discussed the themes which we identified. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 themes do not *emerge* by themselves. They arise in part from the perspectives of the researchers.

I found the depth and detail of the records fascinating. This study makes use of extensive quotes from them. The way in which they were written enabled the reader to *accompany* the RSSPCC staff to the homes of the families. However some of the detail of extreme poverty, squalor and the condition of the children was disturbing. There was a sense of invading the privacy of the families, an awareness that individually they had not consented or known that they would be the subjects of research. The confidentiality of this study was considered in depth. The names, addresses and any identifying detail of the families were not recorded. My numbering system was different from the RSSPCC case records therefore making it very difficult for anyone but myself to link the two systems. The ethical considerations of the study drew on the work of Reynolds (1979), Lee (1993), Punch (1986) and Sieber (1993) and took into account the protection of the subjects and the participant effects. These are discussed in Chapter 4.

Ely et al (1998) recognised the feelings which can be evoked by research, and suggest that striking the balance between compassionate analysis and a determination to understand is far from easy. Glazer defined the researcher's role as follows:

A researcher must become deeply involved with his material and allow it to absorb him while remaining emotionally vital enough to step back and perceive the contours of the data. It is a rigorous, effective exercise demanding emotional reserves and critical perceptiveness. (Glazer, 1980:29)

From having worked in child protection I had awareness of some of the practice issues and familiarity with the setting being researched. The detail of how the case materials was coded and analysed is discussed further in Chapter 4. Evidence from the accounts was gathered carefully. In the early part of the study, when I was finding such extensive abuse and neglect of the children, I wondered if I was making presumptions from my own experience rather than from the data. However I learnt from talking to the archivists that they too were troubled by the data and the extent of the injuries and accidents to the children; neither of them came to the data from a social work perspective.

The most difficult of all the records to study were the Prosecution Boxes. By definition they focused on severe neglect, physical abuse and, occasionally, sexual abuse. The detail from witness statements and RSSPCC reports was extensive. These records have not so far been archived and the archivists did not read them. I perused one hundred and twenty cases, one group drawn from the beginning of the 1960s, the others from 1969. It was important to be aware of the grounds and outcome of prosecutions but reading the data was harrowing. Some of the children were seriously injured, others died.

I began by studying the 1960s case records. The sampling and coding process is discussed in Chapter 4. The language and patterns of work demonstrated by the records had been formulated much earlier in the century and were largely unchanged. The original research plan was to become familiar with the 1960s data before moving on to the 1970s and 1980s. As impressions and themes were identified it was important to be able to check them out against the data; for example the invisibility of the children struck me in my initial browsing.

The intention of the RSSPCC to destroy the archives which covered the years after 1975 altered the pattern of the research. This had implications for the grounded theory approach and methods, which is discussed in the next two chapters. The data from the 1970s and 1980s I recorded onto audiotape and there was less opportunity to browse. In terms of the selection

of data, the impressions, meta-themes and tentative hypotheses were based on the work undertaken in the 1960s. Transcribing and studying these enabled me to become immersed again in the data. I was able to have further discussions with library staff and archivists at Glasgow Caledonian University.

I was by this stage confronted with what Denzin (1993) described as a:

mountain of impressions, documents, and field notes, the qualitative researcher faces the difficult and challenging task of making sense of what has been learned through the art of interpretation. (Denzin, 1993:50)

By this time, the majority of material post 1975 had been returned to Children First for destruction. The archivists worked on the remaining data, removing identification and third party material. The archives are now stored in filing cabinets and a database comprising a range of 'fields' has been established. The computer can now search for particular fields, e.g. the outcome of intervention such as warned/no further action. Access to the current archive enabled me to check earlier data collected manually to be checked against computer generated findings. For example of the 1,500 records I studied 74% of the outcomes resulted in a warning for the parent(s). The search of the entire database cases, 6635 in total, showed that 4405 ended in this outcome, 70% in total. The analysis conducted by the archivists of the surviving archives has been useful in confirming that the broad patterns of intervention, which I identified were representative of the range of RSSPCC interaction during the period. These are discussed in the later chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained the somewhat torturous progress of the archives from dusty attics to a university library. It has sought to give a glimpse of the range and richness of the data in the case records. I was privileged to have access to all of the data available. Confidentiality of the subjects was a central concern and this study has observed the principle with utmost

care. For reasons of confidentiality some of the later, post 1985, case record material has not been developed in detail. The next chapter discusses the contribution of theoretical perspectives to making sense of the accounts of day to day encounters between RSSPCC staff and families.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This study set out to develop an understanding of the RSSPCC's work in child welfare. In keeping with Foucault's (1977) approach, a problem was selected rather than a period. The initial problem of the 'construction of child protection' was divided into three questions:

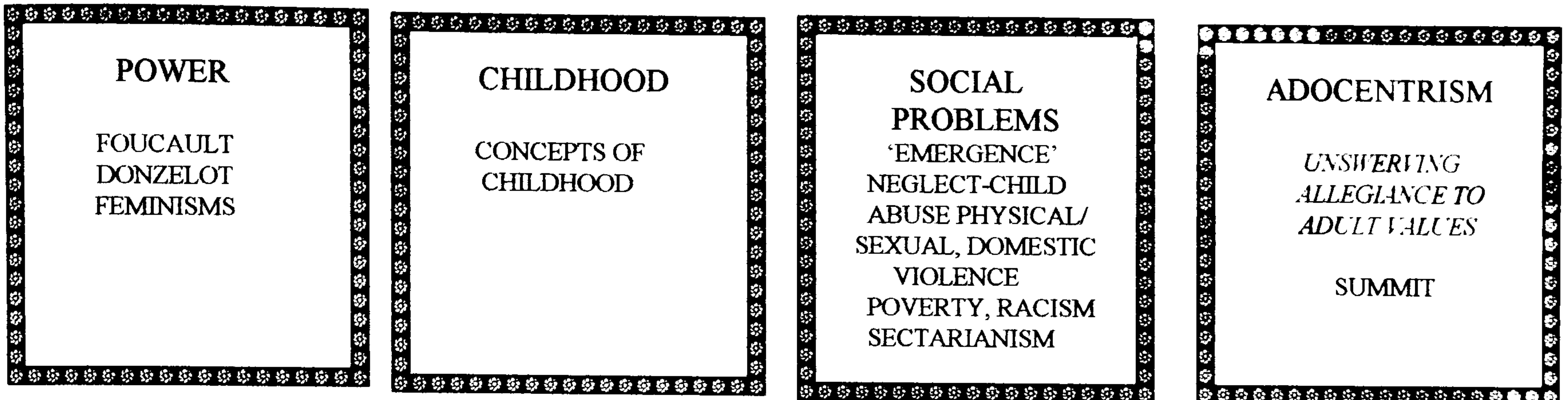
- What was the form of the RSSPCC's intervention?
- Who was the focus of their practice?
- How and why did practice change?

This chapter charts the development of a theoretical framework, identifying the issues in analysing historical material and the influence of grounded theory in structuring the relationships between the data and theorists. The framework borrows Foucault's (1986) analogy of theory being like a bundle of roots, and selects aspects of the work of Donzelot (1977), Foucault (1972-1991), Bourdieu (1991-1997) and feminists, to examine relationships of power, gender and language. Figure 3.1 overleaf summarises the theoretical framework of the study. Whilst the theoretical approach has grown and developed with the study, this chapter explains that this has not been a random selection of theorists. There are common themes of constructing reality, power and its use and misuse, which lend coherence to this approach.

Changing patterns of intervention and language which recorded practice by the RSSPCC were central to this study and I drew upon the concept of paradigms (Kuhn 1970) to develop a three fold model of practice (figure 3.2 overleaf sets out the three paradigms of practice.) Throughout the three decades of this study the case records gave accounts of how the RSSPCC staff perceived families' reactions to their intervention. Figure 3.3 overleaf sets out a continuum of response to that intervention which I developed to try to convey the complexity of the negotiations between the RSSPCC and families.

Figure 3.1 Theoretical Framework -Roots and Rootlets

THEORETICAL ROOTS



THEORETICAL ROOTLETS

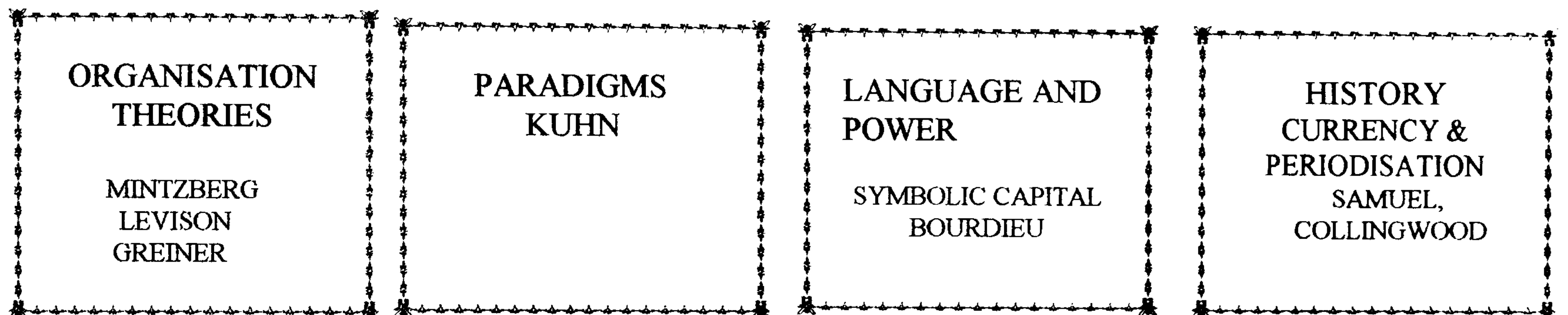
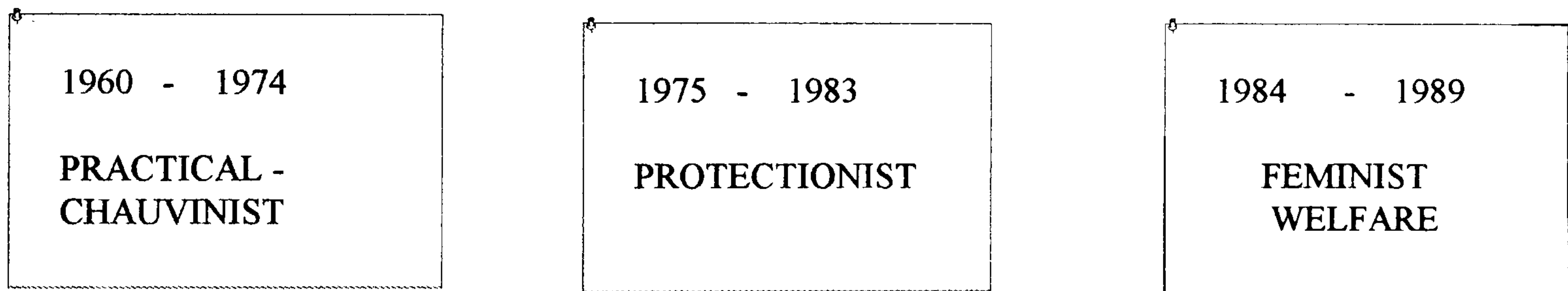


Figure 3.2 Paradigms of RSSPCC Practice



These were developed from key themes of intervention identified in RSSPCC practice.

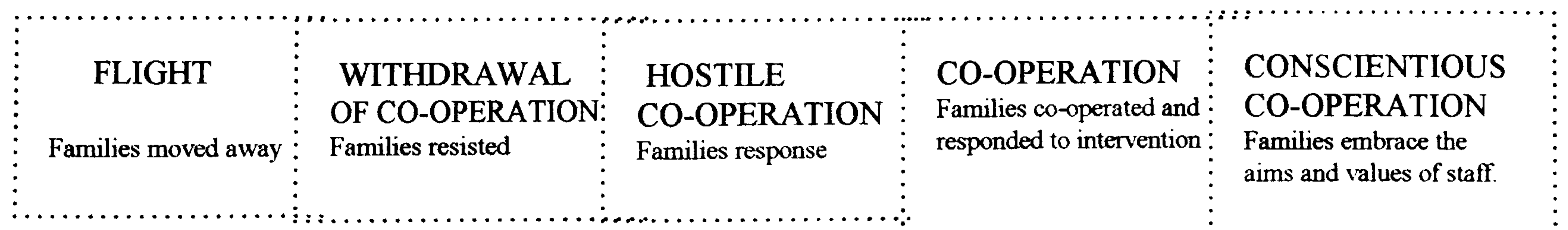


Figure 3.3 Continuum of RSSPCC Families Responses to Intervention

These were not fixed states, parents either together or individually moved to and from along the continuum.

In the early stages of the study there were a number of possible periods within which the 'problem' could be studied. I considered 1884-1990, 1950-1970, 1960-1970, and 1970-1989. The first, the lifetime of the RSSPCC as an investigative agency was eliminated on the grounds that the time span and the limited number of case records available before 1950 would have resulted in a broader historical study which would not have met my aims. The second, 1950-1970, would have covered the establishment of the welfare state and the introduction of the women visitors, but the 1950's records had not survived storage so well as the later ones. The quality of the paper in the immediate post-war period seemed to be poorer and the records were very difficult to read. I read a small number, 30, and the style and patterns of practice of the RSSPCC did not appear to be significantly different from the 1960s records. Furthermore the work of the women visitors was not established extensively in the West of Scotland until the end of the 1950s.

Concentrating the study only on the 1960s would have addressed the construction of child protection in a particular period. However, there were few changes in the representation of practice during this decade. The next two decades, 1970-1989, saw rapid and extensive developments in practice, in terms of assessment, the representation of practice and discourse of the family. Looking at these two decades gave the opportunity to consider variation in practice, but not the chance to analyse the base from which it had developed. The bedrock of RSSPCC practice was established in the 1920s and remained unchanged in significant respects up the end of the 1960s. The introduction of women visitors offered more practical support and 'advice' to mothers but the core tenets of intervention, the home visit, the inspection of the home and the 'warning' were sustained into the early 1970s.

The period 1960-1989 was therefore chosen as it offered the greatest opportunity to analyse the three key questions set out above. The quality of the records offered the scope to consider practice at the point of delivery. The period of the study witnessed the emergence of a number of social problems, which impacted upon and interacted with issues in the welfare and

protection of children. These problems became, in Foucault's (1977) terms, sayable and visible and the case records demonstrated how they were acknowledged and acted upon in practice.

Trying to make sense of the issues which were recognised within the archives has resulted in a complex theoretical framework, which has a number of strands. Foucault (1984) was sceptical of a notion that patterns of knowledge were like a tree, starting with the roots and developing into a trunk with branches and twigs. He likened theories to an entangled collection of roots, (Deleuze 1986).¹ The collection of roots for this study are divided into sections in this chapter for the purposes of clarity, but with recognition that, like roots, they are intertwined and related to each other. Continuing with the analogy of roots most of the theorists discussed are central and support the core development of the study. Aspects of theorists, who have informed the study, for example Bourdieu's work on symbolic capital (1991) and Potter and Wetherell's analysis of discourse (1994) represent some of the smaller, more peripheral rootlets. These aspects are explained relatively briefly. This chapter does not set out to review the work of these theorists in depth. It explores in turn, a grounded theory approach, understanding the past, social problems, organisational context, adocentrism, Donzelot's reluctant families, the contribution of Foucault, theories of childhood, paradigms of practice and Bourdieu's work on language and symbolic capital.

3.1 Grounded Theory

This study was influenced by a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Glaser, 1992). Born at a time when qualitative researchers were struggling with the issues of reliability and generalizability of data, the approach relied upon an inductive process of discovering theory from data. This method was contrasted with theory generated by deductive reasoning from a priori assumptions. Although the inductive

¹ Deleuze (1986) suggested that patterns of knowledge should be seen as analogous not to a tree with directional growth, but as a rhizome, a collection of root-like tentacles without a set pattern.

process is emphasised, deductive processes can also be incorporated into the theoretical framework of this study; these are achieved by comparisons. As many critics of grounded theory have identified, all researchers come to the field with orienting ideas (e.g. Miles and Huberman, 1984; Gubrium and Holstein, 1997; Silverman 1997). I came to the study with my own thoughts, theories and ideas about the key themes. However grounded theory was relevant in two ways, in the analysis of the data in the case records and in allowing me to 'bring in' theories to help me to make sense of puzzles within the analysis. For example, the paradoxical position of children in the archives could not be explained adequately by the theoretical approaches with which I began i.e. Foucault and feminist theorists of the family and public and private zones (Farganis, 1994 and Bell & Ribbens, 1995).

This chapter follows the development of the theoretical framework and relies upon Silverman's (1993) simplified model of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) traditional model of grounded theory. Silverman's model has three stages:

- an initial attempt to develop categories which illuminate the data.
- an attempt to saturate these categories with as many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance.
- developing these categories into more general analytic frameworks with relevance outside the setting.

From the beginning of my work on the archives I was struck by the authority and confidence with which inspectors entered the homes of the poor, inspected cupboards, beds, washing on the line, rent books and the children's hair, and then instructed on 'appropriate' gender roles and home management. In addition, they consulted neighbours routinely on the whereabouts and welfare of RSSPCC families and intervened with employers, factors, and welfare agencies. To understand how the RSSPCC had achieved such dominion, I needed to recognise the importance of the history of the Society. Therefore the discussion of the framework begins with making

sense of the past.

3.2 Currency and Periodisation - understanding the past

Donzelot (1977) argued that we should look for 'clues' to help us sort out the 'enigmatic character' of issues which have aroused our interest as researchers. Histories should not be used to discover an accurate reconstruction of the past, but rather as knowledge which addresses some aspect of the present. Foucault's (1980) proposition that the true/false division is a shifting intensely political construct, suggests the need for histories which do not simply examine the evidence in search of the truth, but which probe into what counts as evidence and what counts as truth. Foucault suggested that histories be read as the present policies, with important roles in deciding in the present what counts as true and what counts as false. He argued that events should be seen as constructs. Historical analysis in terms of a single cause was to be avoided, in other words Foucault cautions against essentialism.

It wasn't a matter of course that made people come to be regarded as mentally ill. It is an 'event' that each of these things was and is done, not a self-evident truth. (Foucault, 1975:128)

Foucault offered an example of an event in its role as casual multiplication. For example in respect of penal incarceration, penalisation was made up of already existing practices of internment which were themselves extensive processes that needed to be broken down further.

Samuel's concept of 'currency' is helpful in considering the value of the representation of the archival material. While histories are made differently in different places and at different times, they are not made without rules. Samuel (1981) argued that,

Enquiry is framed in terms of the evidence available rather than of the phenomenon to be explained. Documents are not the real world of the past but only a systematic framework of representations. (Samuel, 1981:61)

He warned against complacency in supposing that documents can be completely understood and against succumbing to the illusion that the past has come alive. This was particularly relevant to the RSSPCC archives which were written so graphically. Carr (1984) took the critique of simplistic treatment of evidence further. He argued against the cult of facts; no piece of information is self evidently a fact of history even if it is located in the documents. For knowledge to operate as a 'fact' it has to undergo a certain process within institutions of making histories. Carr, using Collingwood, (1963), argued that history cannot be about the past by itself, but a combination of the past by itself and historians thinking about the past by itself. Samuel talked about *bringing the experience of the present to bear upon the interpretation of the past* and about the *present continually subverting our understanding of the past*. (Samuel, 1981:27)

The concept of periodisation involving the concept of linear temporality was another central assumption behind thinking about making histories. Samuel (1981) acknowledged the importance of the whole notion of stages of historical development, (especially as used by Marx) as being at the heart of much periodisation. He made it clear that periodisation, however convincing, was always arbitrary. In this study there appeared to be discrete phases of practice identifiable in the use of language and approaches to intervention in the case records which I have identified as paradigms of practice.² I recognised an element of arbitrariness in the boundaries of these paradigms and they are discussed further in this study.

This study does not seek to reflect the meaning or constructions of the people themselves who were subjects of RSSPCC intervention. Biographical accounts have been used to explore the connections between major processes of change and patterns of everyday life for families in Scotland. James (1993) used early life histories of a sample

² The three paradigms of practice are: practical-chauvinist 1960-1974; protectionist 1975-1983 and 1984-1989 feminist-welfare.

of older men and women in Scotland to 'interrogate' the generalisations and theories contained in the classic accounts of the emergence of the modern family. There have been debates about how it is possible to recover and make sense of the past. Rock (1979) argued that subjective worlds are irrevocably inaccessible to the historian. Influenced by phenomenology, his view could be regarded as extreme; however it serves as an important caution and reminder that all archives are 'constructions'. Sociological and historical study rest on the assumption that the past leaves imprints and residue that are discoverable in the present; and that between the dead and those alive today there is at least some coincidence of common-sense understandings and broad similarity of social forms.

Making sense of the past from the archives relied on analysing the ways in which the RSSPCC reflected their work in the case records and formal reports. The archives revealed a number of paradoxes and obscurities which my analysis sought to understand. The principal methods of data collection in this study are discussed in the next chapter. In summary, they combined qualitative material from interviews and case records. Quantitative data was collected from the case records which enabled me to collate profiles of the families and to quantify the aspects of the process and content of intervention, for example the reasons for closing cases and the recorded amount of material aid given to families.

The debates between the qualitative approach and the quantitative have been rehearsed in many texts and in many different ways. Giddens (1995) analysed the cyclical nature of research in social science since the Second World War, from the positivist emphasis on statistical data, particularly in the USA, to the participant observation and interpretative studies of the 1960s. In the 1960s in America the critique of quantitative research was led by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and others for example Cicourel (1964). Toulmin (1990) in his critique of a 'traditional scientific method' identified four

developments in social research, namely the return of the 'oral tradition' (recognising the importance of philosophy, linguistics, language and communication), the recognition of the particular (a move away from considering abstract questions to problems which are located in specific situations), the return to the local - (studying systems within a local context without necessarily assuming that they can be generalised across the situations) and finally, the return to the timely (the importance of recognising the relevance of the historical context as essential to description and explanation).

These developments suggested to me a useful way of analysing the array of data presented by my early reading of the archives and discussions with RSSPCC staff. The themes were:

- family life of poor people in Glasgow and rural Lanarkshire.
- the role and expectations of women and men as parents.
- the recognition of social problems: alcohol misuse, poverty, domestic violence, sectarianism and racism.
- the emergence of physical, emotional and sexual abuse of children.
- patterns of practice in intervention in the lives of families.
- a range of responses from families, from contrition to flight.

To seek to understand these macro and micro themes within a single conceptual framework could result in a degree of abstraction, which would restrict the analysis to a limited range of explanatory variables. The range of ideas identified in this study ranged from broad trends in social policy to the minute details of recorded interaction between staff and families. Therefore to encompass the scope of the data I adopted an eclectic approach to the development of a theoretical framework. The framework has looked to

Denzin's (1993) work, which started from a position of symbolic interactionism³ The basic assumptions set out by Blumer (1969) was that: people act towards things on the basis of the meaning which they have for them, the meaning of which arises from social interaction. These meanings are accommodated or changed through a process of ongoing interpretation. The reconstruction of the subjective viewpoints becomes the way in which the social world is analysed.

3.3 Social Problems

The relationship between 'personal troubles', (Silverman 1997) and the institutions designed to address them was an important theme in this study. Theoretical approaches to the emergence of social problems were important in identifying and understanding why certain elements of family life appeared to be addressed at some stages in the study and not in others. For example domestic violence was noted in the 1960s case records but attended to infrequently; by the 1980s responding to instances of domestic violence was an important aspect of RSSPCC practice.

The 're-emergence' of child physical and sexual abuse in the later part of the twentieth century can be understood in terms of the concept of 'social problems'. The study of social problems has a long history in sociology, originating on the work of the Chicago School in the 1930s (Giddens 1995). Fuller and Myers, writing in 1941 defined the term as follows:

A social problem is a condition, which is defined by a considerable number of persons as a deviation from some social norm, which they cherish. Every social problem thus consists of an objective condition and a subjective definition. The objective condition is a verifiable situation, which can be checked as to existence and magnitude by impartial and trained observers.

³ Symbolic interactionism originated with Blumer in 1938. The focus was on processes of interaction, social action that is characterised by an immediately reciprocal orientation and the investigations of these processes are based on a particular concept of interaction which stresses the symbolic character of social actions Joas (1987:84), quoted in Flick (1998).

The subjective definition is the awareness of certain individuals that the condition is a threat to certain cherished values. (Fuller and Myers, 1941, quoted in Giddens, 1995:657)

Writing thirty years later, Rubington and Weinberg (1971) identified five phases in the study of social problems. The final phase, the interactionist perspective, regarded deviance not as a quality of the individual or the situation but as a quality, which arises out of the interaction between people in situations. Spector and Kitsuse (1975) argued that the focus should be on the process by which social problems are tackled rather than on whether or not they exist. They defined social problems as follows,

social problems are the activities of groups making assertions of grievances and claims to organisations, agencies, and institutions about some putative conditions. (Spector and Kitsuse, 1975:6)

Social problems therefore are not static conditions but relate to sequences of events, which vary from problem to problem. Spector and Kitsuse argue that there is a discernible pattern to the development of a social problem.

- i) The claim-making group attempts to assert that a condition exists and that it is harmful, offensive or undesirable. The publication of this claim is intended to create public debate and or political controversy.
- ii) The claim-making group is recognised by some official organisations, agency or institution. There is a routine response. In Britain this process is exemplified in the use of Royal Commissions.
- iii) Dissatisfaction with response to stage two can promote the re-emergence of the original claim. Alternatively it may disappear.
- iv) The final stage is when the group decides on an alternative mode of response. It may develop a self-help response or endeavour to make changes within the political system.

The social problems which become recognised during the decades of this study follow broadly this pattern. Parton (1985) has charted the emergence of physical abuse of children in the UK. The response of the RSSPCC to the recognition of physical abuse as a 'problem' is discussed in Chapter 6. The recognition of domestic violence (Pahl, 1985; Dobash and Dobash, 1980, 1992) was also evident within the later archives and liaison with Women's Aid was recorded from the late 1970s. Poverty as a social problem had 'disappeared' after the Beveridge reforms, to reappear in the 1960s (Bull, 1975). The RSSPCC families lived for the most part in appalling poverty. The RSSPCC's work was focused extensively on seeking to alleviate poverty by negotiation with employers, landlords, the National Assistance Board, in later years the DHSS, and by providing material assistance in the form of coal, clothes and basic food stuffs.

The RSSPCC responded to the harassment of families on grounds of religion and race. Religious discrimination was evident throughout the decades of the study. Racial discrimination appeared in the late 1970s, reflecting the particular pattern of migration to Scotland (Mann, 1996). Racism in Britain has increasingly been recognised as a social problem and addressed through legislation, Race Relations Acts of 1968 and 1975 and in social policy (Scarman, 1981 and MacPherson, 1999). The extent of racism in Scotland has been debated, with some suggesting it is less prevalent than in England and Wales. Research in Scotland does not support these claims, (McFarland and Walsh, 1988, 1996, 1997; Bowes and Sim, 1989; Cadman and Chakrabati, 1996; Robinson and West, 1999). The evidence of racial harassment of minority ethnic community families in contact with the RSSPCC, within the large housing schemes of Glasgow was a surprising discovery in this study. The official accounts and Annual Reports of the RSSPCC make no mention of the work undertaken by their Glasgow staff to help these families to be rehoused off the big housing schemes. The official accounts of the Society's work do not refer to the work with families experiencing harassment on the

grounds of religion.

The recognition of sectarianism as a 'social problem' is more complex. Gallagher (1987), concluded that,

the assimilation of the descendants of Irish Catholic immigrants into Scottish life has been a very gradual process which is not yet complete...and that by refusing to push their differences to the point of outright division, Scots have helped to make their corner of the world a more neighbourly and tolerant one.
(Gallagher,1987:354)

In a political sense, the religious divisions in Scotland have not resulted in the violence and discontent of Ulster. Sectarian strife in Glasgow is symbolised by violent clashes surrounding the 'Old Firm' football matches between Celtic and Rangers. However this study discovered records of extensive day to day harassment by Catholics of their Protestant neighbours and vice versa. The climate was neither neighbourly nor tolerant. The absence of references to work in this area and the possible reasons for this are discussed later in the study, the ambiguous position of sectarianism as a social problem being one potential explanation.

A group of people who have consistently remained outwith the recognition of social problems of poverty, racism and other forms of discrimination, are travelling people. The RSSPCC had a long record of seeking to achieve recognition for the needs of their children (Ashley, 1985). Their work with, and the reactions of, the families are discussed later in the study.

3.4 Organisational Context

The organisational context and history of the RSSPCC was important to the way in which the responses to child protection were structured. There are discernible patterns of development in organisations, which often go through long periods when strategies

appear to be developed incrementally (Mintzberg, 1983). Sometimes, there occur more fundamental shifts in strategy as re-adjustment of the strategic direction takes place. In 1992 the Society was undergoing one of these infrequent but fundamental shifts in strategy. The model of organisational analysis, which seemed to be most relevant to the RSSPCC at that time was the 'transformation process'.⁴ The RSSPCC Review of Services noted⁵:

that the past few years have brought unprecedented levels of change and have been exceptionally tough ones for the Society and staff. (RSSPCC, 1992:2)

Greiner (1972) argued that each organisation and its component parts are at different stages of development⁶. The task of management is to be aware of these stages, otherwise it may not recognise when the time for change has come, or it may act to impose the wrong solution. Another significant angle on organisational change came from Levison's (1980) work on loss in organisations.

Everyone carries in varying degrees the psychological burdens of loss from a lifetime of experiences. As a corollary, everyone is vulnerable in varying degrees to the threat of additional loss. (Levison, 1980:226)

Levison (1980) identified four areas of loss: of love, of support, of sensory impact, of capacity to act independently. The fourth area, 'loss of capacity to act independently' had particular relevance for workers concerned with child sexual abuse work. Levison identified the loss of youth as threatening the capacity for adaptation and mastery around increasing the feeling of having to depend on others. Some of the older staff who had been with the Society for most of their professional lifetimes felt 'out of date'. The rapid introduction of child sexual abuse work within the agency had further implications for

⁴ Mintzberg's (1983) model conceived an organisation as composed of four elements: tasks, individuals, formal arrangements, informal arrangements.

⁵ RSSPCC Review of Services - Confidential Internal Management Review, 1992.

⁶ Greiner (1972) identified five phases which organisations pass through in the course of their development: creativity, direction, delegation, co-ordination and collaboration.

long serving staff. Some workers felt de-skilled and sad that they had been unaware of sexual abuse occurring within families with which they had worked in the past. This aspect of organisational theory and context was relevant when interpreting the responses of RSSPCC staff who contributed to this study.

The challenge from feminism to sexual abuse work is constructed on themes which raised specific difficulties for social work in general and the RSSPCC in particular.

In modern Western Society the dominant construction of male sexuality is the major cause of child sexual abuse. The nuclear family is an inequitable institution in which women and children are vulnerable to male violence. (Clarke, 1993:161)

Identifying male sexuality confronts a number of weaknesses inherent in contemporary social work practice, most significantly that social work has very few ways of dealing with men. (Langan and Day, 1992:56) They argued that social workers would be most likely to be working with women as it is women who are expected to manage financial hardship and hold the family together. RSSPCC practice had been to offer intervention in the lives of women and for the majority of its existence, this had been provided primarily by male staff.

The recruitment of women staff with an interest in a feminist interpretation of the family and, more specifically, child sexual abuse had a considerable impact on the RSSPCC. A feminist approach, in summary, rejects the notion of 'family dysfunction' as the principal cause of child abuse and substitutes the concept of patriarchy and the abuse of male power. There were divisions within the field work teams of the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland about the role and management of child sexual abuse work. These are discussed later in the study, but are noted here, because the initial theoretical framework needed to encompass a way of understanding these tensions and conflicts.

To summarise, the early part of this study drew on organisational theorists to illustrate the impact of change upon the staff of the RSSPCC and from a feminist perspective of the family to explain the tensions around child sexual abuse work. A third dimension, which arose at this stage, was the position or recognition of children. One of the sources of tension between staff and management was the RSSPCC's support for End Physical Abuse of Children. In 1991 the Society shared a platform at a conference with EPOCH and many staff were opposed to such a public statement of opposition to smacking children. In the course of my work with the staff I recognised a tendency to view working with children as synonymous with working with their parents. The contribution of Roland Summit's (1984) work to understanding the position of children was important to developing a way of understanding what Foucault called the positions, which are established between subjects. (Foucault, 1988)

3.5 Roland Summit's Adocentrism

Summit's work has concentrated on what he called 'the reluctant discovery' of child sexual abuse. In an article written in 1984, *'Beyond Belief'* Summit undertook an analysis of why it is so difficult for abused children to be heard.

If adult society can learn to believe in the reality of child sexual abuse, there is opportunity for unprecedented advances in the prevention and treatment of emotional pain and dysfunction. If adults cannot face the reality of incestuous abuse, then women and children will continue to be stigmatised by the terrors of their own helpless silence. (Summit, 1984:127)

Summit developed an analysis of the processes involved in children telling about their abuse, the 'child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome'. He identified five factors; secrecy, helplessness, entrapment, delayed, conflicted and unconvincing disclosure and retraction of complaint. In a relatively short chapter Summit identified many of the key issues in child sexual abuse He recognised the frequency and lack of recognition, the

implications of Freud's change of mind,⁷ the power of male abusers, the distress and confused feelings of mothers who did not necessarily know that their child was being abused, the abuse of boys as well as girls, the dilemmas of prosecuting offenders and the different philosophies of treatment. Reference to Summit's work is to be found often in texts on child sexual abuse (e.g. Bagley & King, 1991; Clarke, 1993; Parton, 1997). His work on the 'accommodation syndrome' has been particularly important in thinking and writing about the experiences of abused children. However it is another aspect of his work which was influential in thinking about the theoretical framework for this study, namely the concept on 'adocentrism'. The term appears briefly at the beginning of *'Beyond Belief'* (1984). Summit is discussing the reluctance of courts and wider society to believe the testament of abused children.

What is not so clear is that the victim of child sexual abuse faces disbelief, retaliation, and revictimisation at each level of disclosure within the world of adults. It is not only the court and the community of men that are so incredulous of sexually exploited children. The basic reason for disbelief is 'adocentrism', the unswerving and unquestioned allegiance to adult values. All adults, male and female, tend to align themselves in an impenetrable bastion against any threat that adult priorities and self-comfort must yield to the needs of children. (Summit, 1984:128)

'Adocentrism' has at its roots the power of adult society, male and female. Summit recognises the differential power structure and acknowledges the lack of power of many women. However the term remains at a general level. 'Adult values' are not defined precisely, and how 'allegiance' to them is sustained was not developed.⁸

Summit's concept is limited by its inclusiveness. Whilst all adults are part of the adult

⁷ Freud revealed and later denied the abusive experiences of his female patients. His early work, e.g. *'The aetiology of hysteria'* written in 1885 recognised the impact on his patients of childhood abuse. By 1933, he described accounts of abuse by his female patients as phantasy.

⁸ When I started this study I wrote to Roland Summit asking if he had undertaken further work on the concept of adocentrism, but I did not receive a reply.

world, there are divisions based on class, race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, age, etc. and a search for the meaning of 'adult values' needs to recognise and encompass these in any analysis. My early readings of the archives suggested that the majority of families with whom the RSSPCC worked were poor, white and working class. A smaller number of families were from minority ethnic communities, travellers and, later in the 1980s, families from the New Commonwealth.

From reading the archives and undertaking interviews with staff I recognised areas of 'tension' between the RSSPCC staff and the families. Much of that tension concerned the adequacy of the standards of care of the home and of the children. Families (mothers and fathers together and separately) appeared to engage in a range of negotiations with the RSSPCC staff. These are discussed in Chapter 7 where I develop a continuum of family responses to intervention which range from 'flight' to 'conscientious co-operation'. The term, 'all in good order' was used often by the RSSPCC when a case was closed. 'Good order' as a definition of appropriate standards changed during the decades. In the 1960s it was related clearly to fathers providing and mothers keeping the home and the children clean. By the 1980s the term was more often linked to the parent(s) having made improvements on the basis of recognition of their needs, rather than the definition being completely determined by the RSSPCC staff. The archives revealed changes of working style and use of language. On a broader level, the changes in practice could be recognised within shifting 'paradigms' of social work practice, discussed later in this chapter.

Donzelot's (1977) work on the relationship between the state and families was relevant to my thinking on relationships between RSSPCC staff and families. As discussed earlier, the RSSPCC established itself as an arm of the state in the welfare of children in the nineteenth century and remained so, relatively unchallenged up to the 1970s.

3.6 Donzelot's Reluctant Families

Donzelot (1977) concluded, like Foucault, that to study the 'social' an overarching concept of the state has to be put on one side.

The concept of 'the social' as distinct from that of society signifies a specific level of sector which is synonymous with the emergence and development of a series of technologies of power. The emergence of 'the social', and the associated measures and mechanisms directed towards such dimensions of population as fertility, age, health, economic activity, welfare and education, not only represents a major development or shift in the form of the exercise of power, but in addition it has produced significant changes in the nature of social relationships and has since the mid-19th century effected a particular form of cohesion or solidarity within society. (Donzelot,1977:121)

The nature of surveillance and control was important in different ways to Donzelot and Foucault. Both identified families and children as being subject to state 'guidance'. Foucault (1980) argued that Childhood became the nursery of the population to come and was therefore identified as requiring regulation and surveillance. Donzelot (1977) sees the main concern about the family and the use of the 'social' as being political events. He identified the concept of the 'social' as introducing a new landscape. As the social is at the intersection between the public and private sectors, Donzelot's method:

consists of isolating pure little lines of mutation which, acting successively or simultaneously go to form a new contour or surface, a characteristic feature of the new domain. The social is located at the intersection of all these (Donzelot,1977:x)

Donzelot traced the development of the family and mechanisms of regulation and intervention along a number of lines judicial, medical, psychological and economic. His concepts of the 'decisive tussle' between the State and the family and the 'psychologisation' of the family were important in my analysis of the regulation of families by the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland.

Donzelot was writing about France, which has a different political system. The

development of 'welfare' for children and families was influenced by psychiatry much earlier than in Scotland (Murphy, 1992). The French Civil Code was concerned to ensure the welfare of children by intervening in families. There were aspects of coercion which had relevance for developing a continuum of families' response to intervention. Donzelot asked three questions intended to identify changing influences on practice. The first was: What is the place of the judicial in the development of the practices of social control? The role of the judicial in this study was important as the RSSPCC was one of the principal agencies responsible for prosecutions of parents who abused or neglected their children for most of the twentieth century. The place of the 'judicial' was central at the beginning of the 1960s and declined throughout the decades of this study. Donzelot's second question What purpose is served by the psychiatric, situated as it is between the judicial drama and educative practices? mirrors the experience of the French system which as noted above had its roots in a medical and psychiatric tradition many years before such influences became apparent in Scottish welfare. Within the RSSPCC, the influence of the 'psychiatric' was seen first in the new assessment form introduced in 1975. Secondly it was evident in the Society's approaches to child sexual abuse work and thirdly in the development of what can be described as a 'Casework' approach.⁹

Donzelot's final question was What politics of the family is implemented by educative authority? (Donzelot, 1977:3). 'Politics of the family' is a complex notion based on expectations, roles and requirements of the family within the political, economic and social structure of society.

⁹ 'Casework' within the social work context has been the subject of debate and definition, the competing definitions are discussed in Chapter 6.

This study demonstrates that the expectations of the family by the RSSPCC were broadly congruent with a view of the family which represents a functionalist¹⁰ understanding of society, based as it is on a consensus view of norms and values (Giddens,1995). Nevertheless the archives illustrated a changing pattern of expectations by RSSPCC staff which challenged increasingly the role of women as merely providers and carers. Women, if found to be working outside the home in the 1960s, were advised strongly by the RSSPCC to give up work and be at home for their husbands and children. By the early 1980s, mothers were advised, that so long as they have made proper arrangements for the children, working outside the home could be helpful to them as 'people' not just as providers.

3.7 The contribution of Foucault

Donzelot's three questions were in different ways concerned with the use of power. As this study is concerned with understanding the micro level of society i.e. the interactions between staff of the RSSPCC and families and the relations of power between them, Foucault's argument that power must be studied from the 'bottom up' was relevant.

One must rather conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been and continue to be invested, colonised, utilised, transformed, extended by even more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. It is not that this global domination extends itself right to the base in a plurality of repercussions.
(Foucault,1980: 26)

An ascending analysis, Foucault argued, showed how the mechanisms of power at micro level of society have become part of the dominant methods of power relations. This section does not seek to encompass the complexity of Foucault's work on power and

¹⁰ Functionalism constitutes a substantial if now dated sociological tradition in the study of the family, (Worsley 1995). Parsons (1960) one of the most notable theorists identified key roles for the family in the socialisation of children.

knowledge, but draws upon his later work on power and domination, and on his development of the concept of discourse.

Foucault's work was located at a time when amongst many philosophers there was a search for a more complex definition of power. Marx's emphasis on the importance of the economic context was being replaced by a Nietzschean concept of multiple forms of power. Post structural thinking formed part of what has come to be described as 'postmodern'.¹¹ Postmodern theorists follow post-structuralists in the importance attached to discourse theory - both agree on an analysis of society which relies on sign systems and their codes and discourses. Discourse theory regards all social phenomena as structured by codes and rules; meaning is socially constructed across a number of institutional sites and practices.

Foucault's concept of discourse arose from his attempts to produce an archaeology of knowledge. He believed that histories of knowledge were not a summation of what people thought at the time. They are reconstructions of the material conditions of thought or knowledge. (Hunter, 1989:27) Hunter argued that the term discourse is a problem in Foucault's work and leads to him being misunderstood, in that he has been attributed with suggesting that thoughts are produced by language. Hunter (1989) emphasises that discourse is not a linguistic phenomenon and suggested the term was unhelpful in understanding Foucault's approach. However, the concept has relevance in identifying rules, which delimit the sayable. One of the problems of this study is seeking to understand how different aspects of child protection became sayable e.g. the recognition of 'baby battering'.

Kendall and Wickham (1999) suggest five steps in making sense of Foucault's term

¹¹ The term postmodern has been the subject of immense literature and debate, e.g. Peters (1996) *Post-structuralism, Politics, and Education*, Westport, Bergin and Garvey.

discourse, which are helpful in relating it to this study. The first is the identification of a discourse as a group of statements whose organisation is regular and systematic. The 1960's case records of the RSSPCC indicated a regular and systematic practice known as the 'warning' to recalcitrant parents. The second stage requires recognition of the rules, which produce the statements. The rules leading to 'warnings' were explicitly and implicitly concerned with sustaining minimum standards of parenting. A warning is not just a use of language but an event. Discourse is not to be confused with language. The ultimate aspect of warning was prosecution, part of the public apparatus of the law. The third element involves recognising rules which delimit the sayable. Foucault was concerned with how statements are 'produced' rather than upon their origins. In the 1960's case records the rules concerning the recognition of sexual abuse of children, confined the scope to incest between fathers, stepfathers and daughters. The increased recognition of sexual abuse of both girls and boys leads to the fourth element in understanding Foucault's approach to discourse, namely, the recognition of rules which create 'spaces' for new statements. Foucault believed that these 'spaces' were created often by institutional practices, e.g. medicine. The discovery of 'baby battering' by radiographers and later paediatricians discussed by Parton (1985) illustrated how institutional practices created 'spaces' for a new understanding of physical abuse to emerge.

The final element requires the identification of rules, which ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the same. Discursive relations for Foucault were relations of power. The term 'power' does not translate from the French easily. Use of the term in English includes a range of meanings including conspiracy. In keeping with the postmodern tradition Foucault rejected the notion that one single theory could explain the distribution of power. Foucault was an eclectic thinker who did not align himself with any one tradition. Nietzsche influenced Foucault in his genealogical history of unconventional topics. (Best and Kellner, 1991:79) Foucault believed the concept of

discourse was so complex that it should be approached at different levels with different methods. Therefore no single theory or method of interpretation could consider the plurality of discourses and levels of power which make up modern society. Foucault expressed the view that a non-economic analysis of power was essential. Foucault attempted

to show not only how right is, in a general way the instrument of this deduction but also to show the extent to which, and the forms in which, right (not simply the laws but the complex of apparatuses, institutes and regulations responsible for their application) transmits and puts in motion relations that are not relations of sovereignty, but of domination. (Foucault,1978:95-96)

The sense of domination was not of class, but the multiplicity of forms of domination exercised within the fabric of society.

Foucault (1983) developed rules if analysis of power was to proceed beyond formulations confined to legalistic conceptions of right, then specific methodological precautions were necessary. The first rule, intended to avoid an analysis of power in terms of sovereignty, recommended focusing on power at the extremities of society. The second suggested that the analysis should concentrate not on the level of intention but on how and where power is applied. Thirdly, power should not be regarded as a possession or the property of an individual or class, rather it should be viewed as a network - individuals do not possess power, they constitute its effects. Fourthly, analysis of power should be undertaken at the micro-level ascending rather than descending.

It is a matter of examining how the techniques and procedures of power operating routinely at the level of everyday life have been appropriated or engaged by more general powers or economic interests, rather than the converse, namely of conceptualising power as a property located at the summit of the social order employed in a descending direction over and throughout the entire social domain. (Foucault, 1983:83)

Conventionally within Marxist discourse power had been conceptualised in the latter form, as ultimately resting with and serving the interests of the bourgeois class and /or the state. Foucault cautioned against such generalisation that anything can be deduced from the general phenomenon of the bourgeois class. (Foucault, 1983:100)

An understanding of power needs to come from considering the mechanisms of power and the preconditions - an analysis of the conditions on which the effectiveness of the mechanisms depends.

It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantage or political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole. (Foucault, 1983:101)

Analysis proceeds from the assumption that there was no general theory of the relationship between power and economic relations, the connections have to be determined by analysis. Finally the exercise of power was accompanied or paralleled by the production of apparatuses of knowledge. These five methodological precautions constituted an invitation to researchers to study power in terms of its mechanisms, techniques and procedures at point of application. The juridical political theory, argued Foucault, was to be associated with feudal societies.

Power can no longer be formulated in terms of sovereignty which has been a fundamental instrument of the constitution of industrial capitalism ...This non-sovereign power which lies outside the form of sovereignty is disciplinary power. (Foucault, 1980:105)

Foucault's argument about power was that it is most effective when it is undetected. One of the problems associated with Foucault's alternative conception of power was that it has been presented in contrast to other (traditional) views of power. A range of phenomena traditionally associated with sources of power have been laid aside by Foucault. The notion of power as something which can be seized has been rejected in

favour of a conception which regards power relations as

the immediate effect of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums which occur in economic relationships and as the internal conditions of these differentiations. (Foucault, 1986:94)

Foucault's consideration of power - knowledge relations has been equated with analyses of ideology. However the concept of ideology has signified an erroneous or distorted view of reality whereas Foucault intended the opposite. Foucault did not suggest that sovereign-law had disappeared, but rather that new, subtler mechanisms of power had emerged. An analysis of the state was absent from Foucault's work, which reflected his decision to analyse the development of modern techniques of power which cannot be reduced to the form of the state. Foucault argued that this does not deny the state but:

For the state to function in the way it does, there must be, ... quite specific relations of domination which have their own configuration and relative autonomy. (Foucault, 1980:188)

The significant difference between Foucault and Marx was that for Foucault it was no longer feasible to conceptualise relations of power and the associated mechanisms and effects, simply in terms of the state, class struggle, and relations to production and capitalist exploitation. Power had to be analysed in all its diverse forms in its exercise, rather than solely in terms of the most centralised possible institutional basis.

To sum up, Foucault's work was complex and developed and changed. He never claimed that his work constituted a conceptual whole; rather he referred to his work as offering a set of propositions. Foucault sought to answer a series of questions about how power is exercised. He proposed to identify a three-fold process by which people become subjects; firstly, through the objectifying sciences, such as biology and economics, secondly, by binary divisions into good and bad and thirdly, by considering how people become created or create themselves as subjects. He opened up the possibility of thinking about power at different levels. At a macro level he argued that from the

sixteenth century a new concept of governmentality was developed which led to techniques of individualisation. At this level power is deployed to control those who posed a risk to society. Kendall and Wickham (1996) suggested that 'therapy' constitutes government at an interpersonal level. At the micro level, Foucault (1982) referred to 'agonism' the state of permanent provocation between those with power and those they were seeking to influence and control. One translator of his work refers to the relationship as likened to a wrestling match suggesting that in the process of domination and enablement it is the relationship which matters (Dean, 1994).

Foucault did not develop an extensive analysis of gender in his work on power and oppressed groups. He recognised the uneven distribution of power and his analysis encompassed different ways in which power could be exercised. This recognition has relevance for this study in seeking to understand the range of ways in which power is exercised by the RSSPCC with different families and in different contexts and periods. To date much of Foucault's work has been deployed to understand encounters within medical settings, defined by Bloor and McIntosh as 'the therapeutic gaze' (1998). They noted that Foucault offered few clues on how to analyse resistance, tactically or strategically.

Bloor and McIntosh (1998) developed a model of five forms of resistance: collective and individual ideological dissent, non-co-operation, escape, avoidance and concealment. The first form, collective dissent, is they suggest unusual; 'therapeutic' resistance rarely has a general point of focus. There were glimpses of what could be called collective dissent in the responses of the travelling families to RSSPCC intervention. Chapter 7 builds on Bloor and McIntosh's work and develops a continuum of resistance by families to RSSPCC intervention. My analysis of the patterns of intervention and response suggests that families did not occupy a static position. They moved from co-operation to hostility and back and again. Crucial variables in this

progression were gender and family composition. Women who were living with their husbands/partners may have shown a changing response to intervention if they separated or sought help from the RSSPCC to 'control' their violent spouse. As noted in Chapter 1 there was substantial evidence of women, in particular, enlisting the RSSPCC to alleviate a range of social problems from domestic violence to sectarianism. The contribution of feminist thinking is important in developing the theoretical framework for this study.

Foucault's work was never explicitly feminist and when discussing his work, he declined to identify himself with their protests (Kritzman, 1988). For some feminists, he has offered new ways of thinking about how women are controlled within a patriarchal system.

3.8 Feminist Approaches

There is a vast and diverse competing literature on feminism. Farganis argues that,

Feminist approaches are bound together by the recognition of the central role that gender plays in the lives of people. Its contribution is a set of writings that start from the world as women see it and its objective is to bring to the fore a perspective that has been missing. (Farganis, 1994:8)

This section does not attempt to summarise the key arguments of feminisms, but discusses aspects which have particular relevance for the themes of this study: the relationship between the public and private aspects of life, and critique of the 'traditional' family, and the contribution of feminists to the recognition of domestic violence and child sexual abuse. The implications of feminist approaches for research methods are discussed in Chapter 4.

Bell and Ribbens (1995), Edwards (1993), Ribbens (1994), Ribbens and Edwards (1998), have written extensively about the concept of 'public' and 'private' and have

discussed the historical development of the concepts. They suggest that the concepts are important for understanding the divisions within the lives of people in Western Society, not just within the labour market, but in terms of the meanings which men and women accord the notion of public and private. Collins (1990) has recognised the importance not only of gender to these concepts, but also of race and class.

The concepts of public and private are not easy to define. It is too simplistic to suggest that the public sphere is only male and the private is only female, but this distinction has some purchase nonetheless. A number of writers have endeavoured to highlight the essence of the distinction. For this study, the work of Ribbens and Edwards (1998) is relevant; firstly in their recognition of the role of women in the home and secondly in their analysis of 'public experts'. *Women are likely to have a particular location in relation to family life and relationships, in ways that men, of all classes and ethnicities, are less likely to be placed.* (Ribbens and Edwards, 1998:10) Women were much more frequently to be found in the home, undertaking responsibility for housework, care of children, older relatives and managing finances in both the public and private arenas. The RSSPCC intervention was focused on women as carers, providers and organisers. This study was concerned with women's daily lives. Apart from moving to England so their husbands could get work at the iron and steel plants of Scunthorpe and Northampton, the women never left Glasgow. The women of the travelling families moved physically often to Oban on the West Coast and back to Lanarkshire, but their 'world' remained within the travelling community. Apthekar (1989) makes relevant comments about the 'dailiness' of women's lives.

By dailiness of women's lives I mean the patterns women create and the meanings women invent each day and over time and in the context of their subordinated status to men....The search for dailiness is a method of work that allows us to take the patterns women create and learn from them. (Apthekar, 1989:46)

Ribbens and Edwards (1998), are critical of Foucault's work, pointing out that he was

concerned essentially with public discourses. They argue for the importance of collective representation of the oppression of women as a means of addressing subjugation. Cain (1993) has identified Foucault's conception of subjugated knowledge as relevant to the private sphere of women's lives. He defined this as knowledge which has been disqualified (Foucault 1980). There are parallels here with Bourdieu's (1991) concept of 'linguistic capital' discussed later in terms of a contribution to an analysis of 'allegiance to adult values'. Bourdieu's contribution to understanding the power of certain forms of language is discussed later in this chapter.

The concepts of public and private spheres have been identified by feminist geographers, e.g. Katz and Monk (1993) as contributing to understanding women's oppression. Fear by women of being in public places is constructed in such a way that their freedom is restricted and violence within the home is ignored. This study found substantial evidence of domestic violence towards women and children. There was relatively little evidence of property crime; most families had little if anything worth stealing. The main form of 'public' violence the families experienced was harassment from their neighbours motivated by religious or racial hatred.

The intervention of the state in the lives of abused women and children moved the 'political' into areas of life once reserved for private and domestic resolution. Discussion of personal needs according to Fraser & Nicholson (1990) has become politicised as a consequence of the merging of the boundaries between the public and private in capitalist societies.

If wife battering ... is enslaved as a 'personal' or 'domestic' matter within male-headed restricted families and if public discourse about this phenomenon is canalised into specialised publics associated with, say, family law, social work and the sociology and psychology of 'deviance', then this serves to reproduce gender domination and subordination. (Fraser and Nicholson, 1990:168)

There has been a range of debates within and between feminists on who has the power to influence the drawing of the line between public and private spheres of the family. Mackinnon (1992) for example argues that men hold all the power all of the time, whilst feminists who have built on Foucault's work, e.g. Sawicki (1991) identify the way in which power is dispersed and recognise that in certain areas women are able to exercise power. The three decades of this study covered a period of significant re-negotiation of the line between the private and public zones both in terms of domestic violence and child abuse.

The contemporary women's movement is making what were hitherto considered 'private matters' of the good life into 'public' issues of justice by thematizing the asymmetrical power relations on which the sexual division of labour between the genders has rested. In this process, the lines between issues of justice and matters of good life is being re-negotiated. (Sawicki 1991:109)

The re-negotiation of this line has focused on the needs of women. The re-negotiation of the needs of children has mainly been considered in other spheres (Gordon 1989). The needs of children are to some degree addressed within the French feminist tradition which differs from American and British feminism in its use of psychoanalytic theory as an explanatory tool. For example Cixous (1983) and Kristeva (1979) followed de Beauvoir's analysis of women's construction as the 'other' by considering ways in which language and culture construct the differences between the sexes. They drew on the work of Lacan (1980). Lacan locates children's knowledge of their society through two phases, the child's recognition of their separate or independent identity and the acquisition of language i.e. the entry into the symbolic order. The symbolic order is patriarchal and meaning is created through sets of pairs which have opposites e.g. man/woman, mind/nature, active/passive, but invariably it is the 'male' term which carries authority. French feminists have sought to establish a female language and identity, which would subvert this male, dominated symbolic order.

The approaches of some of the French feminists are not accepted uncritically, but they have informed my attempt to understand the role of children in the archives and their contribution. This study relies not on embracing their preoccupation with the body and self, but on their reminder of *the need to be attentive to marginalized male voices*. (Porter, 1992:12) Cixous (1986) and Kristeva (1994) argued that femininity is a theoretical area, which represents all that are marginalized within the dominant patriarchal order. The French term 'feminine' is capable of conveying the meaning of both 'female' and 'feminine' and Cixous and Kristeva develop the term to describe a position which can be occupied by any peripheral subject, either male or female. Cixous (Sellers 1988) has resisted the definition of herself as feminist, although she has written in depth about the sexual and linguistic differences between men and women. Women, she argues are relegated to the role of 'other'. The term 'other' focuses on the notion of difference. de Beauvoir (1972) argued that throughout history women have been objectified by men who construct them as the 'other' of men - hence the 'second sex'. French feminists have developed this term to explore the creative possibilities by thinking that women's 'otherness' could offer a method of exploring and subverting patriarchal discourse. American feminists e.g. MacKinnon (1992), have been critical of this strategy seeing it as reproducing patriarchal stereotypes.

Cixous (1988) was optimistic about the importance of 'difference' seeing it as offering new identities for women and eventually new institutions. The concept of difference is central to the feminist critique, and it is indebted to the French term 'différance', which can be translated as both 'difference' and 'deferral'. Derrida (1992) argued that all thought is established on a binary pattern which places concepts in opposition and produces meaning by placing one as more important than the other. 'Différance' resists such an interpretation and asserts that all meaning is provisional. The term was important to French feminists, as they related it to attempts to undermine or alter the discourse of the symbolic order. For feminists the 'symbolic order' is patriarchy. The

term is derived from the work of Lacan (1980) who argued that for children their entry into the 'symbolic order' is the entry into language and culture. The term 'adult values' could be identified as the 'symbolic order'. The extent to which children become part of that 'order' is discussed further in Chapter 8.

The focus upon the private sphere and the recognition of the value of listening to and acknowledging the experience of women contributed to growing recognition in the 1970s of childhood sexual abuse. The sexual exploitation of children has received attention at various points in history, receiving legal attention as long ago as the sixteenth century. In Victorian Britain there was concern about the 'moral welfare' of poor children. At the beginning of the twentieth century Freud (1985) revealed that many of his female patients had experienced abuse. Later he changed his view. Freud's change of mind had enormous implications for the acceptance of child sexual abuse; accounts of children and women were on the whole not believed. The professional literature on abuse disregarded sexual abuse for almost the next fifty years (Bagley and King, 1991).

The rise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s in America set the tone for further developments of women as a group. The assertion by women of the right to control their own bodies began to focus attention on issues of violence in the home and family (e.g. Gilligan 1980). Feminists began to publish accounts of childhood abuse (e.g. Miller, 1983; Angelou, 1984; Walker, 1983). Feminist campaigners focused on violence by men and highlighted the secrecy surrounding sexual abuse.

During the 1980s incest survivors set up self-help groups and feminists produced theoretical accounts which made links between the abuse of women and children within and outside the family, and which described sexual abuse as an 'abuse of male power'. (Saraga, 1993:51)

The failure of the recognition of gender as central to understanding why abuse occurs

was evident in early approaches to 'incest'. *The child can himself trigger off or provoke some of the responses that subsequently lead to what can be severe physical abuse or other forms of abuse.* (Bentovim, 1987:60) The critique of patriarchal approaches to child sexual abuse arose in considerable part from feminist re-definitions of the 'family'. *The strident and joyful rebirth of feminism in the Western women's liberation movements at the close of the 1960s took off from a fundamental critique of the family.* (Segal,1993:150)

Feminists were critical of the portrayal of the family as 'natural' and unchanging. There were widespread debates within and between feminists about the role and expectations of the family. Black feminists (e.g. Carby, 1989; Phoenix, 1983) were very critical of white feminists of all persuasions as they argued the paradox of the black experience had been ignored.

The feminist research of the 1970s was concerned largely with exploring the inequalities of family life. Later feminists, particularly in the USA, sought to validate women's distinct life experiences (e.g. Chodorow, 1978, 1980). Chodorow identified the importance of the involvement of fathers. Their role in family life became the subject of increasing research (e.g. Russell, 1983). The influences of postmodernism have resulted in greater emphasis on the diversity between women and increasing rejection of women's experience being universal (e.g. Fraser and Nicolson, 1990). Feminist approaches to social work have attempted to address the interests of women and in so doing have struggled with the relevance of the concept of women's universal experience; for example, Dominelli and McLeod (1989) emphasised the shared experiences of women social workers and clients. Writing at the same time Hamner and Statham (1988) suggested that workers and clients should use each other's common experiences, they argued that social work could be de-mystified by the creation of equal relationships between women as providers and users of services. The problem with such a perspective

is two fold. Firstly it does not address the power imbalance between the client and worker. Secondly, the potential conflicts of interest between mother and child in a child abuse situation is difficult if not impossible to encompass in such an approach. The approach of a shared agenda between worker and adult client could be viewed as focusing on 'adult values' albeit from the women's perspective.

3.9 Children in good order

'Children in good order' was the most frequently used term by the RSSPCC for closing cases. What constituted 'good order' changed during the period of this study. In the early years, clean clothes and clean heads were crucial to achieving this goal of parental competence. The emotional well being of children and concern about minor acts of physical violence from parents did not enter the public arena until well into the 1970s. The children known to the RSSPCC in the 1960s were what Hendrick (1998) classified as living in the period of The Child of the Welfare State. A child of this period was a 'family member' and a 'public responsibility', whose identity was derived from public concern about the expense of the evacuation and emergent theories of material deprivation. The responses to these children were recognised in the foundation of the Welfare State and Children's Departments.

During the course of this study the sociology of childhood as a distinct topic has grown and developed. James and Prout noted that, *The traditional consignment of childhood to the margins of social sciences is beginning to change.* (James and Prout, 2000:4) The portrayal of children within the case records was puzzling and this section draws on themes from studies of childhood, past and present, to provide a framework for understanding both the relative invisibility of children and the ways in which they are portrayed in the case records. The records reflected clearly defined gender roles for parents but not for children. Accounts of children's lives in Glasgow (e.g. Blair, 1991) record quite strict gender divisions, particularly in the 1960s. The RSSPCC children, as

experienced through the archives were, to use Hardman's (1973) term 'muted'. Frones, Jensen and Solberg (1990) warned against the collectivisation of childhood, stressing the importance of divisions of race, gender, class, disability, religion, etc. Frones et al (1990) work was relevant in identifying the lack of diversity of children in the case records; for example, I became aware of the absence of accounts of disabled children in the 1960's records. I returned to the case records and searched again and found references to children who had died and to disabled children in institutions. These are discussed later in the study.

The latter part of this study covers what is described by Hendrick as the period of the 'contemporary child'. Hendrick has written extensively on the history of young people (1990, 1994, 1998). In his account of the 'contemporary child' he refers to 'British childhood' but tends to base his conclusions on events and legislation in England and Wales. Hendrick refers to the 1960s as the 'enigmatic decade' in which the concept of childhood was overlooked by youth culture. He criticised writers on child protection in the 1970s for ignoring the 'child in child abuse' and recognised that by the 1990s, *Parton was one of many social scientists who have begun to recognise the existence of children as people.* (Hendrick,1998:57) Hendrick (1998) concluded that the 'contemporary child' had been recognised increasingly as a person with needs and wishes, but that since the murder of James Bulger public and legal attitudes towards children have hardened. He does not offer empirical evidence for this assertion and, from a Scottish perspective, the welfare philosophy of responding to children in trouble or need was established in the 'enigmatic' sixties and has remained relatively unchanged by the Children (Scotland) Act 1995. However discussion of approaches to understanding the role of children in society is important for developing a perspective on the position of children in this study and within the framework of child protection. *To begin with a cruel paradox: in spite of all the care and concern, the easiest thing to do in child abuse work is to lose the child's perspective.* (Moore 1985:1) The possible explanations for the elusiveness of the perspective of the child was central to this study.

The answer to the question, what is a child? has no straightforward answer. Childhood is a historically shifting, cultural construction. Historians (Aries, 1962; de Mause, 1976; Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1973) have suggested that the concept of childhood has varied widely across different historical periods and different social groups and societies.

Aries (1962) has been accused of idealism, and of underestimating the wider political and social influences on the class structure and employment. Children did increasingly become recognised as needing control and protection and the formation of voluntary societies to protect them was an important development. However, politically, children have been largely neglected. Russell (1971) pointed out that philosophy has been guilty of child neglect. He was in a minority when he argued that, *no political theory is adequate unless it is applicable to children as well as to men and women.* (Russell, 1971:100) Dahl's views that children's rights are promoted by their parents (1979) has been a more popular approach, *the 'commonsense' exclusion of children from political rights derives much of its content and credibility from an uncritical acceptance of paternalism.* (Franklin, 1986:24) Dworkin (1971) defined paternalism as the interference with liberty on the grounds of the welfare of the person concerned. Paternalism is usually justified on three grounds:

- Children lack the knowledge and experience necessary for full personal autonomy. Adults therefore choose on their behalf.
- As children grow older they will recognise the wisdom of what adults have done on their behalf.
- Children are dependent on adults and particularly in their early years cannot look after themselves.

Historically, children were regarded as unable to make political decisions.

Children I confess are not born into this full sort of equality though they are born to it ... The bonds on this subjection are like the swaddling clothes they are wrapt in and supported by in the weakness of their infancy. Age and reason as they grow up

loosen them till at length they drop off and leave a man at his own free disposal. (Locke, quoted in Franklin, 1986)

The political exclusion of children on the grounds of immaturity or lack of rationality has led to debates about the nature and meaning of rationality. Franklin (1986) argued persuasively that children should be allowed to vote.

I have tried to argue that the denial of political rights to children offends fundamental democratic principles and that the division between citizens and non-citizens, based upon age is incoherent and cannot be sustained ... Various institutional devices have been suggested, such as an ombudsman for children, a minister for children, a select committee on children and the children's congress discussed in the Deakin Report. (Franklin, 1986:46)

Hendrick's (1998) account of the 'contemporary child' identified the Year of the Child (1979) as part of a contradictory process of reconstruction of childhood, representing a greater recognition of the rights of the child. This greater recognition together with the pressure from the Women's movement led to growing awareness of the sexual abuse of children.

The 'discovery' of child sexual abuse was and is still resisted and the 1980s saw wide ranging literature in North America and Western Europe, on the causes of abuse and methods of treatment.

The increasing awareness of child sexual abuse among professionals has its origin in two related but very different sources. The first is the growing children's rights movement which in the historic context of the human rights movement is following the women's rights movements. The second source is the increasing knowledge and concern about child health and child mental health. (Furniss, 1995:4)

Some feminists have identified women and girls as sharing the victimisation of male aggression. However child sexual abuse is a problem between the sexes and crucially between parents and children. The increasing recognition of abuse of boys (Finkelhor, 1983; Bagley and King, 1991) and that some abusers are women (Elliott 1997)

undermines a concept of abuse endured only by females. Children are structurally dependent and it is important to sustain an intergenerational perspective. The fate of children who are not believed when they seek to communicate their abuse, is frequently discussed within the literature. As Furniss (1995) noted, not only do their families disbelieve them, but also entire legal codes are built on unsubstantiated opinion that children are less reliable witnesses than adults. The concepts of childhood discussed earlier offers partial explanation of why, historically, children occupy a secondary position to adults.

To sum up so far, the roots of my framework have concentrated on ways of understanding power and gender differences between RSSPCC staff, parents and children. However, one of the most complex aspects of developing an analysis for this study was the extent of the changes which took place. There were massive social, economic and political changes within the United Kingdom and at another level changes in the practice of the RSSPCC.

3.10 Paradigms of Practice

The concept of 'paradigm' is helpful in understanding the 'constellations' of practice, which can be identified in the decades of the study. Thomas Kuhn (1970) developed and applied the concept in his work on the history of science and the way in which scientists have actually worked. He characterised a mature branch of science as having a 'paradigm', a basic set of assumptions or ways of problem solving (Burton 1999). *To be accepted as a paradigm, a theory must seem better than its competitors, but it need not, and in fact never does, explain all the facts with which it can be confronted.* (Kuhn 1970:17) It is debatable whether social work practice has achieved that degree of coherence.¹² Kuhn suggested that each paradigm has such different assumptions that it is

¹² There have been extensive debates about the nature and development of social work, e.g. Clarke 1993.

necessary to develop new conceptions. Each of the paradigms of practice identified in this study involved a different set of assumptions about the nature and means of protecting children.

Kuhn's work has been the subject of extensive criticism (e.g. Lakatos & Musgrave, 1972). Kuhn responded by distinguishing between a 'ground theory' and a 'localised' hypothesis. For the purposes of this study, the concept is relevant to a 'localised' analysis of practice, although it may have more generalised application. The three paradigms developed in this study reflect the dominant theme of intervention. The 1960s pattern was predominantly 'practical'. The 'practical' was concerned with basic cleanliness, the physical welfare of children, minimum standards of housing and material survival for poor families. The chauvinist element was identified by the ways in which practical support co-existed with prescriptions about the roles of parents.

The 'protectionist' mode of intervention appeared in the mid 1970s and was a reaction to concerns about child physical abuse. The language of intervention included terms like baby battering, and non-accidental injury. Staff liaised with a range of agencies and attended case conferences.

The third paradigm is 'feminist-welfare'. The welfare component to intervention was still important in terms of advice and assistance with benefits and debt but the focus was increasingly on empowering mothers as women. Child sexual abuse was recognised and some of the RSSPCC staff were seeking a feminist understanding of ways to help families with both abuse and welfare problems.

The identification of common practices by RSSPCC staff which could be grouped together to form the paradigms identified above arose from studying in detail the representations of practice in the case records. The most striking aspect at first reading

was the ways in which the use of language changed. The use of language was crucial in my first impressions of the early records in this study. Most cases were concerned with neglect of children and issues about the maintenance and cleanliness of the home. This area of domestic life offered considerable scope for differing interpretations and definitions of what were minimum standards for the care of children in a certain culture at a particular time in history. These descriptions also relied on a shared usage and understanding of language.

Our ability to identify a perverse use of terms as perverse depends on the assumption that there is such a thing as calling things by their right names, and this in turn depends on the assumption that language's relation to it is not wholly arbitrary. (Kirk and Miller, 1986:22)

The use of language throughout the archives was remarkably consistent in style and presentation, at any one time, suggesting an 'agency style'. The records for each decade demonstrated changing uses of style, assessment and interpretation of parents' motives and actions in respect of the maintenance of the house and the welfare of children.

The work of Potter and Wetherell (1987) was relevant in identifying clues from the use of language. Although detailed discourse analysis of the case records was not undertaken I did search systematically for some key words, for example, 'careless mothers' and 'warnings'. Potter and Wetherell suggest looking for key words and noting their context and frequency.

Then using variation as a lever; differences within a particular text, on a single occasion or within a single document. Reading the detail; all the details on a stretch of discourse, ... word choice etc. are potentially there for a purpose they are consequential for the outcome. Looking for rhetorical organisation; how a version relates to competing alternatives. Looking for accountability; closely linked to rhetoric, making claims accountable can be viewed as constructing them in ways which make them hard to undermine, there is identification of excuses or justifications. (Potter and Wetherell, 1987:29)

Discourse analysis informed the way in which I read and analysed samples¹³ of the case records and, from the point of view of the theoretical construction of this study, constituted a relevant 'rootlet'. A second and related 'rootlet' to the main theoretical approaches, was Bourdieu's work on language (1991).

3.11 Bourdieu and Language

Bourdieu's work sought to develop relationships between language, power and institutions. Working at about the same time as Foucault and French feminist writers, Bourdieu never identified himself with either group. Foucault's biographer, Macey (1993) acknowledges links between Foucault and Bourdieu. Bourdieu's early work on education, and later on social causes, ideology and racism are relevant to this study. Language is the way in which groups express their social worlds. Bourdieu opposed the view that language is an object of understanding. In the tradition of Kant, he viewed language as an 'instrument of action'. Bourdieu (1993) quotes Nietzsche when he described language as pragmatic sociology. He focused on the social and structural dimensions of power. Bourdieu began developing his approach to language in his early work in Algeria and later he integrated a concept of power into his work. In 1989 he added the idea of language as part of 'symbolic violence'.

When one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of other modes of expression, and with them the other values of various competencies, are defined.
(Bourdieu 1991:170)

Bourdieu, writing between the late 1970s and 1980s, was a trenchant critic of formal linguistics. He argued that they failed to address the specific social and political conditions of language and its use. As this is a rootlet of my framework I am not developing a discussion of Bourdieu's theoretical approaches. My interest in Bourdieu's

¹³ To examine the frequency of particular aspects of practice I focussed on samples of case records, usually 100. This is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

work for this study is in the way in which he interrogates his data, and in particular his interest in language and its relation to power. Bourdieu (1992) argued that it was crucial to go beyond 'economism' and 'objectivism', the latter ignoring the symbolic struggles within the social world. The term 'symbolic' was important in Bourdieu's thinking. He defined it as a disguised form of capital, which is effective i.e. powerful because it is not recognised. Bourdieu

believed that symbolic forms such as language, dress codes and body postures are important in understanding not only the cognitive functions of symbols but the social function of symbols. Symbolic systems are instruments of knowledge and domination, which make possible a consensus within a community as to the significance of the social world, as well as contributing to the reproduction of the social order. (Harker, 1993:5)

The political function of symbolic systems is their attempt to legitimate domination by the imposition of the 'correct' definition of the social world. Bourdieu identified how a particular language or way of speaking a language can emerge as the dominant form of communication, the victorious language (1991). This language becomes 'institutionalised'. The French use of the term 'institution' is more useful than the English usage as it covers any relatively durable set of social relations which endow some individuals with power, status and resources. This context encompasses the negotiations between the RSSPCC and the families. This study considers the struggle between the families and the RSSPCC over the symbolic systems of the family. Bourdieu's notion of 'games' (1993) is useful in developing a model of families' reactions to intervention. Those taking part must understand what is at stake, what Giddens, (1995) identified as 'practical consciousness'. The levels of competence vary and are not shared equally; this concept is also of relevance in examining the role of children in interventions. Bourdieu's concept of 'field' is different from the concept of 'domain' as it embodies an individual and the social and economic context. The field is partly autonomous but also a site of struggles for power within it. Fields identify areas of struggle, and the 'family' is undoubtedly a complex area of struggle. The construction of

a 'field' is never abstract but determined by investigation. Bourdieu conceived of the concept of 'habitus' as comprised of a person's own knowledge and understanding the world. Habitus is never static, and changes from one generation to another. Nevertheless, it is constrained by socialisation.

Between the child and the world the whole group intervenes ... with a whole universe of ritual practices and also of discourses, saying, proverbs, all structured in concordance with the principles of corresponding habitus. (Bourdieu,1997:167)

This explains how children are often socialised into seeing the world in similar ways to the previous generation. However periods of rapid economic and social change also affect the development of 'habitus'.

In his later work, Bourdieu developed his notion of 'strategy' and linked it to the concept of struggle.

- i) *...Struggle for recognition is a fundamental dimension of social life. Struggles are over the accumulation of capital.*
- ii) *The idea of strategy ... is not conscious ... it is the intuitive product of 'knowing' the rules of the game. (Bourdieu,1997:3)*

Struggle and strategy are dependent on knowledge. The use of 'knowledge' by both families and professional staff was a central aspect of an analysis of the archives.

The role of language and power were crucial in analysing the responses of staff and families. The dominant language of the archives was that of the RSSPCC staff and although the families with whom they worked were highly likely to have spoken in Glasgow dialect their language as represented was always translated into 'Standard English'.

Language is part of an activity in which some people dominate others, those with linguistic capital control those who have little of it. This concept is helpful in

considering power relations within the social work context. Bourdieu's contribution was to see language as an institutional practice as well as a social one. Bourdieu summed up his position as follows:

In particular social conditions certain words do have power. They derive their power from an institution that has its own logic - sociology points out that it is not words, or the interchangeable person who pronounces them, but the institution. It shows the objective conditions that have to be fulfilled to secure the efficacy of a particular social practice but the analysis cannot stop there. It must not forget that in order for it all to work, the actor has to believe that he is the source of the efficacy of his action. (Bourdieu, 1993:17)

One of the features of the representation of the RSSPCC's work was the workers' belief in their 'mission' to protect children. The concept of a 'dominant language' is helpful in unravelling further the complexity of how allegiance to adult values is secured in the work of protecting children.

Conclusion

The complexity and paradoxes of the findings in this study have resulted in bringing together a number of theorists whose concerns were with power and its exercise. The range of concepts set out in this chapter contribute to illuminating the construction and sources of 'adult values' and how allegiance to them was sustained throughout the decades of this study. The three paradigms developed reflect the dominant patterns of intervention, and whilst as noted, they have a somewhat arbitrary element they do serve to typify clear changes over time in the way that RSSPCC staff reflected their practice. The families have not been classified in the sense in which Donzelot (1977) employed, as this restricted the opportunity to analyse the complex process of negotiation which was enacted between the RSSPCC and the families. The continuum of response I develop in Chapter 7 seeks to capture the 'movement' of families in their dealings with the RSSPCC. This study is based on extensive amounts of data both in terms of records and interviews and group discussions with staff and the next chapter explains the development of the stages of the study and the methods which were developed.

Chapter 4

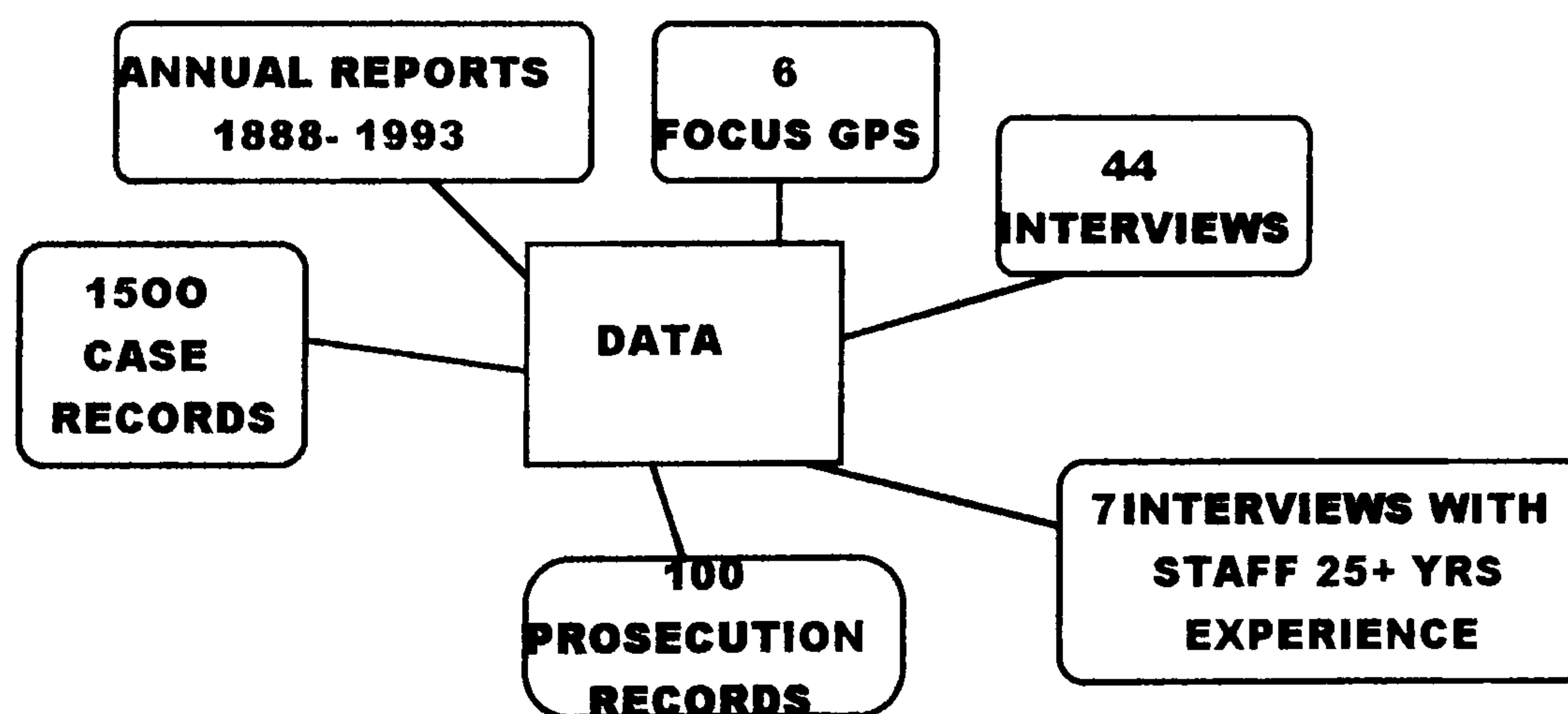
Methods

This chapter discusses my choice of methods and their strengths and weaknesses in enabling me to explore the data. There were four data sources:

- Interviews with RSSPCC staff
- Focus groups with RSSPCC staff
- RSSPCC case records and prosecution records
- Annual Reports and other documentary sources of the RSSPCC.

The data were gathered in three phases. The first, was an action research project, which led to my discovery of the archives. The second stage involved the study of the case records, prosecution records and Annual Reports. In the third and final phase I analysed the data and interviewed retired RSSPCC staff. I discussed with them my reflections on the themes of this study.

Figure 4.1 Data Sources



Confidentiality and ethical issues were important in all the stages of the study and are therefore discussed first. The chapter follows the sequence of the study and has four sections; ethical issues and phases one, two and three of the study.

4.1 Ethics and confidentiality

This study originated in a confidential piece of work I undertook with the RSSPCC. The final report of that project has remained confidential to the RSSPCC staff and management. The material discussed in this study is concerned with the development and practice of the Society and the confidentiality of the post Orkney issues discussed in the West of Scotland Report (Robinson, 1994) has been respected.

At all stages of this study the confidentiality of staff and service users was respected. No one who took part in the study can be identified, apart from the Chief Executive and his depute who gave consent for their views to be quoted. In the first phase of the study staff did not want to be identified as they felt that this could restrict their opportunities to comment critically on the process of change within the organisation. To protect their confidentiality the gender of staff was not identified in the writing up of the study. This was not an example of gender insensitivity (Eichler, 1988)¹ but because the sex of respondents could have been an identifying factor. Gender was a significant area for this study as, unlike most social work intervention, the work with families was (until the mid 1970s) undertaken primarily by men with the volunteers being women, the Women Visitors. This aspect of the agency's work is part of the analysis but is included in a way which preserved the confidentiality of staff.

The confidentiality of the families, who could not be consulted about their records being studied, has been preserved with the utmost care. All records studied preceded the Access to Personal Files (Social Work) (Scotland) Regulations, 1987. The Chief Executive of the RSSPCC gave consent for this study.² The records quoted give no clues to the identity of the families. The whereabouts, initials and details of the families have

¹ Eichler, (1988) identified that disregarding gender was found frequently within research. She identified a series of categories to address this within research. Eichler's work has subsequently been challenged as lacking a critical and creative approach to women within research data and reports, Stanley and Wise, (1993).

² Appendix 3 Chapter 2

been presented in a way which disguises their identities. Material on family size, distribution within Glasgow and patterns of prosecution are provided in statistical form in such a way that it cannot be linked to the references to families in the text of the study. The gender of family members has been included, because the roles of mothers and fathers are crucial to the analysis. However with such a large sample of archives (1,500) gender was not an identifying factor. The study discovered changing patterns of prosecution. As the numbers declined during the later part of the 1960s, the proportion of women prosecuted increased. The final years of prosecutions by the RSSPCC (1970-1975) concern only small numbers and therefore any case material from these is used with utmost caution to ensure the women concerned cannot be identified, even indirectly.

One of the reasons for the destruction of much of the archive material by the RSSPCC management was their concern about the sensitive nature of the material. When reading archives I did not note the family's name or address. I gave each case a number so I could refer to them again if needed. The records, particularly the later ones, included amounts of third party information, letters to and from other professionals such as doctors, schools and hospitals. Since increasing inter-agency work was a key feature of the Society's changing role in child protection, reference to and extracts from these are included. Care has been taken to ensure that the correspondents and extracts cannot be identified and are used only to illustrate changing trends e.g. the use of the term 'baby battering'.

There were fewer recent case records in the archives³ and this increased the need for vigilance in ensuring confidentiality. Therefore I withheld or restricted data in two areas, families from minority ethnic communities and cases of child sexual abuse. The RSSPCC worked intensively with a small number of minority ethnic community

³ The numbers for 1975-1983 were 261 and for 1984-1989 were 150.

families to get them re-housed away from Glasgow's perimeter housing schemes, notably Castlemilk and Easterhouse. This work is discussed in broad terms to ensure that the circumstances or families cannot be identified. The data concerning late 1980s cases of child sexual abuse amounted to 87 case records. The child sexual abuse work in these cases has not been included in the analysis of practice except in the most general way i.e. reason for intervention and outcomes. There are no direct references to the data or quotations from the records. This ensures the confidentiality of relatively recent work and eliminates any possibility of the families or staff being identified.

The first phase of the study was concerned with the organisation and management of work within the RSSPCC teams. Volunteers and service users were not involved. I raised the possibility of the involvement of service users in the review of services but the staff opposed their inclusion. The participation of service users in research has ethical and practical implications (Sieber, 1993) and to have included them in discussion of issues relating to the management and provision of services was not felt to be appropriate. The staff were vigilant in seeking to include their interpretation of the views and needs of service users. However there is little evidence to suggest that social workers are particularly skilled at identifying and interpreting the views of service users and a considerable body demonstrates that they are not (Rees and Wallace, 1988; Dominelli, 1995; Holman, 1998; Mullaly, 1999). I had hoped for a group of service users to be consulted about the future role and purpose of the Society. However the lack of clarity at that stage as to who were the service users made it difficult to identify a group whose views could be expressed.

In the remainder of the study service users were both centrally present and totally absent. This paradox reflects the aim of the study, which was not to measure or assess standards of practice or consumer satisfaction but to seek to understand changing discourses of practice and of the family within the work of the RSSPCC staff. The recipients of the

service were central in that their domestic circumstances, family patterns and responses to intervention were detailed in depth in the archive material. They were absent in that they had no 'voice' of their own. Their responses, views, experiences were reflected through the eyes of the staff and volunteers who worked with them.

In his study of the history of the RSSPCC Ashley (1985) advertised in the media for recipients of the RSSPCC services to volunteer information about their experiences. Ashley describes the response as, *overwhelming and the following selection of information must be regarded only as a token illustration of the interest aroused.* (Ashley, 1985:171) He did not however state the number of letters received. He provides extracts from both positive and negative experiences of the Society. Some of these have been quoted in this study as part of the analysis of the reflection of families' responses to intervention.

In the first phase of the study all staff, including administrative and clerical workers, volunteered to be interviewed. I considered the four major elements of informed consent; competence, voluntarism, full information and comprehension (Reynolds, 1979) and all were present in this study. Furthermore the staff identified the questions they wished to be asked (Appendix 19). The long-serving and retired RSSPCC staff who took part in interviews for phase three of the study all volunteered to take part in discussing issues which had been identified from studying the archives (Appendix 20). Before interviewing RSSPCC staff I recognised the issues of sensitivity in the nature of my research. Sieber (1993) defined sensitive research: *as studies in which there are potential consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research.* (Sieber, 1993:4) Sieber did not define the nature of the consequences or implications. Renezzetti and Lee (1993) suggested that sensitive topics are those which involve a threat to the subjects. They may also be threatening to the researcher and they suggested the following

definition:

A sensitive topic is one that potentially poses for those involved a substantial threat, the emergence of which renders problematic for the researcher and or the researched collection, holding and/or dissemination of research data. (Renezetti & Lee, 1993:5)

The personal impact of researching child abuse is noted in Chapter 2. This study identified extensive evidence of a range of forms of abuse towards children and their families. The ethical implications of presenting this evidence were considered carefully. There was extensive detail of neglect, accidents (e.g. from unprotected coal fires) and physical violence in the accounts of the 1960s. The evidence from the case records of the 1960s demonstrated widespread family violence, either accidental or intentional. The 1980s case records demonstrated evidence of child sexual abuse which was recognised and acknowledged explicitly. The earlier records gave glimpses of what could now be interpreted as indicators of child sexual abuse. The interpretation of data is discussed later in this section.

During the interviews in stage three, some long serving staff acknowledged that with the benefit of hindsight, they might not have recognised some aspects of abuse within the families with whom they worked. These staff volunteered to take part in the interviews and knew they were to discuss reflections on the data. Most volunteered the information that when they looked back their work they recognised now what might have been evidence of child abuse. They acknowledged that awareness of child abuse has developed rapidly since they were practitioners. This did not appear to create any particular distress to them. Those who volunteered appeared to be pleased that their work was being considered and reported. Reynolds (1979) identified the importance of ethical considerations of participation effects in research. These concern the individuals who take part and the wider impact on the field of knowledge.

The participants may be indirectly affected if the research results are the basis for new attitudes towards social categories

of individuals, attitudes that may affect administrative or policy decisions. (Reynolds, 1979:218)

As noted earlier the social problems identified within this study were already within the public domain. The extent of violence within the city of Glasgow is documented elsewhere (Devine,1999).⁴ There is debate as to the extent of racism and sectarianism within the West of Scotland, but there are not, in my view, any ethical difficulties in presenting further evidence that some groups of people were harassed and oppressed by their neighbours. The ethical implications of child sexual abuse portrayed within the records are addressed and as noted earlier, the details of 87 cases have not been included in the study. The requirement to ensure the confidentiality of the data imposed some restrictions on the presentation of the data. The RSSPCC's management concern about the content of the post 1975 archives led to the destruction of the majority of the case records and had implications for the ways in which some of the archival material was collected.

4.2 Phase One of the Study

The methods which I used initially are relevant to understanding the later development of this study. I responded to the invitation to work with the staff team at the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland by meeting with the whole team. In a 'storming' session with the staff team a range of issues was identified (Appendix 21). The atmosphere of the meeting was one of cynicism and a mixture of anger and despair. The only way forward appeared to be to adopt an 'action research' approach. I considered Zuber-Skerritt's (1996) three types of action research: firstly, technical which aims to improve the effectiveness of educational or managerial experience. The practitioners are co-opted and rely on the researcher as a facilitator. The second type, practical - seeks to develop and enhance understanding by the practitioners. The researcher's role is to encourage

⁴ A recently published study, Glasgow Herald, (1.12.2000) found Glasgow to be one of the most violent cities in Western Europe rated on murders and severe assaults, Strathclyde Police (2000).

participation and self-reflection. The third type is emancipatory which seeks to include the principles outlined above and also to promote transformation and change within the existing boundaries and conditions. This seemed to have the most to offer the RSSPCC review of services. The importance of action research for me is summed up as follows:

Action research is research into practice, by practitioners, for practitioners... In action research, all actors involved in the research process are equal participants, and must be involved in every stage of the research... The kind of involvement required is collaborative involvement. (Grundy and Kemnis, 1988:87)

Action research is not a method, but an approach to research, which can use a range of methods.

Data collection methods for use by action researchers need to be easy to manage and non-intrusive for clients; to include opportunity for current reflection and to provide adequate information on the phenomena under study... The answer is to use more than one method. (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996:5)

In consultation with the staff group three methods were chosen: interviews, focus groups and documentary analysis. Gender issues emerged rapidly in the focus groups, both in terms of the role and position of women in the organisation and the impact of child sexual abuse work. A feminist approach was important; the framework of which is outlined in Chapter 3.

The staff were keen to be able to discuss their views individually and the interview seemed the most 'natural' and appropriate way of proceeding. The development of the interview in social science research has a long history and much has been written about rationale and techniques, (e.g. Anderson, 1983; Cicourel, 1964; Foddy, 1994; Burton, 1999). Alasuutari (1999) argued that the history of the social sciences could be written as the development of different uses and perspectives on conversation both as a method and as part of the social reality being studied. The interview as a method of data collection has been called the 'factist' perspective by Alasuutari (1999) which views

language as a channel through which information is conveyed. Foddy (1993) has been critical of the lack of attention paid to question formation in social research, pointing to neglect of the complexity involved in question-answer behaviour, which involves, *complex interrelationships between sociological, psychological and linguistic variables.* (Foddy, 1993:xi) He recognised that researchers need not only to consider the questions to be asked but also the kinds of answers which are expected. Symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969) has informed interviewing by recognising the influence of interaction between the researcher and interviewer. The perception of the way in which the researcher is seen will influence their answers. In the first phase of this study I sought to address these issues by engaging the participants in the research design and process. The subjects knew why the questions were being asked and since they were open ended ones, they had the opportunity to introduce their own perspectives on the subject.

Answering questions is a form of self-presentation and reflects personal and or professional identity. The main task for the subject in any interview is to understand the meaning of the interviewer's questions. *The qualitative research interview seeks to describe and understand the meaning of central themes in the life and world of the subjects.* (Kvale, 1996:31). Bryman (1988) wrote about the complexity of gaining entry and trust in organisational research. In the first phase of this study all⁵ of the staff took part voluntarily. Interviews were conducted in work time in a quiet interview room. I did not tape record the first phase interviews. Despite the extensive consultation process, there was still a degree of concern and suspicion on the part of many staff who participated and at the planning group taping of interviews was opposed. Some researchers, (e.g. Guba and Lincoln, 1982) have suggested that taping and note taking are inter-changeable, making little difference to the outcome. Sanger (1998) argued that

⁵ The study involved every member of staff in the West of Scotland, including administrative staff. Despite some initial reluctance to become involved in the project, every member of staff took part in an interview and one person who was on sick leave wrote a long and detailed letter about their views on the issues of the study.

they are different methods with different implications. *The choice is better understood as an issue embedded in differing rationales...* (Sanger,1998:65) Sanger argued that the tape recorder frees the interviewer to concentrate on the content of the interview and upon non-verbal clues and guarantees an accurate record. However in keeping with the empowerment model chosen, the views of the staff took precedence. To address the limitations of note taking, all participants received draft copies of the report of the study and their comments and alterations to the text were integrated into the final report. Interviews conducted in stage three of the study were tape-recorded and will be discussed later in this chapter.

I considered possible influences on the respondents and drew upon Dean and Whyte's (1984) four factors⁶ likely to influence the informant's reporting of their views. Staff who were interviewed, especially those in non-management positions, expressed views which ranged from cynicism about the organisation's future to enthusiasm for new ideas and approaches. There was no sense of staff having motives other than that of expressing their views and feelings on the chosen areas. All staff were guaranteed confidentiality. Senior staff were happy to be quoted. In the early stages of the action research project the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust spread to my role. Some staff were openly sceptical about confidentiality and believed I was a friend of a senior member of the RSSPCC staff. The openness of the research process through the regular focus group and sub group meetings enabled issues of concern to be raised. Once it was confirmed that I was not a personal friend of anyone in the Society, trust improved. Discussion with staff at an early stage of the way in which the study would be written up also reassured them that their specific comments would remain confidential. I explained that comments, particularly of a critical kind, would not be attributed nor would I identify the gender of staff in my report. As there were fewer male staff than women, this strategy reduced the possibility of identification. The desire to please the interviewer

⁶ Ulterior motives, bars to spontaneity, desire to please the interviewer, idiosyncratic factors.

has been thought to distort the findings of interviews within social research. There was no indication that any of the subjects wished to please me. They appeared more concerned with expressing their views about the organisation of the RSSPCC.

Idiosyncratic factors which influence research are, by their very nature, difficult to recognise. However, none appeared to be present in this study. The majority of interviewees gave time and careful thought to their responses. There were patterns and consistency within the responses which suggested 'credible' data,⁷ was being obtained. The opportunity to use the archives to substantiate claims by staff about recording, practice and gender 'discrimination' also served to confirm and develop themes from staff interviews.

The focus groups formed at the beginning of the first phase of the study⁸ had an important function in enabling me to plan and reflect upon the data. Focus groups are invariably used to collect qualitative data (Kitzinger, 1994; Knodel, 1993) and are important for developing grounded theory. The focus groups also confirmed my interpretation of the interviews by commenting upon the drafts of the final report (Robinson 1994). The focus groups were not tape-recorded. As with the interviews, there still was suspicion by staff that management would find out what they were saying. A flip chart was used to summarise key themes and the participants were able to agree that an accurate or credible record was being achieved. The focus groups had the advantage of enhancing the opportunities for basic grade staff to participate and be heard in the research process. The drawbacks of focus groups can be that the results may be affected or influenced by a dominant group member (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1991). There was no indication of the groups in this study being dominated by one person. There were animated and at times tense discussions with the group. The time

⁷ The concept of 'validity' is not used here. Ely et al, (1998) suggest using the term credible to remind ourselves of the issues and process of qualitative research.

⁸ The staff of the RSSPCC determined the composition of the groups.

which I spent within the organisation was important to gaining the trust of the staff. I was not a participant observer; my role was closer to an 'ethnographic' one⁹ i.e. that of 'getting alongside' the subjects, Hammersley (1992) identified the key assumptions as follows:

Human behaviour can only be understood by doing research in 'real life' settings. The cultural contexts are important. Research is not so much about testing hypotheses as understanding the meaning and motivation, which underlie behaviour. (Hammersley, 1992:29)

4.3. Phase Two - Documentary sources

I felt it would deepen my understanding of the organisation if I reviewed a sample of documentary sources. I looked at a selection of case and prosecution records and Annual Reports of the RSSPCC. Studying documents is an interpretative endeavour. Schlechty and Noblit (1982:153) argue that an interpretation can have three forms: making the obvious obvious, making the obvious dubious, making the hidden obvious. I was hoping to do all three. Interpretative explanations are narratives through which the meanings of social phenomena are revealed. Plummer (1983) suggests that all explanation is essentially comparative and takes the form of translation. Studying records and archives is similarly an exercise in translation. I was seeking to make sense of the records, but not to assess how accurately they reflected day to day work with families. As Plummer noted, *all recording is a construction of events and is influenced by the perceptions of the individual, their role within an organisation and the reasons and expectations of the document being produced.* (Plummer, 1983:26) When working on the case records I kept these factors in mind. The archival material available is outlined in Chapter 2. In phase one of the study, I browsed through a random selection

⁹ Ethnography - Hammersley and Atkinson (1992) begins his book by noting that ethnography is not always defined clearly, and that it is a debated term. The term has been used to refer a method and/or a general approach to research. Some researchers do not research the whole culture and do not identify their research as 'ethnography' but as using ethnographic methods. The underlying assumptions of ethnography, phenomenology, emphasises the focus on the subjective world of people and upon their experiences and assumptions.

of the case records. Once I began my PhD studies I approached the records systematically. I began with the case records from 1960 to 1970. I read a thousand case papers written by RSSPCC staff between 1960 and 1970. I selected them in four ways:

- i) In groups of ten i.e. the first ten cases of each month to gain a sense of the volume and nature of referrals.
- ii) To achieve random selection of cases every twentieth case was selected from the incident book and then traced to record boxes; only 22 were missing.
- iii) One group of case records covered parts of rural Lanarkshire and I read all of the forty case papers to gain a picture of work with travelling families.¹⁰
- iv) Families subject to prosecution. The prosecutions register could be cross-indexed with the incident book and therefore it was possible to identify the records of families where fathers (usually) were prosecuted and the patterns of intervention around these events.

I read the records from 1970 to 1989 after those from the 1960s and they are discussed later in this section. The following considerations are relevant to all the archives studied. The data collected from the archives was qualitative and quantitative and the different approaches to data collection are discussed separately. I drew upon available material on the use of documents in social research. The literature on this topic has not been extensive; two of the most relevant sources were Plummer (1983) and Platt (1981).

Platt (1981) noted that documentary research does not constitute a method, but that the use of documents poses distinctive problems for the researcher. She identified four issues which require to be addressed to establish the credibility of the material namely: the authority and the availability of the documents, problems of sampling and accuracy of representation. The archives contained a wealth of data, which had remained within the care of the RSSPCC. There was no doubt about the authenticity of the records.

¹⁰ The RSSPCC had a long established commitment to working with travelling families and when I found a group of case records from the early 1960s I included all of them in this study.

Staff who had personal experience of them could comment on their usage and subsequent storage.

At the beginning of this study all the archives, except those noted in Chapter 2, were available. Chapter 2 describes how the availability of post 1975 records was restricted for reasons not connected with this study. The implications of the destruction of the later archives are discussed in following sections. Platt (1981) suggests that the problem of abundant archival sources should be solved by 'controlled selection' i.e. choosing on principles which are unconnected with the research questions, and that a total survey should be undertaken. I sampled initially by randomly choosing cases. The archive was well organised and it was possible to cross-index from the ledgers. Most of the archives covered work in urban areas and when I discovered a group of archives covering rural practice with travelling families, I read the box full of forty case papers.

Platt (1981) noted that the question of when to stop is complex. She suggested that a decision to stop should be made when all potential types of sources have been thoroughly sampled and several further instances do not bring anything fresh to light. I studied a thousand of the 1960s records, before I felt confident that patterns of practice could be identified and fresh themes were not emerging. At the early stages, the data was collated rather than analysed. I made lists and notes of the key elements. The processing and analysis of the data is discussed later in this chapter.

The format of the pre-1975 records is set out in Chapter 2. After 1975 there were significant changes brought about by the introduction of a new assessment form. This replaced the old front sheet and was a four-sided form with a wide range of possible family circumstances and problems for the worker to tick. For the first time the records gave a recognised space for the occupation of mother as well as father. Illegitimate children were no longer underlined in red ink. The impact of this new form of

assessment is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

The later records, post 1975, were fewer in number reflecting the declining workload of the RSSPCC. The volume and detail of the records was reduced, reflecting changing attitudes towards recording. As discussed in Chapter 2, once it was decided to destroy the majority of these records, I systematically read them onto audiotape. The reason for audio taping was to save time. I had limited time available before the later archives were to be destroyed. As I could not record everything from the case records I was selecting areas to include as I studied the papers. The early thoughts I had formed focused on the roles and expectations of women, the presence of children and patterns of practice. I therefore concentrated on these areas when recording the later archives.

I collected data from the archives in two ways, qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data was abundant; there were accounts of visits, descriptions of homes, reaction of families. The following extract from my research notes gives the initial impressions of the data after reading 300 cases.

Records give very clear account of the state of the home. The descriptions of overcrowding, poverty and lack of cleanliness are graphic. The time of the visits reveals a lot of visiting late in the evening and weekends, Christmas 1961 and visits on Boxing Day, and the day after New Year. The people in the house are accounted for whether present or not and where they were e.g. 'the children were huddled by the fire, there was no guard'. 'The baby was seen in the bedroom'. 'The father was in the bath'. The mother is implicitly seen as the centre of the family, in terms of food in the cupboard, state of the house and children. There are comments about mother's morality, use of language, type of mothering etc. Far fewer comments about men's behaviour, most entries are usually in relation to alcohol and employment. Few comments about extended family, grandparent's etc. - more would have been expected.

Concern for children was very clear, but expressed in physical terms, one record commented with surprise that the child had initiated a conversation which was seen as evidence of the child's extreme unhappiness at home. There was very little reference to schools apart from comment on attendance. A lot of work on finance, advice, liaison, holidays, material help. Accompanying parents e.g. to NAB, collect wages, factor, often role of women visitors. (Research Notes March 1994).

I kept extensive notes of the detail of families; intervention and the way in which the work of the RSSPCC was described i.e. the way in which language was used.

4.3.i. Quantitative Data

Quantitative data was collected two ways, from the whole archive and from selected samples of 100 cases. This enabled me to explore specific areas in depth, for example the nature of advice given to families. Data on the following areas was collected:

Family size and composition ¹¹	(n = 1,500)
Numbers of children	(n = 4897)
Girls	(n = 2547)
Boys	(n = 2350)
Location of children, if not living at home	(n = 336)
Religion ¹²	(n = 1,398)
Locality e.g. Govan, Easterhouse	(n = 1,500)
Reasons for referral	(n = 1,500)
Number, dates and timing of visits ¹³	(n = 100: 1960-1970) (n = 100: 1971-1980) (n = 100: 1981-1989)
Family responses to intervention	(n = 100: 1960) (n = 100: 1964) (n = 100: 1968) (n = 100: 1972) (n = 100: 1975) (n = 100: 1980/1) (n = 100: 1985/9) ¹⁴
Outcomes e.g. stated reason for closing case	(n = 1,500)

¹¹ There did not appear to be data missing in these categories, which indicates the meticulous detail of the RSSPCC records.

¹² Data on religion was missing in some of the later records.

¹³ I selected samples of 100 cases to analyse in depth these issues

¹⁴ Due to the smaller number of available case records these years are grouped together.

Patterns of intervention e.g. 'warning'¹⁵ (n = 200: 1960-1989)

Occupation of fathers¹⁶ (n = 1243: 1960-1989)

Prosecutions - dates, numbers, gender of person prosecuted (n = 200)

4.4. Evaluating the Archives as a source of data

As noted at the beginning of this section, all records are 'reconstructions' (Rock, 1979) and understanding them relies on interpretation of their contents. I adopted Narroll's (1991) seven criteria for evaluating archives as sources of data. Not all of his seven criteria¹⁷ are relevant but three areas discussed below are helpful in considering the content of the RSSPCC archives. The first, the time lapse between the event and the report, is an issue in social work recording, as the worker's memory for detail may affect the matters recorded. The case records of the 1960s were hand-written accounts of the inspectors' contact with families. The time lapse between visits to the families and the writing of the records is not known exactly. I asked the staff who had been responsible for writing them and they reported writing them immediately on returning to the office, or shortly afterwards. The later, post 1979, records were presented differently, there were fewer detailed accounts of living conditions and more summaries. The staff explained that confidentiality was the reason for their brevity. Furthermore, the staff said they were written days or weeks after the visit.

¹⁵ The 'warning' was such a crucial aspect practice I studied the process and use of language in the records in depth in 200 cases.

¹⁶ Mothers' occupations were not recorded before 1975.

¹⁷ Narroll (1991)

- i) Time lapse between the event and the report
- ii) The extent to which the author had a professional stake in the report
- iii) The extent of agreement between authors with opposing views
- iv) The proximity of the author to the recorded event
- v) The intensity of involvement of the author with the event
- vi) The degree of relevant experience of the author
- vii) The degree of explicitness of the report

Naroll's second criterion was the author's stake in the report. The RSSPCC records reflected the practice of staff within the constraints and expectations of their agency. As discussed in Chapter 6 social work recording is an under researched area (Birchall, 1992). There has been little guidance for social workers on how to write records. Agencies have tended to develop 'house styles', which are then adopted by new workers¹⁸.

The third factor in evaluating the strength of archive material is the explicitness of the material. The reports up to the mid 1970s were detailed in terms of their accounts of families, living conditions and action taken by the staff. Later reports were less detailed but still explained the work being undertaken. Some areas, for example the interaction with and expectations of children, were not very explicit and the possible reasons for this are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. The later records, post 1985 were much less detailed, reflecting changing priorities and attitudes towards recording. Assessed by these criteria, the archives could be regarded as representing accurately staff constructions of their work with families. One of the crucial aspects of the analysis of the case records is what was not recorded. The omission of reference to the gender of children, for example, was an intriguing part of the trying to 'make sense' of the work of the RSSPCC.

The processing of the data was complex, partly due to the volume of data and also because I was concerned with what was absent in the records as well as what was present. I used the package Ethnograph (Fielding and Lee, 1997) for some data analysis; for example I developed code categories for 'warning', 'careless mothers', and 'gifts' (i.e. material aid). The computer was then able to search for specific words and phrases.

¹⁸ The high degree of consistency of style and use of language in the RSSPCC records suggests that recording was a key aspect of practice. The style in the records changes in each 'paradigm of practice' but in a consistent fashion. The least consistent patterns are found in the later, post 1985 records. I realise now that I could have asked more questions about how the staff were trained to record.

This method enabled me to identify key themes, which could be stored and retrieved. The package was useful for the data which was recorded in the archives, but I had also made extensive hand-written notes, and used coloured pens to highlight themes. As Tesch (1990) suggested data analysis is often viewed in positivist terms.

For the most part, concrete ways of handling data have been passed on from one researcher generation to the next by word of mouth. It is not very glamorous to talk in a scholarly book about piles of paper, stocks of index cards, newsprint sheets on the living room walls, and coloured pens. (Tesch,1990:128)

The archivists working for Glasgow Caledonian University developed fields from the data. The Glasgow Caledonian University database stopped at 1975 but was nevertheless useful for making some comparisons.

The characteristics of the families were relatively straightforward to collect and process and are discussed in Chapter 5. The analysis of the qualitative material from the case records was more complex. Lofland and Lofland, (1984) suggest that one of the results of the qualitative process is finding a 'transcendent view'. I developed the paradigms of practice and the continuum of intervention as part of developing a 'transcendent view' of the data.

4. 5. Interpreting the Case Records

Ely et al (1997) referred to this process as being like the journey of a mountaineer, the higher the altitude the better the view. I was aware of the term 'bracketing' (Giorgi, 1985) which involves the researcher in recognising assumptions and personal opinions about the data and then putting them on one side in the analysis of the data. 'Bracketing' was relevant to this study in terms of recognising that the past cannot be judged by the standards of the present. Perhaps inevitably I began with some assumptions about 'Glasgow life' in the 1960s. One such assumption was that there were clear gender divisions between children in terms of expectations e.g. boys would bring in the coal and girls help with the cleaning. That these were not immediately apparent within the

archives was of interest. This led me to further consideration and searching for references to children with the records. This is discussed later in the study in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

I was aware of using comparison (Tesch, 1990) as a tool for making sense of the data. Comparison in this study was crucial within a particular period e.g. the responses to and from particular families to intervention and between the decades. As Ely et al (1997) recognise, themes in research do not 'emerge',

...if we look hard enough they will 'emerge' like Venus on the half shell. If themes 'reside' anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them (Ely et al 1997:206)

As my study proceeded I developed metathemes. These are major constructs which identify 'overarching' themes which can be related to literature and wider experience. Ely et al (1997) describe,

writing our way towards understandings which provides us researchers with a way to tap into the kind of meanings that exist for us both within the field and in our relationship to it. We have teased out two labels for memos to distinguish different processes at work - reflective and analytic. (Ely et al, 1997:27-28)

I produced reflective notes by re-reading my field work notes and editing them. I looked at issues and queried assumptions and problems. I drew upon the work of Ely et al (1997) who referred to 'stances' as:

The various perspectives through which we frame the collection and interpretation of data or as we will suggest through the metaphor angle of response, those that influence how and what we see and the interpretations in writing that arise from that seeing. (Ely et al,1997:32)

They discussed how traditionally many researchers wrote a theoretical framework at the outset of their research. As discussed in the previous chapter, mine grew and developed with the research journey. I recognised that all data are open to interpretation, and what

is noticed, selected and focused upon in this study of the work of the RSSPCC arose from my perceptions.

Self is implicated in where we position ourselves, it is important to tackle the issue of how 'truth' can be found and how 'validity' and 'reliability' can be gleaned from one person's interpretations of qualitative data. (Wolcott, 1992:46)

The account of the struggles and difficulties of this project are related not only to my struggles as a researcher, but also the changes within the RSSPCC. My response to the imminent destruction of the later archival material (1975 onwards) was to read extracts onto tape, rather than browsing and making notes. There were fewer records than the 1960s but nevertheless it was not possible to read everything in the files onto tape. Therefore I had to select rather rapidly what to dictate. The theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 3 influenced what I selected. Foucault's (1972) proposition that organisations should be studied from the 'bottom up' and Donzelot's (1977) search for the 'social' in the 'new contours' prompted my search for the smallest of details. For example reference to the provision of material aid to families was often 'tucked away' at the end of a sentence, *the mother was advised on the provision of a nourishing stew, vegetables were left.* (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:389) I identified these, as 'meaning units'. Atkinson, (1992) suggested that analysis in qualitative research seeks to discover the smallest elements into which something can be reduced and still retain meaning when taken out of context and then to discover the relationship between the elements. These smallest units have been described as 'meaning units' in Anzul, Friedman et al, (1991:87). A meaning unit may be a sentence or a paragraph but also may be a word or phrase, which has particular meaning for the researcher.

An important 'meaning unit' within the archives of the RSSPCC was either 'warned' or 'severely warned'. Taken in isolation it suggested something or somebody was warned but within the context of the Society's work it was not only a process but also an

outcome. Of the 1,500 records which I studied 73% of parents were 'warned'. The 'warning' is an important 'meaning unit' appearing with frequency in accounts of pre-prosecution work with families and in the incident book.

The attitudes towards women reflected in the records together with the expectations of 'mothers' changed over the period of the study. These were recognised by different advice and instruction in different decades. A feminist view upon the data alerted me to these themes and 'meaning units' were identified around the issues of 'mothering' and home making.

The changing use of language within the case records was identified early in my reading. Bourdieu's (1992) work on 'linguistic capital' made me thoughtful about how families were described and conclusions reached. Therefore the reading of the case records involved looking at the way in which themes were expressed. Some terms for example 'warning' was constant up until the early 1980s, after which parents appear to have been '*reminded of their responsibilities.*'

4.6. Phase Three of the Study

The third stage of the study involved the reflection and analysis of the data. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to conduct interviews and discuss aspects of their work with RSSPCC staff who had retired or who were about to retire after many years of service. I got to know them when undertaking the first stage of the study. They volunteered to be part of the later study and also put me in touch with retired colleagues who were also interested in participating. The inferences which can be drawn from accounts of professional practice are always contested and these are discussed at different stages throughout the study. The interviews I undertook with long serving staff in phase three of the study were important in testing out tentative inferences being drawn from the archives. Between them the interviewees had over 150 years experience of the RSSPCC. Further details of this group are not provided to preserve

confidentiality.

The interviews were semi-structured and were longer than the previous ones, lasting up to two hours and were tape-recorded. Sanger (1996) made the point that data analysis permeates everything researchers do and these interviews were based on preliminary analysis of the data. They were an attempt to further that analysis by both developing and clarifying themes and seeking additional factual information e.g. how the records were written up. In summary, these interviews provided additional and valuable perspectives on the work of the RSSPCC.

4.7. Presenting the Material

This study has sought to combine three approaches to presenting the material. The first approach was to employ a systematic method, giving a general account rather than to show the RSSPCC's operation at each individual point. I sought to give a natural history of the conclusions, including the typical form the data took at each stage. The second approach was similar to the use of footnotes by historians *giving specific accounts of relevant aspects of methods in relation to individual conclusions*. (Platt, 1981:61) The disadvantages of this approach are that it can become very cumbersome. Therefore I adopted a third approach which was to write in a style supported by illustrations. The illustrations were selected as being qualitatively representative of all the data available.

In respect of the large volume of the case records, I used sampling and coding. Each case record was numbered and the year of the subject matter noted. Many records covered a number of years. Examples were explained with a note of whether they were all that was available or a selection from a larger group. For example, most families in the 1960s were '*warned*' so different types of warning were selected. The interpretations of the data were discussed throughout the analysis of the findings.

The paradox of the 'presence' of children was one of the most striking aspects of early reading of the archives. Initially it was my impression that there were few records of dialogue or engagement with children on specific issues. By systematic searching for such engagement I found that either the staff did speak to the children but did not record it or they spoke mainly to the adults. In either case children were absent from the archives.

Van Maanen (1983) identified the important aim of qualitative writing as being to identify what he called 'evocation', the idea of essence - seeking to reach the heart of the matter. The combination of factual information about the RSSPCC families, together with extracts from the case records and the recognition of themes and patterns seek to convey the essence of the material.

Conclusion

This chapter begins by recognising both the importance and complexity of the issues of confidentiality and ethics within the study. The ways in which the RSSPCC staff were involved is outlined, and the ethical implications for them are addressed. There are no simple answers to writing about child abuse, and to ensure absolute confidentiality of families and staff the details of 87 cases were excluded from the analysis. For the same reasons work with families from minority ethnic community families in the 1980s has been treated within a broad perspective. The other relatively small source, the records of travelling families in the 1960s has been discussed. The greater time lapse and the exclusion of any references to their specific locations ensure their confidentiality.

The three phases of the study and the methods deployed within each are discussed. One of the most valuable aspects of the study was the opportunity I had to share and discuss impressions and findings from the case records with retired RSSPCC staff. The study collected quantitative data on family composition and outcomes and these are presented

in the next chapter to describe the contexts of family lives.

There was a number of 'puzzles' or unanswered questions, which arose from studying the case records and official reports of the RSSPCC. These are discussed later in the study.

Parr (1998) warned against trying to

force a neat, coherent story if one is not forthcoming, this is especially the case in research that aims for a better understanding of social processes which are subject to contingencies, change and development. (Parr, 1998:117)

Chapter 5

'RSSPCC Families'

There was a time, early in the history of the Society, when the belief prevailed that there was too much interference with what is described as 'the liberty of the parents.' (SSPCC Annual Report, 1896)

There are three main sections in this chapter; the first sets out the family composition and living conditions of RSSPCC families¹, the second, the reasons why the families came to the attention of the RSSPCC and thirdly the identities of those who instigated the referrals.

Throughout the decades of this study, and from the beginning of the RSSPCC - the families² were poor and working class. As far back as 1896 the RSSPCC recognised that cruelty and neglect were *not confined to the poorer classes but have been found to exist in quarters where a very different conduct might have been expected.* (SSPCC Annual Report, 1896) The RSSPCC however, intervened rarely in those families whose conduct should have been different, and concentrated on those from whom less was expected. The ways in which family contact with the Society were recorded formally by the Society changed quite frequently within the three decades. The people who brought families to the attention of the Society changed very little, the majority of referrals come from mothers, fathers and neighbours; most identified themselves at the time of referral. However as the decades progressed more family members and neighbours resorted to anonymity when they contacted the Society.³

¹ The families who were the subject of this study are referred to as RSSPCC families.

² The period 1960-1990 was of significant change in family composition. It is inappropriate to talk about the 'family' as if there is one universal entity - the term has been debated extensively (Giddens 1995).

³ Anonymous referrals were retained on the case files and therefore it was possible to discern the source, e.g. a relative or neighbour who did not want to be identified.

5.1 Profiles of the RSSPCC families

In the 1960s and 1970s 98% of the RSSPCC families were white (n = 1350). The exceptions were nurses from African countries Ghana and Nigeria, who worked at the local hospitals and experienced difficulties caring for their children. Intervention was brief and the women were referred to Quarriers' Homes.⁴ The pattern of migration to Scotland differed from England and Wales (Mann 1996). There was an influx of people from Ireland in the mid nineteenth century which had implications for the development of religious conflicts. There were riots against incoming Irish families in the 1850s and attacks against African seamen in Glasgow in 1891 suggesting that racism in Scotland is not a recent phenomenon (Armstrong 1989). People from the New Commonwealth countries came to Scotland in the late 1960s (Mann 1996) and did not feature in the work of the RSSPCC until the next decade. The accounts of lives of travelling families were the only available records in the 1960s of people from minority ethnic communities. In the 1980s minority ethnic community families accounted for 10% of the families with whom the RSSPCC worked. The remainder of the families were white.

RSSPCC families had an average of 3.26 children throughout the decades of the study. The average number of children in families in each decade is set out in Table 5.1. The average family size in the United Kingdom between 1960-1969 was 2.8 children (Coleman and Salt, 1997:45), they noted that family size in Scotland reduced more slowly than in the rest of the United Kingdom and therefore RSSPCC families were typical in size of families in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

⁴ The Scottish industrialist and philanthropist founded Quarriers Homes in the 19th Century. They provided homes for babies and children in Scotland up to the late 1970s when in company with other voluntary child care organisations their focus changed to specialist provision.

Table 5.1: Average number of children in RSSPCC families 1960-1989.

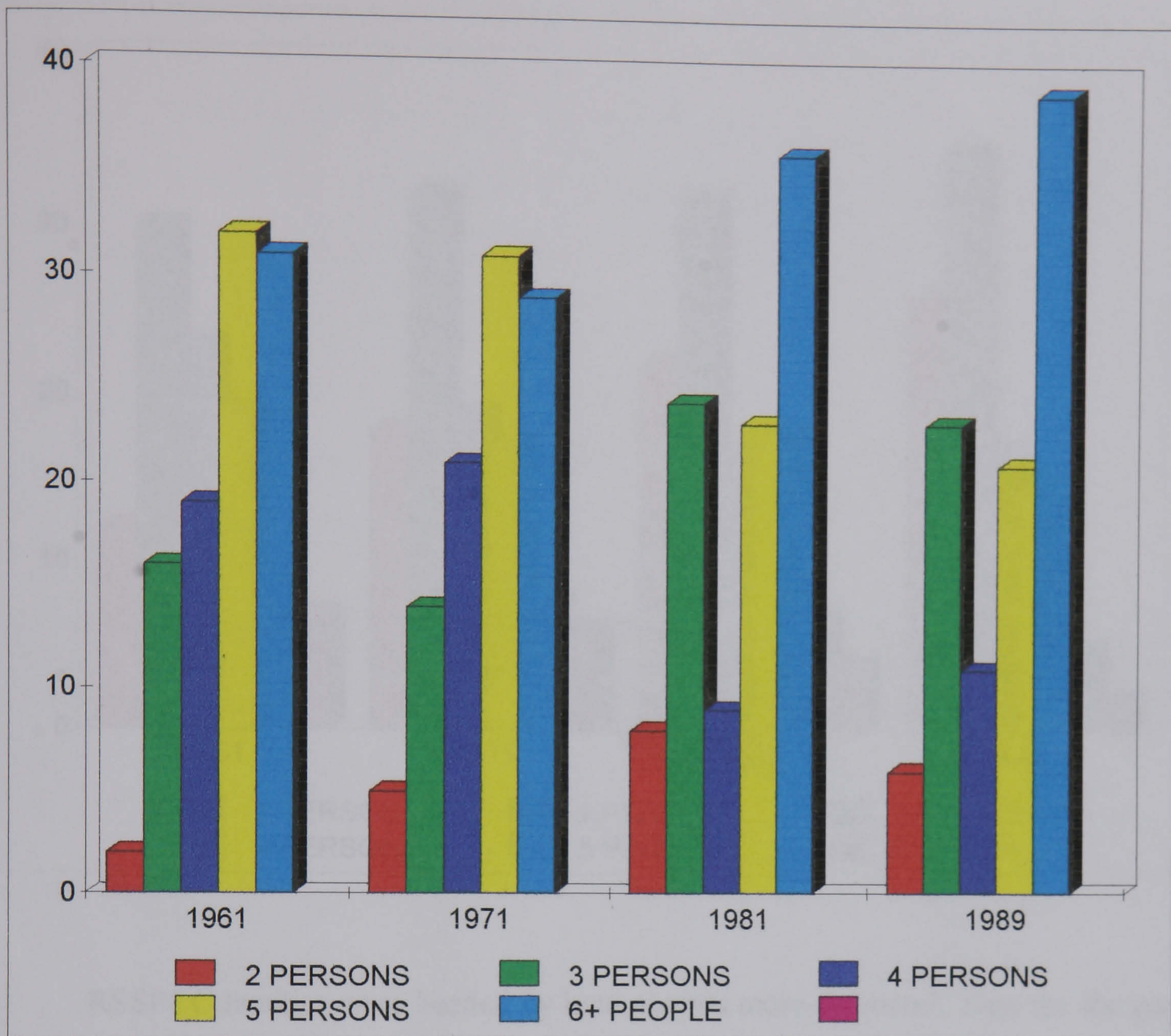
Years	Average no. children
1960-1969	3.16
1970-1979	3.85
1980-1989	3.13

Table 5.2: Number of children recorded in RSSPCC Case Records - 1960-1989.

TOTAL CHILDREN 1960-1989 - 4987		GIRLS - 2547	BOYS - 2350
Families 1960-1969 - 1089	children 3452	GIRLS - 1869	BOYS - 1583
Families 1970-1979 - 261	children 1005	GIRLS - 569	BOYS - 436
Families 1980-1989 - 150	children 467	GIRLS - 281	BOYS - 186

These broad figures do not capture the particular patterns of family composition of the families in this study. The numbers of large families with whom the RSSPCC worked increased during the decades of the study, reflecting their retention of some very large families when many cases were transferred to the local authority. Table 5.3 shows the unusual distribution of family size of RSSPCC families.

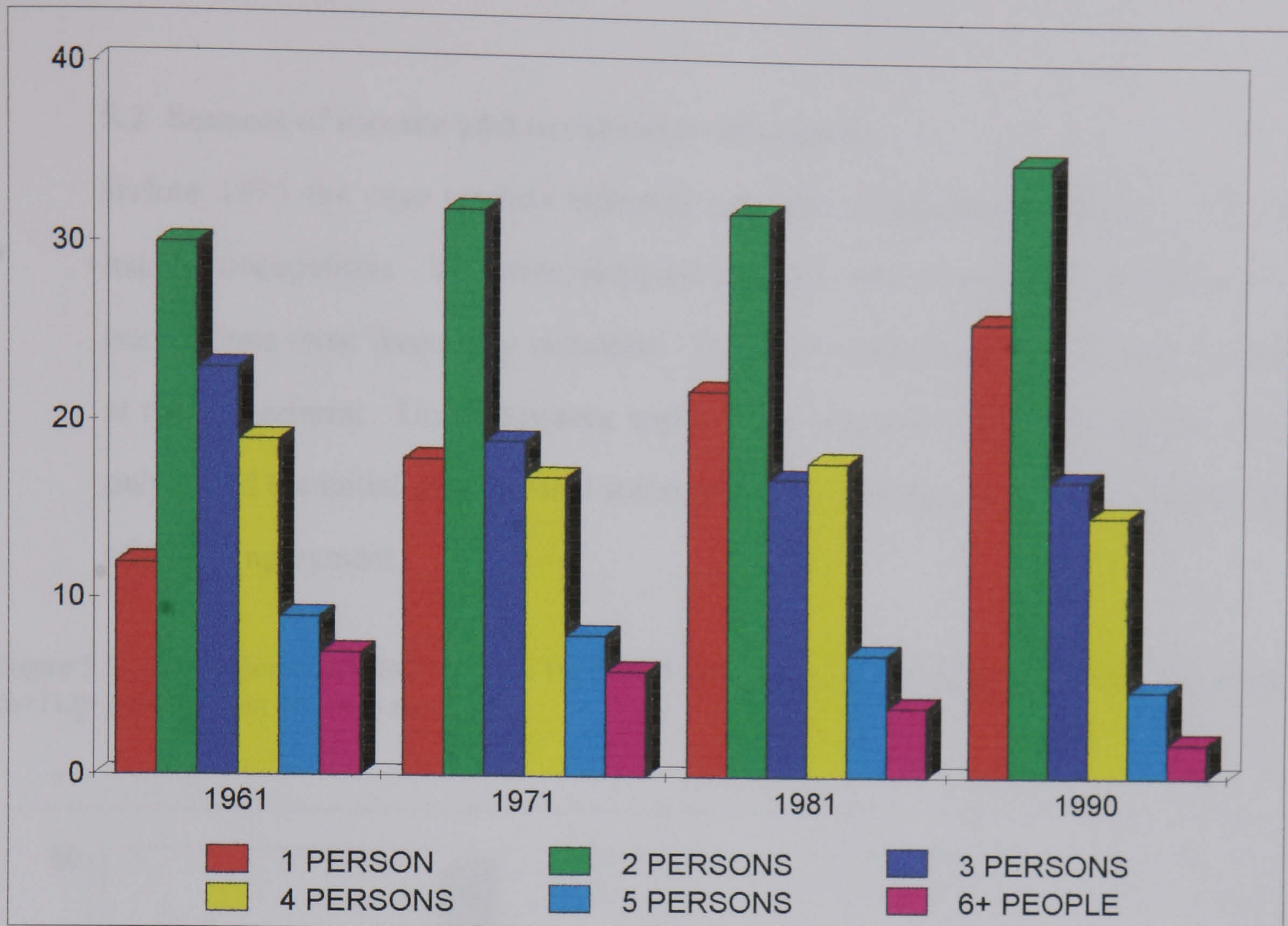
Figure 5.3: Distribution of household size RSSPCC families (1960-1989) - as a percentage of RSSPCC families in 1961, 1971, 1981, 1989



Ninety per cent of RSSPCC families in the first fifteen years of this study ($n = 1261$) were two parent families, this includes short absence by fathers serving prison sentences. The lone parent households were headed by women, mothers or grandmothers (80%) and by fathers (20%). The post war period has witnessed substantial changes in family structure. Birth rates have fallen in most of Western Europe, apart from Ireland. Smith (1986) indicated that in 1860 the average number of children in the UK per family was seven, by 1980 it was two. The proportion of families in the UK headed by a lone parent increased from 8% in 1971 to 14% in 1987.¹

¹ Source Giddens, 1995

Figure 5.4: Household by percentage size, UK 1961-1991 (source Giddens 1995)



RSSPCC families were headed by lone parents more frequently than for the population as a whole in the UK. In 1979 the RSSPCC Annual Report commented on changing family patterns.

The circumstances which attend the families who are brought to our notice, should be seen in the light of the social and economic climate and trends in recent years. Permanence in marriage is no longer a necessity and the rate of breakdown resulting in varied family patterns has accelerated. (RSSPCC Annual Report 1979:8)

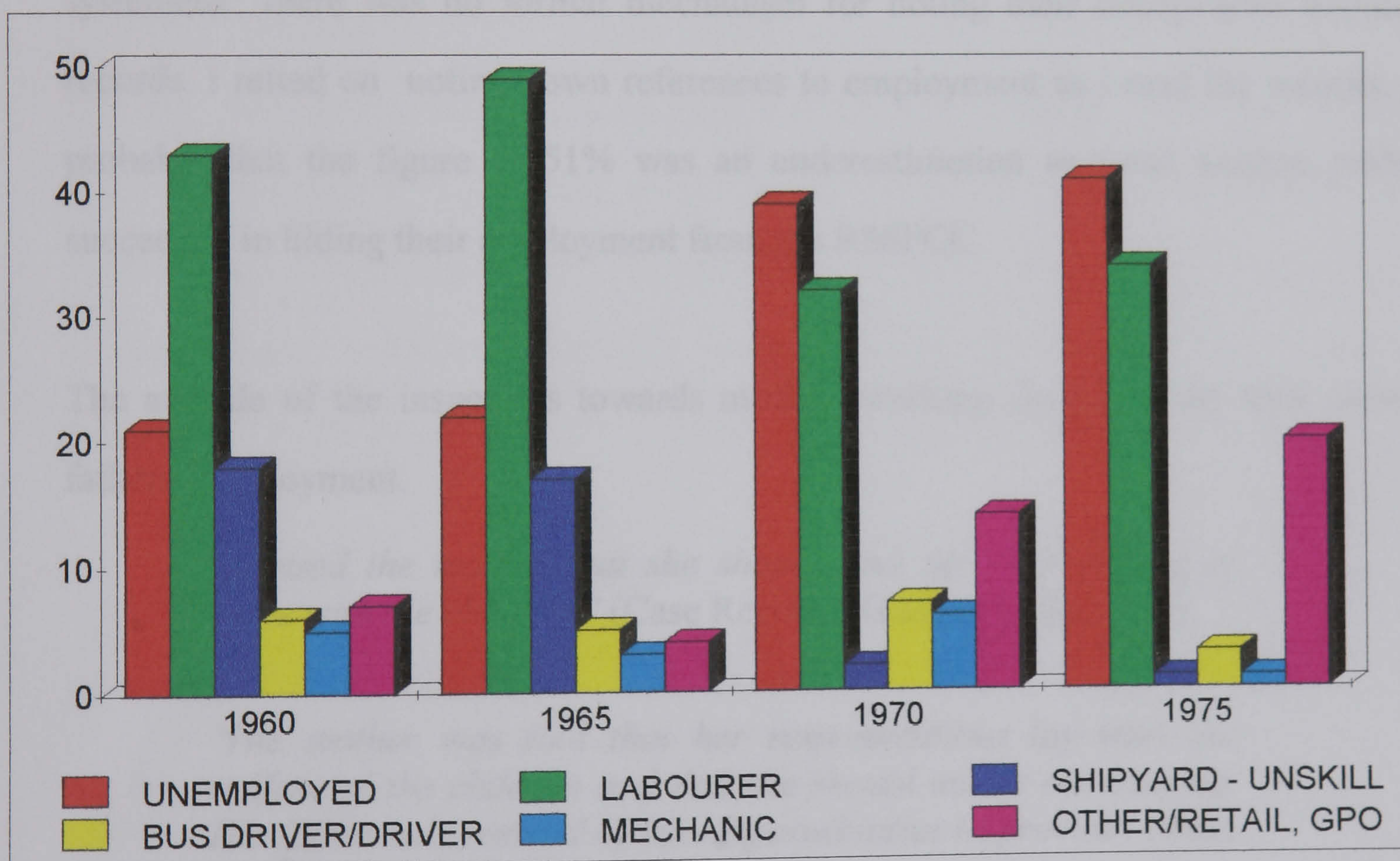
The returns for the Society as a whole indicated that lone parent households constituted 26% of families referred to the RSSPCC (RSSPCC Annual Report 1980). Kiernan & Wicks (1990:14) found that in 1988 a lone parent headed 20.4% of families in Glasgow. This suggests that the RSSPCC as a whole were working with a larger than average population of lone parent households and this was even greater in respect of

RSSPCC families in this study, 35% of whom were headed by a lone parent (mostly women) by 1985.

5.2 Sources of income and occupations of parents

Before 1975 the case records reflected only the occupation of fathers. All were in manual occupations: labourers, shipyard workers, bus drivers and mechanics were the occupations most frequently recorded. The figure below indicates fathers' occupations at time of referral. Unemployment was often a temporary status during this period. I only noted the initial occupational status of fathers and did not record changing patterns of their employment.

Figure 5.5: Occupation of RSSPCC fathers 1960-1975 - expressed as a percentage of all identified occupations. (n=1129 fathers - data on 7 was missing).



Unemployment in the 1960s was portrayed by the RSSPCC inspectors as a temporary state, which could be remedied easily. *'The father was instructed to rise from his bed and go out and get work.'* (Case Records, Glasgow 1962:109)

'Father was advised that work could not be found unless he went out and looked for it. There is much building going on and labourers are always needed. He was advised to go down to the site immediately to seek work.' (Case Records, Govan, 1964:407).

'Father was warned of his responsibilities and told to find work immediately.' (Case Records, Glasgow 1967:706)

The occupations of mothers were not formally recorded although the 1960's records indicated that in 51% of the families mothers supported the family by working outside the home. The pattern of women working in the marginal economy (Oakley, 1994) of low paid insecure employment was evident throughout the decades. In the 1960s mothers worked evening and night shifts in factories, cleaning early in the mornings or late at night or were serving in local shops. Recording of mothers' employment was not systematic; there was no formal mechanism for noting their occupations within the records. I relied on noting down references to employment as I read the records; it is probable that the figure of 51% was an underestimation as some women probably succeeded in hiding their employment from the RSSPCC.

The attitude of the inspectors towards mothers working differed from their views of fathers' employment.

'Advised the mother that she should give up work and be at home with the children.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 109)

'The mother was told that her responsibilities lay with the welfare of the children and that she should not be out earning. The father was warned of his responsibilities to provide'. (Case Records, Glasgow 1963: 127)

'The mother had been leaving the children in the care of the eldest girl X (13). Instructed her that this was unacceptable and warned the mother that she could be prosecuted. Warned mother to give up her evening work in _____ factory and take care of her children'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 741)

Families who were not earning were supported by the National Assistance Board in the 1960s and later the DHSS. Many families relied on state benefits from time to time and as discussed in the next chapter the RSSPCC devoted considerable amounts of their time to negotiating and liaising with benefit agencies.

By the end of the 1960s unemployment increased rapidly with nearly half the families experiencing unemployment by the end of the 1970s. This reflected the end of the post war economic boom⁶ and the re-structuring of heavy industry in the Glasgow area. There were closures and redundancies in the Clyde shipyards. Supermarkets resulted in the closure of many small corner shops. In addition the cost of travel to work was another factor. Many families had been rehoused on the perimeter housing schemes without walking access to work, (Map of Glasgow, Appendix 1). It can be noted in Appendix 1 that the map of Glasgow District does not include Castlemilk, which as can be seen from the map on the second page is at the very perimeter of the city. Bus fares from Easterhouse or Castlemilk to the sources of much unskilled employment e.g. Ravenscraig, Govan, Clydebank, Glasgow City centre, were expensive. Unemployment in the perimeter schemes rose rapidly to over 50% by the early 1980s (Holman 1986). The records reflected recognition of the issues of unemployment for men.

'Father is still out of work. He was made redundant when the car factory closed at Linwood. Writer advised him to go to the labour exchange and was told he had been several times. Father advised times were difficult but to seek any opportunity for employment.' (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1979: 81)

⁶ The post war economic boom ended with the oil crisis and industrial restructuring of the mid 1970s, (Marsh 1999). Glasgow and the West of Scotland were severely affected due to the concentration of shipbuilding and heavy industry. From the late 1970s onwards the steel plants at Gartcosh, and Ravenscraig closed, together with many coalmines and shipyards on the Clyde.

The 1980s records contained fewer details of the families' occupations or circumstances. The majority of men were unemployed with women continuing in the pattern of part time unskilled work. Moving away from the city centre may have improved their accommodation but decreased their opportunities for employment.

The RSSPCC's new assessment form introduced in 1975 had a place for mother's occupation. The completion of this form as discussed later in this study, was less thorough than earlier patterns of recording resulting in substantial gaps in the data. From the accounts which were recorded (n = 261) as in the previous decade most women were employed in part time low paid service industries.

Table 5.6: Occupation of mothers recorded in RSSPCC records - 100 cases randomly selected in each year - 1960, 1965, 1969, 1972. And % of all recorded cases between 1975 - 1989 (n = 187)

WORK	1960	1965	1969	1972	1975-89
CLEANING	38	39	41	51	61
SHOP	25	29	32	27	18
FACTORY	26	20	19	11	3
CHILDCARE	0	0	1	4	8
OTHER*	11	12	7	7	10
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

* other includes clerical, hairdressing, hospital auxiliary and bus conductor.

The case records indicated that the inspectors' attitudes to mothers' employment changed after 1975.

'Writer advised mother she would benefit from being outwith the home. The children are now of an age - 14 and 15 - when she is not required to be present all the time.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978: 70)

'The mother was looking for work and had heard of employment as a cleaner at the college. Writer advised that if she made adequate arrangements for the children X8, Y7 and Z5 she should consider seeking the post.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978: 58)

As the number of lone parent households headed by mothers increased families appeared to experience increasing poverty. It may be simplistic to assume that these lone parent households can automatically be equated with poverty. Pahl (1989) indicated a variety of ways in which families arrange their finances and concluded that: *Where wives control finances a higher proportion of household income is likely to be spent on food and day to day living expenses* (Pahl, 1989:151). Payne (1991) found that women who separated from their husbands reported a better standard of living, albeit a low one. However the case records indicated that the majority of the RSSPCC families were living on low incomes and experiencing poor housing.

5.3 Accommodation

Poverty was reflected in the families living conditions as the following extracts from the case records demonstrate.

'The family were living in derelict property, rain was coming in the roof. The kitchen was filthy, with rubbish in piles. An overflowing chamber pot was beside the sink. Most of the floorboards were missing having been removed for firewood. A rat was observed disappearing under the floor. The bedroom consisted of three mattresses soaked with urine. There were two dirty blankets. The furniture had been broken up for the fire and the children were huddled beside it. There was no fireguard. The cupboard in the kitchen was bare except for two candles, which had been nibbled by mice. The pots in the

kitchen were held together by soot and if they were cleaned they would start to leak. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1960: 18)

The records of the 1960s were typified by poor housing. Glasgow's housing policy was developing towards a slum clearance programme for the inner city areas, e.g. Gorbals, Govan, Possilpark, Blackhill and the subsequent re-housing of families to the new housing schemes at Drumchapel, Easterhouse and Castlemilk. Many of the records of the 1980s describe work with families in Easterhouse. However in the 1960s the majority of the families lived in substandard and overcrowded accommodation.

'The roof was leaking and the window frames were broken, glass was missing. The home was sparsely furnished and devoid of comfort. The beds were sodden with urine and there was only one sheet. The kitchen sink was blocked and dirty pots were piled on the floor. The baby's cot was grubby and there were only two chairs in the room. The kitchen cupboard contained a tin of condensed milk and a can of corned beef. The potatoes on the floor had gone mouldy. There were three empty whisky bottles beside the sink.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1968: 806)

'The other flats were empty, the door was off its hinges and the windows were broken. The fire was unguarded. Holes in the rug showed that sparks had burnt it in several places. There were two chairs, which would not have supported a heavy man sitting down. The bed was broken and piled up in the corner. Father was asleep on a pile of blankets. The baby's cot was grubby and there was only one blanket. The electricity was disconnected. The family had two hurricane lanterns and two candles. Paraffin for the lamps was stored in a milk bottle.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 217)

'The roof was leaking from the empty apartment above. The kitchen cupboard contained a loaf of mouldy bread, two carrots and a turnip. There was no milk for the baby. The second room was full of rubbish and could not be used, as the windows were all broken. The family (2 adults, 6 children) all slept on mattresses in one room. The mattresses were grubby and there were only three sheets and four blankets. The kitchen was untidy, the pots were dirty and the cooker was broken.' (Case Records, Hamilton, 1965: 612)

These accounts were representative of the living conditions of many RSSPCC families at this time. The conditions of rural families were not significantly different. Accounts of travelling families' caravans were found in the mid 1960's archives. For example,

'The caravan was dirty and the fire smoked. Everything was black. The beds were soaked in urine and there was no bedding. A bucket of urine was beside the door. There was little food in the cupboard. Two dead rabbits were hanging on a string outside the door'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1962)

By the mid 1970s many families had been rehoused from the city centre to the perimeter housing estates. Some families were still not rehoused and the extract from the record below was typical of families remaining in the city centre.

'The home was cold, there were no floor coverings and no heating. The cooker was disconnected. Food in the cupboard: half a packet of rice krispies, a tin of soup and a can of corned beef. The double bed had no coverings and there was a strong smell of urine. The windows were unable to be opened. In the children's room rubbish was piled up in the corner. Two grubby mattresses were covered by dirty sheets and an old eiderdown.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1974: 26)

The next extract is from the record of a family who had moved out of the city centre to new accommodation.

'The flat was very small. The electricity was disconnected and two candles were on the table. The baby's cot was filthy and the beds for children were dirty. New mattresses delivered two weeks ago were already stained with urine. There was one chair and there were piles of dirty clothes on the floor.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1975: 54)

The 1980s records gave fewer details of the families' accommodation and living conditions; these were recorded only when they constituted part of the reason for referral.

'The walls were running with dampness, the water was coming in the ceiling- mother further advised that some of her furniture had been ruined by damage. She stated that she had little success with the Housing Department.' (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1985: 21)

'Mother proceeded to show me the house, on inspection of the kitchenette area, dampness was seen around the window, the bathroom was smelling and the floor boards were white, first bedroom on left, children's room, damp blankets. Mother informed me that the Environmental Health had sprayed the house on three occasions. First bedroom on right was seen, evidence of wallpaper peeling, in sitting room tiles dislodged from the ceiling.' (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1986: 32)

The problems many families experienced with housing on the new estates. (Holman 1989) were reflected in the accounts by the RSSPCC. Some families experienced additional problems with accommodation which were related to religious and racial intolerance by their neighbours.

5.4 Religion

The RSSPCC recorded⁷ the religion of the families (n = 1350) and in Glasgow Catholic families account for 49%, Protestant 50% and others 1%.⁸ The Lanarkshire records identify nearly all families as Protestant. Lanarkshire has a long history of communities segregated on religious grounds and therefore it is not surprising that one village records all RSSPCC families as Protestants. The implications of religious discrimination for some RSSPCC families are discussed in the next section, and in Chapter 6.

5.5 RSSPCC families' experience of discrimination - religious and racial

Religious discrimination has a long history in the West of Scotland (McFarland 1996). The archives I read indicated that 17% of all RSSPCC families in this study (n = 1500) throughout the three decades, experienced harassment and discrimination in housing⁹ and employment.

⁷ Missing data 41 families - percentages from total of 1269 Glasgow families.

⁸ The distribution of Protestant and Catholic families within the West of Scotland in 1969 was 61% Protestant, 34% Catholic and 5% other religions (Gallagher 1989).

⁹ Glasgow Housing Department decided to re-house families on a 2:1 Protestant/Catholic basis to try to integrate families (Gallagher 1989).

'The family are surrounded by Catholic neighbours, the children cannot play in the close for fear of attack from other children. Mother unwilling to go out. The cat has been stoned.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963: 312)

'The family moved in when evicted from their previous home. Father in Perth Prison. Mother fearful of neighbours, stated that the family were shouted at by neighbours on their return from Mass on Sunday. Children cannot play in the street. Mother complains they are called 'greens' by other children.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961: 92)

Many other aspects of family life changed during the decades, but discrimination appeared to be a constant theme.

'There are bigoted Protestants in the close and the mother is being terrorised. The family should never have been rehoused in _____ street. They are surrounded.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1974: 42)

'The mother is afraid to go out at night. Bricks have been thrown through the window. The writer observed the debris in the kitchen. Slogans have been written on the pavement. This family are Protestant and should never have been housed in this area.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1978: 80)

Similar concerns for other families were present ten years later.

'Mother concerned about children X 14 and Y 15 going out at night. To get to her mother's home they have to cross _____ (a Protestant street) and she is afraid they will be attacked by an 'orange' gang.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1986: 27)

'The writer was advised that the family were being harassed by neighbours (Catholics). Mother described being shouted and sworn at and gangs of youths threw bottles at the cat.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1985: 20)

Easterhouse was also a site of racial discrimination for the small number (15 in 1980s) of RSSPCC families from minority ethnic communities.

'There is constant racist abuse against _____. Their front door and surrounding area is covered in racist graffiti. There are air gun pellet marks on the windows. Most of her windows are now boarded up. There is clear evidence that someone has tried to burn her door down. To avoid materials being put through the letterbox it has been boarded up.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1984:48)

This level of harassment and abuse of black RSSPCC families was typical of racial abuse in Glasgow. McFarland and Walsh (1988) found 84% of black Glasgow residents reported racial abuse, women and children were particularly targeted. Bowes et al (1989) found similar proportions of black people reporting abuse in 1980s Glasgow. They found that 88% of black people reported racial abuse whilst half of the sample reported physical attacks.

The policy of Glasgow Housing Department to 'integrate' black families into the large perimeter housing schemes often resulted in discrimination and harassment. Many black families were moved out of Castlemilk and Easterhouse for their own protection. The RSSPCC assisted some families to be rehoused elsewhere in the city and this aspect of their work is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. Housing difficulties featured in the work of the RSSPCC but were rarely the reason for the family coming to the attention of the Society.

5.6 Quality of life e.g. domestic appliances, leisure, holidays, etc

Quality of life was the least easy to measure of the aspects of family life discussed in this chapter. Writing in 1970, Townsend discussed what he termed the general mechanism which set the national standard of living.

There is of course considerable variety in the style of living of any population but by means of laws, regulations and social norms a partly nationwide and partly 'federal' pattern of linked community and class-styles develops. This pattern may not be clearly laid down and in nearly all societies is changing

rapidly. But this is the pattern to which people are expected broadly to conform and take for granted. It is a pattern which defines the needs of a population. Those with insufficient resources to satisfy this pattern can be regarded as being in poverty. (Townsend, in Bull, 1971:2)

The concept of poverty is difficult to define and has been the subject of many debates (e.g. Rowntree, 1922, 1941; Townsend, 1970, 1987, and 1991). Explanations of poverty as the result of poor management by women have a long history. The 'deserving' and 'undeserving' were ways of categorising families for charitable assistance. Reflections of this discourse of poverty can be glimpsed in the case records. Poverty as a form of discrimination has been a theme in writing by feminists (e.g. Millar & Glendinning, 1987; Pahl, 1989) and others, (e.g. Holman 1991). Holman has lived and worked for many years in Easterhouse.

It is not that poor parents are ignorant about risks or less caring about children...the housing of low income people is less safe than that of the affluent...A 1985 Centre for Environmental Studies report showed 24.9% of households in Easterhouse to be overcrowded compared with a national figure of 3.5%...The children of poor parents will remain at greater risk to accidents, illness and reception into care until Britain becomes a more equal society. (The Guardian, 27.11.91)

RSSPCC families appeared to have experienced poverty and poor quality of life judged on the state of their accommodation, material and financial resources and opportunities for recreation. Domestic appliances, washing machines and Hoovers were not mentioned until the late 1960s, prior to that, scrubbing was the solution to dirty clothes, walls or floors. There were very few references in the 1960s records to toys for children, apart from bags of them being delivered at Christmas time. In interviews with long serving RSSPCC staff, their impressions were that the families did experience what would now be called 'social exclusion',¹⁰ they recalled families who struggled to

¹⁰ Social exclusion has been the subject of increasing discussion and debate in the 1990s. Barry and Hallett (1998:1) defined it as *....multi-dimensional disadvantage which severs individuals and groups from the major social processes and opportunities in society.....*

survive and had little time for leisure playing with their children. The activities of the RSSPCC staff reflected changing social expectations of family life. By the late 1970s they were arranging for families to have caravan holidays and for the children to go the pantomime. This is discussed further in Chapter 6, which considers patterns of intervention.

To sum up, RSSPCC families throughout the decades of the study experienced poverty, relying upon low paid unskilled jobs or benefits. They lived in poor quality inner city slums and were rehoused to poor quality outer city housing estates. About one in five of the families experienced harassment from their neighbours on grounds of religion.

5.7 Why families came to the attention of the RSSPCC?¹¹

The reasons stated for families coming to the attention of the RSSPCC changed very little over the years and Appendix 22 shows the returns for cases investigated during the year 1889 and the returns for the year 1969. The terminology of the classification of cases is almost the same throughout the 80 year period.

5.7.a Neglect - (1960-1990)

The principal reason for contact with the Society in 1899 was neglect and it continued to be up to the beginning of the 1980s. The term encompasses a wide range of 'wrongs'. 'Wrongs' was the term used in the early records to cover any reason for intervention. Neglect as a reason for initial intervention dominated the work of the RSSPCC for almost all of its existence as a child care agency. The term was dropped in the formal recording of the agency by the end of the 1970s and new more general categories were substituted. Neglect focused on a lack of the appropriate standards of welfare, food,

¹¹ The reasons as stated by the RSSPCC changed over the years and the dates in brackets after each category indicate when these terms were used within the decades of this study.

accommodation, clothing and health of children. The RSSPCC records indicated variation in response to families and this is discussed in Chapter 7, but a fairly consistent level of minimum requirements for the welfare of children was apparent. The Annual Report for 1969 defined the term as follows:

This (neglect) can involve many factors including unemployment and poverty, debt and threatened eviction; bad home conditions and marital difficulties; single parent families (because of death, desertion or separation) and overcrowded conditions. These and other circumstances can and do affect the parents' standard of care for their children and that is the stage when the Inspector may be contacted by a member of the public or, more frequently than is sometimes realised, by a member of the family itself. (RSSPCC, Annual Report, 1969: 9)

This account of the source of referrals was correct and will be discussed later in this section. The factors identified in 'neglect' were reflected in the reasons for intervention. Alcohol misuse was present in about 70% of all 1960's families (n = 1089). It was rarely if ever the initial reason for intervention, but was often a factor in continued intervention. 'Parents' drinking' was often a supporting reason given by the person making the referral.

'The children are being neglected, they are not being fed or clothed properly. Father drinking.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961:89)

'Mother is destitute and cannot support her children. Father has drunk the wages' (Case Records, Govan, 1962; 111)

'Father has been left with the children. Mother drinking with her friends' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962:125)

'The children have not been collected from the hospital. Parents known to be drinking.' (Referral by hospital sister in Case Records, Glasgow, 1962)

The level of perceived neglect determined the number and frequency of visits to the family. For example in the case where the parents failed to collect the children from

the hospital, a visit to the house revealed a dirty house, lack of food and bedding for the children. The term neglect at this time was concerned with the material welfare of the children. Whether or not they had head lice, access to a good bowl of soup and reasonably clean clothes and bedding was the prime concern of the Society. One of the earliest studies of neglect of children (Lewis, 1954) in England and Wales made similar findings. Neglect was the largest single factor in admission to care in her study. As Minty and Pattinson (1994) noted, Lewis' study took place in an era when the 'rescue philosophy' was strongest and there were few preventive resources. Minty and Pattinson, (1994) defined neglect as:

A severe and persistent failure by a person having care for a child to provide food, hygiene, warmth, clothing, stimulation, supervision, safety precautions, affection and concern appropriate to the age and needs of the child to such an extent that the child's well-being and development are severely affected. (Minty and Pattinson, 1994: 737)

Most of the elements of the definition were included in the assessment of neglect in the 1960s apart from stimulation, affection and concern, although the latter two were implicit in many of the comments about the family.

'The Prevention of Neglect of Children' was the title of the McBoyle Committee's Report (1963). In January 1961 the Committee was required to investigate whether Scotland's Local Authorities required additional powers to *prevent or forestall the suffering of children through neglect in their own homes.* (McBoyle, 1963: 7) The Committee identified a range of causes of neglect from: 'bad' parents who rear children who in turn become 'bad' parents, financial problems, personal or domestic difficulties. There was recognition that neglect of children could be found in all classes of society. *Even where physical standards are adequate, family disunity whether open or concealed, can cause serious emotional harm to children.* (McBoyle, 1963:12) The Committee suggested that neglect was nearly always a symptom of family difficulties, which required help to be given to the whole family. They were critical of approaches

to families which involved reproach, moralising and punishment. The early detection of neglect was seen to be crucial

...other social workers, doctors, relatives and others visiting homes often cannot help observing material circumstances such as dirt, lack of food or heat, inadequate bedding or furniture and they might see the less tangible but equally important signs of severe stress in the family. (McBoyle, 1963: 13)

The report speculated on why people did not intervene and recognised that for relatives and friends there was fear of embarrassment or making matters worse. The areas covered by the report, family advice services, and additional material help for families, and co-ordinated services were later included in the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act.

The RSSPCC Annual Reports for this period indicate that the management of the Society was aware of the issues being discussed in the wider forum. By 1968 some of the implications of the Social Work (Scotland) Act were being recognised.

The Local Authorities have formed Social Work Departments and Directors have been appointed; The Society contains a great source of influence and opinion about child welfare.... (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1968: 11)

The 1960's records suggest that assumptions were being made by staff that deprivation and poor hygiene were affecting children, but explicit recognition of the impact on the emotional development of the child came later. There were few indications of what Donzelot (1977) identified as the 'psy' infrastructure. What Donzelot described as the destabilisation of the family, the focus on childhood and the quality of sexual and emotional life were not apparent for another decade. After 1975, the classification of reasons for referral was changed as follows: neglect remained the principal reason for intervention, although a new category introduced in the early 1970s - 'Assistance Sought' - identified families who sought out help for family problems, some of which would previously have been classified as neglect e.g. financial problems. Neglect in the

early 1970s was still defined in terms of the cleanliness of the home and the children. By the 1980s the term 'family stress' covered the majority of reasons for referral. However analysis of the case records suggests that the Society's concern with basic welfare was still important in reasons for their contact with families.

The concept of neglect had been re-defined by the RSSPCC in the 1970s and the recognition of the emotional needs of children became evident in the case records by the end of decade. Partly in response to the growing Social Work Departments the RSSPCC was beginning to re-structure its organisation. New documentation, case papers, branch records, and systems for dealing with complaints and referrals were introduced. The Annual Report links these changes to responses to the Maria Colwell Inquiry (1974).

It might be tempting to lean on the fact of being a voluntary organisation and to assume that with our limited financial resources the public expectations would not demand the highest standard in our recording systems. It is worth recalling the comment of the Committee of Inquiry into the case of Maria Colwell when they suggested they had approached the situation on the assumption that any voluntary organisation would not wish itself to be judged on a lesser standard than any other agency. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975: 10)

The Maria Colwell Inquiry (Department of Health and Social Services, 1974) identified the failure to recognise the neglect of Maria. She was originally admitted to care on grounds of neglect and when she died was found to have been severely neglected and abused. The Inquiry had a significant impact on the recognition of physical abuse as a 'social problem'.

The reasons for referral to the Society in the mid 1970s were still concerned largely with physical conditions of children and the state of the home.

'Received complaint all children were being neglected.... it was evident that the house conditions left a lot to be desired. Certainly the house could have been better cared for....' (Case Records, Springburn, Glasgow 1977: 24)

'Children unattended. The house was cold; there were no floor coverings, little food, no heating, no cooker.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, February 1974: 21)

The category 'Assistance Sought' included families who made contact with the Society for assistance, usually financial assistance in times of disconnection of electricity and or gas and unemployment of parent(s). In the previous decade these issues would have been categorised as 'Neglect'. By the 1980s the neglect of children covered children left alone in the house, poverty and squalor. Some investigations of neglect resulted in the discovery of physical and/or sexual abuse. These are discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the work of the Society. There were fewer descriptions of houses but some still portrayed appalling conditions.

'On inspection the house was found to be in a terrible state, the first bedroom on the left as we entered had single mattress on the floor with adequate covering also in the room were 2 double mattresses. Second bedroom - door could not be opened fully due to floor being covered in junk. Third bedroom was similar to number two but a bed was available amongst miscellaneous articles. Kitchen floor littered with rubbish spilling from one large bin bag and the plastic bags. A bottle of vodka on sink drainer.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1986: 21)

5.7 b Immoral surroundings - (1960-1975)

Children residing in immoral surroundings were a feature of those families referred to the RSSPCC, they constituted 10% of referrals to the RSSPCC as a whole and 9% of referrals to RSSPCC families in this study (n = 122) The definition of immorality was often oblique. Prostitution was hinted at but rarely made explicit.

'Men are frequenting the house when the husband is at work'.
(Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 79)

'Mother up to no good with men when the husband is in prison'.
(Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 78)

'Neighbour reported that there are men attending parties when the husband is away'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963: 312)

'Mother seems to have money which has not been earned by cleaning, she has slovenly ways and appears a suspicious character. Neighbours report men about the close on Friday evenings. The father is a weak individual and drinks heavily'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 164)

'Neighbour reported concerns about X (girl 19). She is hanging about the close with older men. Mother is also seen with men. Father died last year'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1968: 710)

Immorality during this period appeared to have been the exclusive preserve of mothers. The records indicated suspicion by staff and women visitors of any man visiting the house and an implicit and at times explicit assumption that sexual activity was intended.

'The mother was up to no good when I arrived. There was a young man there who refused to say who he was and he was pretending to mend the lock'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1966: 592)

RSSPCC staff during interviews for this study brought up attitudes to sexuality. Those who were employed during the 1960s remembered the strictly defined barriers between male and female staff and volunteers. Their female supervisor closely controlled the few female inspectors and women visitors.

'We were never allowed to share an office with the women, in fact we were not really expected to be alone in the room with women visitors. I never knew what we were expected to be doing. After all, the Society trusted us to visit women alone in their homes'. (Male inspector, Glasgow, 1994)

'The supervisor was very strict. She ruled the women visitors with a rod of iron. There were comments about the length of their skirts and the colour and amount of lipstick they wore'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1994)

'There always seemed to be attitudes of suspicion about sexual relations - usually the mothers. In those days we were not so aware of sexual abuse. Although we kept an eye out for incest

in situations where mothers were in hospital or had deserted the family. Some of the mothers did top up their money with prostitution on the side. It was right to be suspicious because teenage daughters could get drawn into it at an early age'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1995)

'When I joined the Society (mid 1960s) I think we took it for granted that some of the family problems were caused by sexual relations outside marriage. Looking back I suspect the emphasis at the time was more on the mother's activities. There was concern if she was bringing men to the house as this could cause problems for the children, especially teenage girls. I had several cases where the girls were drawn into prostitution at an early age and were taken into care'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1995)

'Immoral surroundings' as a reason for intervention declined during the 1960s with only 12 cases being recorded in Glasgow in 1969. The related area of 'Indecent and Criminal Assault' produced few referrals, the majority of assaults against children being recorded as 'Ill-treatment and physical assault'.

In 1976 immoral surroundings was substituted by moral danger and sex offences. This was still a small category but like domestic violence reflected the growing recognition of the social problems of violence and abuse within the family. A separate referral category concerned with 'morality or moral danger' was discontinued by the Society in the mid 1980s.

5.7c Ill-treatment and assaults - (1960-1979)

The percentage of referrals of children on the grounds of ill treatment and assault, a term introduced into the classification of cases in 1899 changed very little during the 70-year period up to 1969. In 1899 ill treatment constituted 2.8% of the reasons for referral and 3.8% in 1969.¹² There was a significant increase in the next decade, in 1975

¹² These figures represent referrals to the RSSPCC as a whole, source RSSPCC Annual Reports.

it had risen to 6.8% and by 1979 to 9.6%. In the 1980s the RSSPCC ceased to categorise violence to children as a separate category and subsumed them under a category of 'family violence'. The percentages of family violence averaged 9% for the first half of the 1980s and then increased to 14.5% by 1989.¹³ These increases reflected a growing recognition of domestic violence and not necessarily an increase in recognised abuse of children. The implications of this categorisation suggest a concern with 'adult concerns and values' and are developed in Chapter 8. In the 1960s there was a narrow line between ill treatment and neglect particularly in respect of children who sustained injuries from unguarded fires. Sometimes children burnt by the fire were noted as neglected, others as ill treated. The definition appeared to depend partly on who instituted the referral. If a hospital sister contacted the RSSPCC because the child's burns had resulted in admission to hospital, there was almost always a definition of ill treatment. However if less serious burns from an unguarded fire were sustained as part of domestic disorganisation, they were likely to be defined as neglect.

The 1960s records did recognise physical abuse, with severe cases leading to prosecution.

'The neighbour reported that the child aged 7 had been seen in the close with a bruised face. Child had bruising to both eyes and the side of his face....The mother and child were taken to the hospital at 1.00 a.m. The child remained in hospital and the mother was remanded in custody'.(Case records, Glasgow, 1965: 512)

The child subsequently went to live with grandparents and mother received a sentence of 60 days imprisonment. By the end of the 1960s the Annual Report of the RSSPCC gave increasing recognition to physical abuse, as the extract from the Annual Report for 1969 overleaf, demonstrated.

¹³ Figures for the whole Society source RSSPCC Annual Reports.

On admission to hospital baby X was found to have the following injuries: bruising on face, neck and back and left leg; 4 fractured ribs; suspected sub-dural haemorrhage. The injuries could not be explained by any known disease or accident.

There is no doubt that the problem which gained most publicity during 1969 was that of the Battered Child and while the number of instances was comparatively few - some 30 cases were known to the RSSPCC during the year in addition to others referred to the Police or other Social Work Agencies - they give rise to concern because of the serious injuries which can be caused to young children and because such cases are only coming to light after the children have been injured. Towards the end of the year the Society organised a 1-Day Conference at Moray House College when we were fortunate to have as the principal Guest Speaker Professor C Henry Kempe from the University of Colorado School of Medicine who gave a most interesting and hopeful address - hopeful in that through the evidence of his own work in Denver with parents who had been responsible for battering children he was able to give some promise of the possibility of such children living safely and happily with their own parents in the future.

Although cases must be dealt with as they arise - and this usually means taking the children into care in order to protect them - we support the steps taken by the National Society in London in instigating a Research project into this problem. We hope that their findings will help not only their Society and ours, but all other agencies concerned with these families, so that the fundamental aim of prevention may be carried out.'

(RSSPCC Annual Report, 1969: 9)

The early years of the 1970s saw a similar pattern of reasons for referral to the Society. As noted at the beginning of this section there was an increase in the percentage of referrals to the Society on the grounds of physical abuse of children, perhaps reflecting increased public and professional awareness of child abuse. This is discussed further in the next section on the identities of those who made referrals to the Society. The Statistical Return for the Society for 1978 reflects the growing emphasis of interagency work and the provision of reports for the Children's Panel and the Social Work Department; this is discussed in Chapter 6. Physical abuse was categorised differently and was subdivided between abuse of children under four and those over, reflecting the current concern with categorising types of abuse and the ages of children who had this experience.¹⁴ The 1980s witnessed the decreasing role of the RSSPCC in investigating physical abuse of children; the local authority has assumed responsibility for this work. The RSSPCC occasionally still received complaints from families or neighbours but

¹⁴ In the 1975 assessment and referral form the RSSPCC sought to distinguish between the welfare of children under and over the age of four years.

they were passed immediately on to the Social Work department.

5.7 d Begging, singing and selling - (1960-1969)

This was a significant reason for referral in 1899, approximately 15% of all referrals: five times that of ill treatment. Although the category was retained by the Society up to 1969, there were only four recorded cases in the total work of the RSSPCC during the 1960s.

5.7.e Abandonment - (1960-1980)

Abandoned children always constituted a small part of the Society's work; there were eight recorded cases in 1899 and seventy-six in 1969¹⁵. These fell into two broad categories; children who were left at or not collected from hospitals and those whose parents had disappeared, leaving them with neighbours. In this study the former group were in the majority. The referrals came from hospital staff who wanted a child taken home. About half of the children were disabled, referred to then as 'mentally incapable'. The relative absence of disabled children in the families in the 1960s is discussed further in Chapter 8. The category was discontinued in 1980 and cases of children being abandoned were subsumed under 'family stresses'. The 1980's archives revealed only three cases, which were dealt with by the Social Work Department.

5.7 e Other wrongs - (1960-1969)

The remaining reasons for intervention, classified by the Society as '*other wrongs*' covered a wide range of family problems e.g. '*Father going to gas the children*'. Glasgow (1966). '*Mother threatening suicide*'. Hamilton (1966), Glasgow (1962). '*Children with verminous heads*'. Glasgow (1961, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968). '*Requests for care*', Glasgow (1961, 1962, 1963), '*no money*', (1960 - 1969), '*father/mother deserted or sent to prison*', Hamilton (1962, 1964), Glasgow (1961,

¹⁵ Figures for the RSSPCC as a whole source RSSPCC Annual Reports.

1962, and 1964). '*Children were wandering away from home*', Lanarkshire (1963). The term '*wandering*' was used in respect of the children from travelling families. Children in Glasgow '*ran away*' (1962, 1963, 1967) from home or '*were missing*' from home (1961, 1966, 1968). The behaviour of children, apart from absenting themselves from home, was very rarely a reason for intervention during the 1960s. The focus was firmly on the adults.

5.7 g Advice and assistance- (1970-1985)

This reason for referrals reflected in part the introduction by the RSSPCC of a telephone help line in the early 1970s which was intended for parents who wanted advice on 'family problems'. Most of the referrals were concerned with issues of benefits and housing. Housing and benefit problems accounted for over half of all referrals. Families were seeking help to move house, as noted earlier racial and religious discrimination were factors. Warrant sales featured frequently as did lost benefit books and giro.

5.7 h Family Stress- (1985-1989)

Family stress as a reason for referral was introduced in 1985 and appeared to reflect the Society's increasing provision of family centres. Families were referred for a variety of reasons but this terminology indicated the emphasis of the work of the Society at that time. The West of Scotland archives demonstrated that benefits and housing problems as stated above constituted the majority of referrals. The remaining reasons were families who had experienced sexual abuse. As discussed in Chapter 3 only broad details are included on these cases.

5.7 i Violence between parents (1979-1982)

The referral category with the shortest life was 'violence between parents'. At the end of the 1970s the RSSPCC decided to record referrals of domestic violence. The Glasgow archives evidenced a consistent pattern of women being assaulted by their

husbands and partners. This was rarely a reason for referral and explicit recognition of wife assault was found infrequently in the 1960s. There was increasing recognition in the 1970s and women were recommended to Women's' Aid. Why the Society chose to refer to this as violence between parents is not known. The distinctions were diluted further in the 1980s by the generic term 'family violence.'

5.7 j Family violence (1983-1989)

The Society treated all violence in the family as a combined category which as already noted has implications for recognising what happens to women in the family and furthermore removed the opportunity to quantify referrals of abuse of children. Violence against children as a reason for referral has been discussed in an earlier section.

5.8 Who instigated referrals to the RSSPCC?

Throughout the decades of the study the majority of referrals to the Society came from family members as can be seen in Table 5.7 overleaf.

Table - 5.7: Percentages of Sources of referral to the RSSPCC- (West of Scotland) 1960-1989
(n = 1416 *) missing data in 34 files)

Source of referral	1960-74	1975-79	1980-89
Mothers	46	38	42
Fathers	3.5	3	4
Children under 16	0.5	2	3
Neighbours - known	30	12	12
Neighbours - anon.	4	10	22
Family member anon	1	0.5	0
Anon. - not known	2	4	1
Relatives	5	6	2
Police	3	4	1
School	4	4	6
Other	1	3.5	3
Social work dept.	0	13	4
TOTAL	100	100	100

When family circumstances can and do affect the parents' standard of care for their children that is the stage when the inspector may be contacted by a member of the public or, more frequently than is sometimes realised, by a member of the family itself. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1968)

This report reflects accurately the pattern of people who initiated contact with the RSSPCC. Table 5.7 shows family members, mothers in particular, were an important source of referrals to the RSSPCC. This finding is reflected in other studies of intervention in child abuse (e.g. Gordon 1989 and Farmer and Owen 1995). RSSPCC mothers initiated intervention to protect their children and then found themselves the

subjects of intervention. Alcohol misuse was a major factor; fathers frequently drank the wages. Christmas and New Year were a particularly stressful time for families with a rapid increase in referrals around the 3rd and 4th of January. Fathers disappeared during this time although the majority returned by the 6th January. Mothers also often contacted the Society when their husbands were sent to prison.

Fathers accounted for a much smaller proportion of referrals, contacting the Society when their wife left them with the children. The four most common reasons for the mothers' departures were *'going off with another man'*, *'returning to mother'*, *'imprisoned'*, *'in hospital'*. An unchanging feature of referral patterns was that mother and other family members remained the principal source of referral.

5.8 a Neighbours

Neighbours played a powerful part in the lives of the RSSPCC families, particularly in the 1960s. Many of the families lived in the traditional Glasgow closes, which kept them in regular contact with their neighbours. The records demonstrate that the RSSPCC regarded neighbours as sources of information and support. If the parents were not at home the records routinely noted that the inspector called next door to ascertain the whereabouts of 'mother'. If the children were found unattended, they were taken next door to the neighbour whilst the parents were located. It is not surprising therefore that neighbours were such a crucial source of information. Some referrals may have been malicious. The records conveyed a sense of many RSSPCC families being regarded as 'rough' by their 'respectable' neighbours (Finch, 1989). As the families were rehoused to the perimeter schemes in the 1970s, the pattern of neighbour referrals declined, partly perhaps due to the different layout of the housing (Power 1996). The practice of consulting neighbours for information about families ceased in the 1970s.¹⁶

¹⁶ The implications of and reasons for this change of practice are discussed later in this study in Chapters 6 and 9.

Neighbour referrals continued in the 1980s and there was a significant increase in anonymous referrals from them.

5.8 b Anonymous

Most of the 1960's anonymous referrals were made by people who wrote letters to the RSSPCC. There was little use of the telephone recorded in the 1960s. The letters retained on the files were usually short and to the point, the following was typical: *'I should be obliged if an inspector would call and ascertain that the children are receiving proper care and attention'*. (Glasgow, Case Records, 27.12.67)

Other letters identified the writer but asked that their identity was not made known to the family. Anonymous referrals increased in the next decade and again in the 1980s. This may reflect increased public concern at baby battering and also a decline in neighbours referring children. Examination of referrals of physical abuse in the 1970s indicated that about half were initiated by anonymous letters or phone calls. The records suggest that some were thought to be relatives and neighbours who were unwilling for their identify to be disclosed. An article in the Daily Record on baby battering seems to have been followed by a small increase in expressions of concern about families. Not all specified abuse.

'I read in the Daily Record about neighbours who ignore children's distress and crying. This made me think about the family next door. The father has left and the baby screams a lot. The mother is not the type to take help and I am not a nosy neighbour'. (Case Records, Anonymous letter, 1976)

The complaint was investigated, the baby was not apparently injured but poverty and distress were reported.

'The mother was living in squalor, no carpets, and little food in the pantry cupboard. Mother reported the baby had nappy rash. The mother was depressed and had been prescribed Valium'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1976)

This was one of the first records to identify parental problems in connection with the prescription of Valium. Anonymous referrals remained a substantial source of intervention during the 1980s. For example:

'This is to inform you that Mr and Mrs X are often too drunk to make sure that their children are properly clothed and they are kept off school for no reason. I don't want to get involved; I feel you should be made aware of the situation'. (Case Records, Castlemilk 1985)

The Society no longer included them as a category in their published reasons for referral in the 1980s.

5.8 c Social Work Department

Referrals from the newly formed Social Work Departments were a feature of the 1970s. At this stage the local authorities had not assumed fully their roles in investigations and the RSSPCC undertook these on their behalf. As the decade progressed the investigations were undertaken jointly between staff from the two agencies. By the next decade the role of the Society as an investigative agency decreased and Social Work Departments no longer made referrals. Before the formation of Social Work Departments in the early 1970s, the Children's Departments and the RSSPCC worked together closely, with the Society having a major role in investigating allegations of abuse and neglect.

5.8 d Benefits Agencies

Throughout the decades of this study, the benefits agencies provided resources to many

of the RSSPCC families. The visitors of the benefit agencies were from time to time concerned about the welfare of children and contacted the RSSPCC. The records of the letters and phone calls usually requested that the family be not told of the source of the referral. These referrals were relatively few compared to other sources, but increased slightly in the 1980s when many more families were in receipt of benefit. They are shown in the 'other' category in table 5.7.

5.8 e Schools

The proportion of referrals from school remained relatively constant at 4% for the first two decades of the study. Schools contacted the RSSPCC mainly on the grounds of injuries to children and occasionally because of concern about neglect. The increase in the 1980s appeared to come from one particular primary school in Easterhouse where the head teacher was concerned about a number of her pupils. The records indicated a close relationship with local RSSPCC staff on the estate.

5.8 f Health - GP, health visitor, hospital

Hospitals were a source of referral for abandoned children and for those who had or might have experienced physical and sexual abuse. Most of the allegations of 'incest' in the 1960s were made by hospitals or health professionals. The source of their concern was medical evidence and/or pregnancy of daughters in their early teens. The 1970s saw an increase in referrals from agencies, health visitors, GP's, schools. These sources of referral reflected changing practice. In the 1960s the inspectors, who usually walked to their destinations in the city centre, were a focus for expressions of concern about children and families. By the 1970s, families were much more widely distributed and there was a greater emphasis on inter-agency working.

The number of referrals from the various public services is very significant and indicates a clear recognition of the distinctive contribution of the RSSPCC in the context of these statutory responsibilities. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1979: 8)

As interagency working increased in the 1970s there were slightly more referrals from health visitors and GP's. Despite the changing role of the RSSPCC these continued into the 1980s and there were some glimpses in the records of the Society being the preferred agency. Two practices of doctors feature and their letters indicated that they expected that the RSSPCC would respond promptly to concerns.

5.8 g Reporter

The Reporters to the Children's Panel worked closely with the RSSPCC and made referrals occasionally in the mid 1970s, in much the same way as the Social Work Departments. The Reporters referred concerns of abuse and neglect to the Society; these were always a small percentage and are included in the 'other' category of table 5.7.

5.8 h Others - employers, press, NSPCC

Throughout the decades of this study a wide range of agencies and individuals contacted the Society, perhaps confirming the view held by staff that the RSSPCC was a recognised institution in Scotland for reporting concerns about children. The remainder of sources of referral was divided between: the police, employees, the Daily Record, and one referral only by a young person aged 15. I could not find any other referrals from children and young people in the 1960s. The one referral found was by a 15 year old complaining on behalf of his mother that his father had deserted the family.

Conclusion

The patterns of the identities of people who sought help from the RSSPCC remained remarkably constant throughout its history. Family members frequently contacted the Society. In the 1960s they were seeking help with money problems and violence from their partners. As domestic violence was not really 'recognised' at this time, the focus of intervention was often the family finances and the fathers were exhorted to 'provide'

for their wives and children.

Physical abuse of children accounted for a small percentage of the reasons for referral, at fewer than 4% for most of the twentieth century up to the 1970s. The archives of the 1960s indicate evidence of injuries to children, which obviously caused concern for the inspectors - they noted them in the records. However many of these injuries were 'noted' and not investigated or even raised with the parents. The 'discovery' of physical abuse and staff training on the topic in the late 1960s does seem to have raised the awareness of staff and perhaps increased their confidence in tackling physical abuse. The records support a conclusion that there was more physical abuse in families than was being recognised officially in the 1960s and not that a 'moral panic' about baby battering led to over zealous responses by the RSSPCC. This conclusion is discussed further in the chapters, which follow. The next two chapters explain a range of outcomes for family members when the RSSPCC intervention begins.

Chapter 6

Patterns of Practice

This chapter has two purposes, to demonstrate the patterns of practice by the RSSPCC between 1960 - 1990 and to try and unravel contradictions and complexities which have been identified in the analysis of changing practice.

Four themes are developed:

- The gendered nature of advice¹
- The decline of prosecutions²
- The under representation of practical help for families³
- The absence of families' experience of discrimination⁴

These themes are identified within the context of discussing patterns of practice and are revisited in the conclusion to this chapter. Ten categories of practice have been identified from studying the case and prosecution records and these constitute the sections of this chapter: visiting, inspection of the home, warning, prosecution, practical help, advice, mediation, liaison/advocacy, maintaining standards of child care, and 'casework'.

6.1. Visiting

Visiting the family at home has a long history within the traditions of voluntary organisations (Proschka 1988). The RSSPCC established the pattern of home contact by the end of the nineteenth century (Ashley, 1985). Throughout the thirty years of this study staff visited families in their homes. In the 1960s all the records gave the date and

¹ Women in the 1960s were advised on 'home-craft', men on getting work. The nature of advice changes and develops into the 1980s, but gender remains central. This theme is in keeping with the existing literature on the expectations of women and men who receive 'welfare' (David et al, 1993; Langan and Day, 1992; Dominelli, 1995; Cree, 1995).

² From the late 1960s onwards, prosecutions of parents decreases.

³ Practical help and advocacy for families is not reflected extensively in all previous accounts (Annual Reports and histories, Ashley, 1985; and Abrams, 1998) of the work of the RSSPCC.

⁴ The absence in all accounts (Annual Reports and histories, Ashley 1985 and Abrams 1998) of attempts by the RSSPCC to advocate on behalf of families experiencing religious or racial discrimination.

time of the visit and noted any difficulties in achieving access.

'I got the mother to open the door by standing on the window ledge and putting my arm through the broken window and pushing aside the curtains which were drawn'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961:127)

'The house appeared deserted. Made several visits before finding father at home.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962:214)

'The neighbour told me that the family were out but would be back later. Visited at 10.15 p.m. No one in. Visited at 11.00 p.m., family had returned. Father was unwilling to open the door. I climbed on to the window ledge and called through that I knew they were at home and that I was to be let in'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:327)

'The home looked derelict. The door was partly boarded up. The window on the ground floor was broken. I leant in and called to the mother to open the door so I could come in'. (Case Records, Govan, 1964:417)

The recording style for the early 1970s was relatively unchanged.

'Visited four times before gaining access to the home at 11.25 p.m.'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1971:707)

'Visited at 12.20 p.m. Mother reluctant to open the door. Explained purpose of visit and gained entry to the home'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1977:71)

By the 1980s there was less detail in the records about how entry was gained. The later records noted staff negotiating and making appointments with the family. The making of appointments with families emerged in the records in the 1980s. Prior to that the inspectors called unannounced on families. The experienced inspectors saw this as essential to protecting children. Appointments were part of what 1980s workers regarded as a 'professional' approach.

*'Writer agreed with mother to return next Wednesday afternoon'.
(Case Records, Easterhouse, 1987:91).*

*'A regular appointment has been made for Mrs X to be seen in
the home'. (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1980:102).*

The times for visiting throughout the decades were usually between 11.00 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. However, in the 1960s, evening, night and weekend visits were frequent, found in about one third of cases.

The frequency of visiting fell into three patterns:

- A short piece of intervention, of less than a month's duration, with several visits in a week.
- A longer period, on average six months. There was intensive visiting at the beginning. (Intensive is defined as at least two visits a week). Towards the end of the period of intervention, visits declined to fortnightly and ceased.
- The third category, long term intervention was found in about 20% of 1960s and early 1970s cases and declined during the 1980s to about 5% of cases. The sample of 1960s case records contained about a hundred cases where visits averaged fifteen a month for up to a year's duration. This included visits by an inspector and woman visitor.

The frequency and duration of visiting was related to the type of intervention and the assessment of the family. Visiting had a range of purposes. At the beginning of intervention, the most important reason was to inspect the home.

6.2. Inspecting the Home

The 1960's records provided most graphic accounts of poverty and poor housing. There was an absolutely unequivocal concern with physical welfare. The records reflected this by their uniform style of noting the state of the home. The following case from the mid 1960s typified the detailed recording of the home circumstances. The RSSPCC were called by neighbours.

'Visited at 4.35 p.m. The property was derelict; rain was coming through the roof. There were three full chamber pots under the sideboard. The mother was cooking on the fire. The house was filthy, with all kinds of dirt embedded in the floors. The beds were sodden with urine and there were two torn blankets. The children A 8, B7, C6, D5, E3 and the baby were seen. Their clothes were filthy and inadequate. C was coughing, D and E had head lice. The baby was seen in the bedroom, the cot was grubby.

There was little food in the house. In the pantry there were 2 potatoes, some oats in a jar, a tin of corned beef. Not enough to feed the children for one meal. In mother's purse there was three and sixpence. Father had deserted the day before. The floorboards had been used for the fire; there was no coal. The fire was unguarded. The pram had been sold by father for drink. Rent book seen, in arrears'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1964:612)

The areas to be included in the first visit were uniformly recorded and the supervisor highlighted any inconsistency or omissions.⁵ The supervisor who read and signed the records at intervals noted any omissions in red ink. If a child was not either seen or accounted for the supervisor made a note in red and the inspector had to ensure that s/he was accounted for on the next visit. E.g. *'B not seen, is at Approved School'*. The whereabouts of children who were not living at home is discussed in Chapter 8.

Inspection of the home conditions continued into the 1970s and for the early years of that decade the style was unchanged. The new assessment form introduced in 1975 called for collection of a much wider range of data. Both parents' occupations could be included. Legitimacy⁶ as a category had been dropped but there remained a 'Remarks' section where examples were given of possible areas to be noted. Illegitimacy of the children was an example, as a category it was still included but no longer underlined in red.

⁵ Supervision was undertaken in Edinburgh, the records were routinely sent to head office for comment and decision on closure of cases. The 1960s records demonstrate clear evidence of management from Edinburgh.

⁶ Legitimacy appeared to have a great preoccupation with the RSSPCC. The reasons are not entirely clear. Glasgow has for over 150 years had a greater proportion of 'illegitimate' children than any other city in the UK (Gallagher 1989). Gallagher points to famous people such as Keir Hardie to suggest that illegitimacy in Glasgow was subject to less stigma than in other parts of Scotland.

The new 1975 assessment form sought information on the environment, housing, home craft, economy and health of family members. In respect of parents, the categories to be completed included their parents, deaths in the family, significant relatives. There was a list of possible problems to tick - quarrels, alcohol, gambling, and violence.

The children's behaviour became a focus for the first time in the case records. There was a scale of possible behaviours. 'Disturbed behaviour, bed wetting, school behaviour problems, quarrelling, running away, sexual/physical harm.' By the mid 1970s the content of the inspection of the home had become less detailed.

'I visited and saw parents and all the children. Baby asleep through most of the interview. Children were playing, appeared healthy and well nourished. The house conditions left a lot to be desired. Certainly the house could have been better cared for'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1977:82)

The 1980s accounts of visits adopted a similar theme, with less specific detail.

'Visited family home, saw father and all children, all of whom were adequately clad, healthy, happy and content. M is indeed turning out to be a very pretty little girl. Father advised that H had recently started to wet the bed again. No reason given for this. Home conditions showed little or no improvement'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1985:27)

The inspection of the home was at the core of assessment of the next stage of intervention. The warning was both a method and an outcome of intervention.

6.3. Warning

'The mother was severely warned of her responsibilities to her family and the maintenance of standards in the home'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:302)

This was a recognised and frequently deployed strategy. Parents either separately or together were warned of their responsibilities to provide for their children. 75% of the sample of 1960s records (n = 1089) noted under 'action taken', that warnings had been

issued.

'The parents were warned of their situation and the state of the home'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1963:27)

The content of the warning was not stated in the records and appeared to be assumed knowledge. Even in cases where there was a hint of sympathy for parents they were still warned. There was no indication as to whether this happened in front of the children. Some parents, usually fathers, were summoned to the office to be warned. Warning provided a key to practice in the 1960s. Some warnings were more clearly linked to a judicial outcome.

'The mother was warned as her care stood at the present she could be reported to the procurator fiscal'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1966:62)

The immense detail in records of the state of the home left little if any room for any alternative views. Likewise in respect of the welfare of children, competing alternatives were eliminated rapidly, if presented at all.

'The children were all filthy with dirty clothes. The mother stated that they had been playing in the close. The mother was told the dirt was ingrained and could not have occurred in one day. She was instructed to clean the children.' (Case Records, Govan 1961:147)

'The baby was blue with cold and the children were shivering. Mother complained of the draughts. She was instructed to light the fire, bag of coal left.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:317)

'The mother was out when I arrived, the children were in the home, eldest, 13, in charge. Mother arrived at 6.30 p.m. and said she had missed the bus. I told the mother that she was working and should be at home with the children. The mother claimed to have been visiting her mother and missed her bus home. I told her that if she had been to see her mother she would have taken the children with her and that she was coming home from her work.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1965:516)

There were very few records of the responses to these warnings. On rare occasions the parents recognised the error of their ways,

'The father admitted he had been foolish'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962:213)

Dissent was noted occasionally and explained as a further symptom of family problems.

'The mother said she wanted to run the home without interference....she was obviously up to no good with this man prior to us knocking on the door'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962:212)

The language of the records reflected the discourse of authority, control and expected co-operation. Failure or resistance to co-operate was regarded as indicative of poor parenting. Warnings rarely occurred in isolation; help and advice were frequently offered but if ignored or rejected then warning was a precursor to prosecution. The 'warning' as a central aspect of intervention continued into the 1970s. However, the way in which it was recorded changed,⁷ for example:

'Both parents were reminded of their responsibilities, particularly with regard to their frequent quarrels and their irresponsible attitude towards their children, and they agreed that this would not happen again'. (Case Records, Springburn, 1977:22)

'Parents were advised and left in no doubt that the conditions previously seen could never be tolerated again. If they did then more formal action would be taken. Parents appreciated this and thanked the Society for their intervention. Mother referred to Alcoholics Anonymous.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1983:41)

⁷ Changing patterns and language in recording is discussed later in the study.

6. 4. Prosecution

Prosecution of parents for cruelty to or neglect of their children established the RSSPCC as a significant force within Scottish society. By 1897 the Annual Report noted that there was:

A decrease in the number of violent cases and assaults...where the Society are operating, a wholesome dread has been established lest the cases of parents or guardians using violence to children may be brought before the Courts. I think the public mind is becoming daily more conscious of its responsibility in this matter. There was a time; early in the history of the Society, when the belief prevailed that there was too much interference with what is described as 'the liberty of parents'. Magistrates showed considerable dislike to convict offenders...There may be, and, perhaps, was at that time - early in the history of the Society - ground for suspicion that the officials of the Society were over-zealous and were led into doing things which might be considered as undue influence, but I think matters are entirely altered now. (SNSPCC, 1897)

It was 1901 before recording of work by inspectors began to be noted as important in the Annual Reports. In 1906 the Annual Report noted:

All the investigations of the Inspectors in dealing with complaints received are carefully recorded and results are tabulated...Instructions for filling up the forms have been issued with the object of securing that the statistics will be compiled on a definite and uniform system. (SNSPCC, 1906)

By 1910 the improved-recorded system documented 4,000 prosecutions. The majority was in Glasgow. The Annual Report, still mindful of the charge that the Society might be over zealous, gave a picture of the circumstances of neglected children.

Out of 7677 cases investigated last year, no fewer than 6708 were classified under the heading of neglect and starvation. Surely a neglected child is one of the most pathetic sights in God's fair world. The wrongs of children are for the most part suffered in the privacy of the home, all unknown to the great outside world. The passer-by little thinks of the long-drawn-out tragedy being enacted behind the stone walls of the house that looks so commonplace and is so familiar. And yet behind such walls there are children crying out their hearts, where there

ought to be nothing but joy and laughter. They are hungry for there is no food. They are cold for there is no fire. They are in rags, filth and vermin...They may have a drunken mother. Possibly their father is lazy and heedless of them. (SSPCC Annual Report, 1910:21)

The same Annual Report regretted that the Children's Act of 1908 had made a futile attempt to reduce the prevalence of burning and scalding accidents to children.

An offence, punishable by a fine not exceeding £10 is committed only if a child under seven years is killed or suffers serious injury through an open fire-grate not being sufficiently protected. The fine is a feeble anti-climax to the tragedy and his proved as useless as might be expected. (SSPCC Annual Report, 1910:27)

The role of the RSSPCC in prosecutions continued unchanged until the early 1960s. Prosecutions in the 1960s were mainly for 'failure to provide'. The table below sets out the prosecutions by the RSSPCC of families between 1960 and 1975.

Table 6.1: Prosecutions Glasgow and West by RSSPCC: 1960-1975

YEARS	PARENTS	FATHERS	MOTHERS	TOTAL
1960	9	94	21	124
1961	8	75	30	113
1962	19	102	43	164
1963	13	90	34	137
1964	4	72	23	99
1965	6	58	34	98
1966	2	16	27	45
1967	13	64	19	96
1968	1	20	20	41
1969	7	13	19	39
1970	12	27	34	73
1971	5	12	19	36
1972	6	8	9	24
1973	3	6	6	15
1974	2	4	10	14
1975	2	4	6	12

The decision to prosecute was not made by a single inspector, but by a local committee of the RSSPCC. Prosecutions represented a relatively small aspect of the overall work of the RSSPCC never exceeding 5% of their total workload. The inspectors produced the information on which the decision was based. The prosecution records gave comprehensive details of the process, including witness statements and press reports.

Table 6.1 shows how many fathers and mothers were prosecuted between 1960 and 1975. The reason for the increases in 1962, 1963 and 1970 were explored in interviews with staff who worked during this period. The exceptionally severe winters of 1962 and 1963 were thought to be the most likely reason. Most prosecutions were for neglect and the long cold winter exacerbated the living conditions for poor families.

'As I remember it families suffered a lot during that time. The snow lay for months and the water froze. We delivered extra coal and food, but families who couldn't manage probably were prosecuted.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

'1962/3 was a savage winter. I remember the Clyde freezing in places. The snow was deep. Some families burnt the doors and the floorboards. With unguarded fires there were additional dangers to children from sparks. Extra coal was delivered where we could get it. The women visitors helped out with vegetables for soup. But as the winter went on vegetables became scarce and more expensive. Some fathers deserted, as they could not work on the building sites. There was less casual work. The schools closed which meant the children couldn't get their milk and dinners which put more pressure on poor families.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1995)

The case records for this period indicated increased material support during the winters of 1962 and 1963. A second possible explanation for the increase in prosecutions during this period could be the increased awareness of child neglect. The McBoyle Committee was formed in 1961 and the RSSPCC was represented by the membership of Claude Forsyth the General Secretary. Mr Forsyth promoted discussion of issues of child neglect within the RSSPCC and called for greater vigilance amongst staff. The material in the case records and prosecution records confirms there were additional problems for

families caused by the severe weather, but also that staff responded with material help.

The prosecution records also indicated an increase of reported cases of child cruelty, bruising and minor injuries to younger children at the end of the 1960s and early 1970s. The RSSPCC focused on child abuse and in 1969 and invited Dr Henry Kempe to come to Scotland to train staff on the battered baby syndrome. All staff attended this and other training and it seems probable that staff awareness of child abuse was heightened. 1960s records contained examples of injuries to children, which were recorded, but no further action was taken. For example:

'Child - aged 6 required six stitches to his head. Mother was inebriated at the time he fell and cut his head on the kitchen sink'. (Case Records, Govan, 1961:121)

'The baby (10 months) had a severe burn on his back. Mother reported he had fallen in the kitchen and was scalded. Mother advised to take him to the doctors and was reminded of her responsibilities.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962:271)

'Child - aged 8 was in hospital with a broken arm. Mother said he had fallen in the close whilst playing. The children appear accident prone and have many injuries playing.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1964:600)

This last case note was commented upon by the supervisor who suggested that the inspector should be vigilant in checking the children's injuries. The vigilance of RSSPCC staff in respect of injuries appeared from the case records to develop in the 1970s. From then on there was also increased inter-agency working.

The influence of training in extending awareness of child abuse was suggested in the RSNSPCC (1969).

A very successful 10-day Residential Training Course was held at the Dunfermline College, attended by 25 inspectors and women visitors of varying experience...A further development in training at the end of the year has been the appointment of a Social Work and Training Consultant to be available to staff in

the field for consultation about their work with cases and to advise the Society on questions of training generally. (RSNSPCC, 1969:2)

Increased awareness of child abuse was acknowledged in the Annual Report for 1972.

'the public even if they have not heard of 'non-accidental injury' are certainly worried about 'battered babies'. (RSNSPCC, 1972:10)

Staff interviewed confirmed that their awareness of child abuse was enhanced by training and media coverage in the late 1960s. They were reluctant to admit that they 'missed' cases of abuse previously.

'I suppose we might not have realised that there was 'baby battering' as it was called then. We were thorough in our visiting and recording'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1995).

'The training was good it helped to think of things in the family to look for. We always focused on the state of the home and the children. I found Kempe's work on the factors in abuse useful. He alerted you to certain types of family.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

'The women visitors were good at noticing the welfare of the children. They spent time with the mothers, assisting them to learn how to clean the home and make soup. After they started getting trained in what to look for they brought notice of injured and neglected children'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

The significant increase in prosecutions in 1970 reflected another trend, that of greater numbers of women being prosecuted. Men were in the majority until 1968, after which more women than men were prosecuted until the Society ceased to undertake the role of prosecutor. The increased proportion of mothers prosecuted is discussed later in this chapter.

6.5. Practical Help

Bags of coal, vegetables for soup, firewood, cooking pots, fire guards, prams, buckets, clothes, mattresses, sheets, and towels, were all frequently distributed by RSSPCC staff.

The early accounts of the Society's work focused on warning and prosecution. The role of advice is noted in Annual Reports from the 1920s onwards, but little mention was made of the amount of material assistance provided by the Society. A recent account of the RSSPCC's work (Abrams, 1998) focuses on the inquisitorial role of the Society and does not address the range and complexity of the services offered to families. Abrams (1998) defines the role of the Society as intrusive and moralistic. Both these elements were present in the case records. But a close scrutiny of the case records suggested that alongside the emphasis on parental responsibility there was material aid for the majority of families. This is discussed in greater depth later in this chapter and in Chapter 7, where family responses to intervention are analysed.

The Annual Reports for the 1960s charted the work of inspectors and women visitors. The following extracts were typical.

Frequently the basic reason for an inspector's intervention may be the misuse of income whether derived from employment or the State. In one family known to an inspector there were 8 children under the age of 14....The father was a reasonably good worker but would spend most of his income on drink. Eventually arrangements were made with a co-operative employer that the father would receive two wage packets each week, one being for himself and the other to be handed to the mother. The Housing Factor also assisted over the matter of rent arrears and the rent book for the family was cleared. With a regular income the mother is now able to look after the children properly and the father has reached the stage where, instead of having his responsibility taken over for him, he can be relied on to see that the mother and children are provided for. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1966:2)

Budgeting, household management, care of the children, shopping, cooking -these tasks and many others are more than familiar to most mothers, but where knowledge or training in them is lacking then the woman visitor has to fill the need; Mr and Mrs X appeared in Court three years ago and were convicted of neglect of their children. They were put on deferred sentence and a woman visitor supervised the family. The mother was in poor health having had seven children within

six years and there were many debts in the family. The children themselves were underfed and the home conditions were unsatisfactory. The visitor called at the home frequently and gave instructions to the mother in cooking, budgeting and care of the children. (RSNSPCC, 1969:11)

Throughout the three decades under consideration provision of goods was central in many cases, whether short or long term. Examples of the provision of bags of coal or children's clothes etc. were recorded in 80% of the sample of 1960's cases. It is probable that not all 'gifts' were recorded and therefore the provision of material help was even greater than that recorded. Staff interviews confirmed that this was probable.

'Sometimes we would take along clothes our own children had outgrown. My wife passed on several coats, she would send bags of vegetables. We did not always record these, they were small things to encourage parents and help them along the way'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

Staff were asked in interviews about the importance of material provision for families. All agreed it was essential, especially for the children.

'If the family was struggling, especially mothers on their own with a husband in prison, we helped out how we could. It was important to encourage a sense of responsibility for their home and children. If the mother was trying to improve her situation then some help with fuel or food could strengthen her resolve.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1995)

'Some families would sell clothes you gave, others appreciated them. You got to know mothers you could trust and that they would use bedding for the children. With close supervision you soon got to know which families could make use of help.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

Staff interviewed took for granted the provision of material help as a core element of their work, particularly in the 1960s. There was some appreciation that this was not publicised, although given the close proximity of housing other families would know material help was being provided.

'Our task was to warn and encourage families to become responsible for their children. The Society always stressed this part of our work.' (RSSPCC Staff, 1994)

In public, the RSSPCC was always concerned to state its purpose as encouraging moral responsibility among parents. The development of the Society can be seen within the context of Donzelot's (1977) description of the growing power of the State over families. He identified that *a procedure of tutelage be established, joining sanitary and educative objectives with methods of economic and moral surveillance* (Donzelot, 1977:89).

The amounts of material help appeared to be less extensive in the 1970s. The new Social Work Departments had a statutory capacity under Section 12 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 to provide material help to families. The RSSPCC liaised and advocated on behalf of families to the Social Work Departments. The change in material help from the RSSPCC was established in the case records by the late 1970s. Holidays, outings and trips to the pantomime for children replaced bags of coal and firewood. The Society extended its services in the 1970s to offer 'respite' to parents and a wider range of activities for children.

The other RSSPCC projects continue to flourish and develop. The Buchan Playgroup has completed five years of activity; the various Mothers' Groups continue in different ways... and the two RSSPCC caravans in Central and Grampian Regions provided much needed and welcome holidays for families. (RSNSPCC, 1975:11)

By that time the Society was willing to publicise holidays for families as a relevant and important form of assistance. Material help to families in the 1980s was limited to Christmas presents and Easter Eggs, holidays and outings for the children. The nature of intervention in this decade was divided between short-term intervention involving advice and liaison with a range of agencies and casework or counselling which is discussed later in this chapter.

6.6 Advice

Advice in this context is a generic term for the ways in which inspectors and women visitors sought to guide families. In the 1960s some advice clearly fell within the category of direction or instruction. This had disappeared by the 1980s when staff advised and suggested. Whether the families themselves perceived any difference is not accessible. Chapter 7 considers examples of recorded responses to 'advice' from families. This section is concerned to establish the range and nature of exhortations to families.

'Father was just getting up, he was told that he would not find work at this time of day.' (Case Records, Hamilton, 1962:21)

'Told the mother to put the child's nappy on.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961:102).

'The parents were instructed to clean the house immediately.' (Case Records, Govan, 1962:271)

These are typical of the early 1960s. By the 1970s families were more likely to be 'advised'.

'The mother was advised to make soup with the vegetables and a large pan was provided, the only pans in the home were held together by soot.' (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1974:61)

The tone of the 1980s records was more sympathetic.

'Mother could give no reason for the very dirty house conditions. She was assured that the writer thought that things could be better attended to. The mother did not look a very strong person. It transpired that her husband has a drink related problem. The writer agreed to allow time for improvements to be carried out.' (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1985:41)

'Advice' covered a wide range of aspects of family life. The topics, on which advice was and was not offered, also changed. Topics of advice are set over leaf in table 6.2

Table 6.2: Topics of advice to families: 1960-1989*

*These categories were compiled from the themes identified in case records and additionally from counting the themes in 100 cases in each of the periods- the percentages refer to these. The categories overlap in that some families could be advised in all the areas listed.

categories of advice	1960-1975	1976-1984	1985-1990
cleaning/washing	frequently - 90%	occasionally - 40%	less often - 10%
keeping children clean	frequently - 90%	quite often still - 60%	less often -10%
cooking-nutritious food	almost always - 95%	rarely - 20%	no record
state of home generally	tidiness - 50%	not often 15%	rare - 5%
managing finances-	mothers/fathers - 90%	mothers/fathers - 80%	mothers only - 90%
children's health	many poor health - 80%	health improves - 50%	rare - 5%
relationships-parents	arguing over money - 20%	more general - 50%	frequent - 75%
children's behaviour	very rare - 2%	bedwetting - 40%	school/home - 40%
domestic violence	rarer - 5 (10%*by 1970)	increasing - 20%	more frequent - 30%

Table 6.2 shows that home management was the principal form of advice to women in the 1960s. Advice was offered on cleaning, washing and cooking to almost all families who experienced longer term intervention. The advice giving of the 1960s has a tradition going back to the beginning of the Society.

When a child is found neglected and destitute, while we give immediate protection, we do not immediately rush off and provide for that child. We enquire who is responsible for the condition of the child and why the child is neglected and destitute. Needless to say, in the great majority of cases there is no sufficient reasons, and the parent is advised in a kindly but firm manner that the child must be properly treated and properly provided for (RSNSPCC, 1908: 4)

The pattern of advice giving continued in the 1930's.

The inspectors have many different duties to perform and have to give advice on many topics....the father was out of work and receipt of Public Assistance allowances, but through pure ignorance of how to spend the money the mother never had enough to do what was required. At the inspector's request a grocery book was produced, and on examination it was found that she had been buying expensive food and not proper food at all, so the inspector told the woman she was wasting money....The woman was wise enough to be guided by the inspector and somewhat to her surprise she found that her grocery bill was at once reduced by over 7s a week. (RSNSPCC, 1932 quoted in Ashley 1985: 127)

Specific instructions to mothers were at the core of the 1960s records. They were told to scrub floors, clean windows, wash bedding, and clothes. Cooking or lack of it was the subject of much comment. In the days before 'ready to eat' meals mothers were advised to buy vegetables for soup. In 1961 the women visitors produced a cookery book of simple and nourishing dishes which could be prepared with vegetables and cheap cuts of meat. Mothers who provided tinned or packet soup were considered with opprobrium.

'Advised the mother that father's wages were being squandered by the purchase of canned soups. A good selection of vegetables and lentils purchased for the same cost as two tins of soup 1s 2d could provide nourishing soup for the children for several days'. (Case Records, Govan, 1962: 280)

'A careless mother purchased ready made soup incurring unnecessary expense... Woman visitor will advise on the preparation of nourishing soup and will provide a large pot and a packet of lentils to get the mother started'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963: 327)

Advice on financial management was wider than that of saving on food. Families were advised on budgeting, saving money, paying rent arrears and avoiding pawnbrokers and 'loan sharks'. From the turn of the century onwards poor financial management by mothers was the focus of advice.

The inspector does not go as a mere amateur detective seeking to get a prosecution. He goes to prevent cruelty in the widest sense of the term, and he does so by giving good advice in a friendly manner....The responsibility which rests on parents for providing things necessary for their children is impressed upon them....guidance is given to parents on husbanding their resources and avoiding the evils of money lenders and debt. (SNSPCC, 1909)

Although extreme poverty was often regarded as a personal responsibility there was note in Annual Reports and case records of the impact of economic conditions. In the 1920's sympathy was expressed for the men working on the tunnel being created under the Nevis Range.

It is sometimes quite impossible for tunnel and road worker to make adequate provision....bad weather upsets the whole arrangement, because wages are not paid for hours thus lost. Married men on such work who try to do well deserve full consideration and sympathy. (RSNSPCC, 1922 quoted in Ashley 1985: 117)

The same support was noted for men during the economic changes in Glasgow in the 1960's.

'The father was advised that work was difficult to find with the closure of the chemical factory at Sighthill but building work was available. The mother was advised to budget carefully and not to borrow money. The family allowances were to provide for the children'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1960: 2)

The economic decline of the 1970's was noted in the later case records.

'Father unable to find work. There are many debts. Writer sat down with parents and worked out a plan for paying them off. Mother admitted to lodging her benefit book with an unofficial money lender in return for advance payment. Writer stressed to parents that this practice is illegal and could result in the withdrawal of benefit. Writer agreed to contact the Social Work Department to seek support for the family. Easter Eggs left for the children'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978:52)

'The family have enormous debts. Mother is on her own since her husband deserted. Writer tried to establish a plan; she owes the catalogues £250, rent £400, local money lender £550. The latter is the greatest worry to her as she fears this individual who is known to seek sexual services in payment of debts unpaid. Writer strongly advised mother against this option reminding her of her rights as a woman'. (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1988: 26)

This was one of the few references to advice about personal relationships - absent in virtually all case records before the 1980s. The absence of references to some topics is discussed at the end of this section.

Advice on the physical welfare of children was dispensed in respect of head lice, clothing and health.

'X aged 8 was coughing severely. Mother instructed to take him forthwith to the doctors'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 172)

'Mother instructed to change the baby's nappy and put cream on his rash'. (Case Records, Govan, 1963: 347)

This tradition on instructing on the 'basics' of child welfare also dates back to the beginning of the 20th Century. It continued to the end of the 1970's by which time the behaviour of children became the subject of comment and advice.

'I intimated to mother this was a parental problem and she and her husband could show a little more interest in the home, this would be bound to rub off on the children'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1974: 26)

Another family where the boys were getting into trouble running away.

'Mother was told it could be no wonder the children got into bother as there could be no entertainment in this home'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1975: 128)

Advice on relationships was circumscribed to the 'outer limits' of family life for most of the decades under consideration. The intricacies of relationships were rarely commented

upon or advice offered. Sexual relations were not referred to until the mid 1970s. There were no records of advice on contraception or family size. The 1980's records gave examples of what could be described as family casework which is discussed in Section 10 casework.

Advice on relationships between mothers and fathers emerged in respect of financial matters early in the Society's work. Quarrelling was usually attributed to matters of finance and or alcohol misuse.

'The father's indifference to the claims of his wife and children led to him spending his weekly wage upon himself, which caused continual quarrelling between the parents'. (RSNSPCC, 1928)

The same theme was evident forty years later.

'The parents quarrelled frequently. Father was lazy and worked on and off. Mother was the careless type'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 722)

The following extracts were untypical.

'The mother complained of assault by the father. She was advised to go to the Police'. (Case Records, Govan, 1967: 700)

'The father is in prison for wife assault, serving 18 months'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978: 29)

Domestic violence was glimpsed in the 1960's records and the advice in the above extract was rare. Women sought out the inspectors for help with their husbands' violence. The records gave glimpses of violence towards women often when their husbands were drunk but usually the problems were interpreted as practical or economic.

'The mother contacted the Society because the father was drinking the wages and assaulting his wife.... Father was instructed to hand over half his wages to the mother'. (Case Records, Govan, 1962: 247)

This was a typical entry for this period, which ignored violence to women. The role of inspectors and the response of women experiencing domestic violence in the 1960s are discussed further in Chapter 7.

By the 1980s the RSSPCC were offering women specific advice about their options in cases of domestic violence.

'She admits she is afraid to go to the Police for fear of repercussions her children have witnessed attacks and her suffering. We discussed her options: Should the situation become really unbearable, she should remove herself and the children to Women's Aid. As she is reluctant to leave her household goods, her option would be to stay put and begin negotiations with the Housing Department to get her re-housed. She chose the second option, although I gave her the address of Women's Aid as a precaution. I received her permission to contact Stobhill Hospital to obtain clarification of how she received her injuries'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1985: 22)

The first example of reference to sexual relationships was found in the case records of the mid 1970s. The female worker commented as follows:

'Mother went further to say that over her holiday she had a coil inserted and that this was causing her discomfort. It has now been removed. This indicated that the parents are again having a sexual relationship which has not taken place since I (baby)'s birth in August 1974. Mother also appears to have discussed the possibility of sterilisation and this has gone to the length where father has agreed'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1975: 29)

In another case the same worker advised parents to consider their relationship.

'Parents are never together and the stresses and strains are affecting the children. Mother stated their relationship was meaningless which the writer interpreted as the cessation of their sexual relationship. Father agreed blaming mother for always feeling tired. Writer advised parents to get a babysitter of a responsible kind and go out and try to relax together'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1978: 42)

These examples were rare and case records evidence that the RSSPCC interpreted their role as principally concerned with tangible and practical matters of family life. Related to advice was another category of intervention in the lives of families, that of mediation.

6.7. Mediation

Short-term cases demonstrated many examples of the RSSPCC's role in negotiating between couples and other family members such as grandparents. In the 1960s women and men called upon the RSSPCC to open negotiation over household goods, separations, finances, tenancies, less frequently children and very rarely violence. The following entries were typical of short-term work in the 1960s.

'Mother contacted the Society, father has sold the pram and deserted returning to his mother....Father contacted at work reminded of his responsibilities, and instructed to return the pram or purchase another one....A week later mother reports the pram has been returned. Mother advised to secure tenancy. Children in good order. Recommend case closed'. (Case Records, Springburn, 1964: 700)

'Mother contacted the Society, father drinking wages....Father is a careless type. Arranged with mother to meet him coming out of the shipyard with his pay packet which is divided, the larger share being given to the mother to provide for the children. Mother impresses as a good manager. Children all in good order, healthy and clean. Recommend case closed'. (Case Records, Govan, 1962: 240)

'Mother has deserted and gone to her mother in Blackhill. Father cannot work as he is looking after the children (six under ten years). Mother is irresponsible type who drinks and dances....Father's mother in Gorbals was visited and agreed to care for children while father works....Mother returned to the home after a week. Mother in law keeping an eye on family. Children in good order. Case closed'. (Case Records, Govan, 1962: 247)

This negotiating or mediating role developed in the 1970s and 1980s as the Social Work Departments assumed the RSSPCC's statutory role. The task of mediation extended

beyond family members and included the Social Work Department. The concern with concrete issues extended the work beyond that of giving advice to family members, to intervening on their behalf with a wide range of external personnel including employers, factors, NAB later DHSS, Housing Departments, schools, hospitals and in the 1980s Race Relations organisation.

6.8. Liaison and Advocacy

Advocacy was one of the longest and proudest traditions of the RSSPCC. From the outset the Society defined itself as an advocate of children.

In short, the main object of the Society is to discover and relieve acts of cruelty and neglect to children done against them by their parents or guardians, in places which are miscalled their 'homes', and where the offences are the result of parental depravity, or intemperance, or of callous indifference to the lives and happiness of their children....The Society has no desire to interfere or to relieve parents of their moral and legal duties....but they endeavour to enforce the discharge of those duties and to assert the right of children to protection against assault, neglect and starvation.... (SSPCC Annual Report, 1896)

This section is concerned with advocacy and liaison on behalf of parents for the benefit of their children. Early reports of the Society's work point up the role of inspectors in working with employers and landlords on behalf of families. In 1933 an inspector reached agreement with the Labour Exchange that an unemployed man with two young children would not receive his benefit until the RSSPCC inspector arrived to ensure that it was all handed over to his wife. Similar examples were prevalent in the 1960s case records; arrangements were made for employers to issue two pay packets, one for the wife and one for her husband.

Many families lived in appalling housing conditions, leaking roofs, and unsanitary

conditions were commonplace. The inspectors contacted private landlords and housing departments to seek solutions to repairs or to secure re-housing.

'The roof had been leaking for some weeks. Mother, a pathetic creature, could not do much with the landlord, an unsympathetic woman known for her thrift....Contacted ----- landlord, who agreed to ensure home was made watertight'. (Case Records, Govan, 1961: 171)

was a typical entry for this period. At that time Glasgow was entering a phase of massive slum clearance and re-housing of families to new estates.

Glasgow Housing Committee unleashed the most concentrated multi-storey building drive experienced by any British city, with high flats accounting for nearly three quarters of all completions in 1961-68. (Horsey, 1990:49)

David Gibson, Convener of Glasgow's Housing committee from 1961 - 1964 in his address to the 1962 Annual Housing Inspection spoke about his vision for Glasgow.

Over the next three years the skyline of Glasgow will become a more attractive one to me, because of the likely vision of multi-storey houses rising by the thousand....the prospect will be thrilling, I am certain, to the many thousands who are still yearning for a decent home. (Quoted in Horsey, 1990: 46)

Many of the families with whom the RSSPCC worked appeared to be the last families to be re-housed. Glasgow's re-housing policy claimed to have ended the sectarianism from the allocation system by a letting of every new scheme on a 1: 2 Roman Catholic - Protestant basis (in proportion with the city's overall population ratio). However the case records give examples of families who felt themselves to be surrounded by people from another religion. The RSSPCC staff recorded advocacy on their behalf with the Housing Department to seek re-housing where the situation of the families was very difficult to resolve by any other means. This aspect of the Society's work does not appear to be mentioned in Annual Reports or accounts of their work (Ashley 1985; Abrams 1998). Neither were their attempts to tackle racism experienced by a small

number of families living on the perimeter housing schemes. The case records for the 1980s gave examples of Asian families' encounters with prejudice. The RSSPCC corresponded with the Housing Department and Scottish Asian Action. (For reasons of confidentiality quotations from the correspondence are not included.)

Housing problems became an increasing part of the Society's work in the 1980s. The RSSPCC received a number of referrals from families experiencing difficulties in high rise blocks and perimeter housing schemes. Liaison and advocacy was approximately half of their workload by the end of the decade. This included contact with gas and electricity suppliers in respect of bills and disconnections. With under-floor central heating and all cooking by gas or electricity disconnection achieved a greater significance after the 1960s. In earlier years many families cooked on coal fires and relied on candles when the services were cut off. There were some notes of inspectors seeking restoration of the supply in the 1960s, but by the end of the 1970s advocacy was more prevalent. Liaison with agencies involved with children became more comprehensive after the Social Work (Scotland) 1968 Act came into force. In the 1960s there was some recorded contact with schools, hospitals and the Children's Department, but by the mid 1970's this had become a greater aspect of the inspector's role.

The Annual Report for 1979 recorded staff contact with other agencies as set out in the table overleaf.

Table 6.3: RSSPCC staff inter-agency work 1979

Source: Statistical Return RSNPCC 01.12.78 - 30.11.79

Inter-Agency Contacts	Numbers
Case Conferences	1,175
Court	155
Children's Panel	231
Residential Home or Clinic	826
Project Work	729
Co-ordinating meetings	265

From being at the centre of the lives of poor families in the 1960's, thirty years later the majority of staff time was spent offering short-term advice on housing problems and benefits.

6.9. Maintaining Standards of Child Care

This section describes practice which refers specifically to the welfare of children. All aspects of practice had the broad aims of protecting the interests of children. Throughout most of the twentieth century the RSSPCC was explicitly concerned with their physical welfare. The Society's early policy statements emphasised the primacy of the moral and physical welfare of children. The advantage to the wider community of protecting children was explained in terms of crime prevention as set out in the Annual Report of 1896.

Every child that is rescued from an untimely end and made a useful citizen, or who is saved from becoming a criminal is a distinct gain to the community....We seek to save the flow of

infant life before it enters into the channels which lead to prison.... (SNSPCC, 1896)

Keeping children from harm and ensuring they were brought up with the values of hard work and personal responsibility was the Society's aim up to the 1960s. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the home environment, food and clothing were carefully inspected and remedied where considered necessary. Cases of extreme physical abuse resulted in prosecution or in lesser cases warnings. Sometimes other legislation was used to 'influence' parents.

'The mother hit the children for telling the neighbours she had been drinking, the injuries were not serious enough for the Society to charge her under S12 of C & YP Act of 1937. To bring her to her senses the police were called to charge her with assault'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 201)

Appropriate care for children was recommended.

'The father left the children in the care of a girl of 11 after the mother was put out of the house for drinking. He was told that someone of at least sixteen years was needed'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1964: 427)

'X aged 7 was coughing heavily mother advised to take her to hospital urgently. The child was clearly very ill'. (Case Records, Govan, 1967: 657)

'The mother was advised to take the baby to the hospital, her nappy rash was of a serious nature'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 666)

There were almost no accounts of interaction with children until the end of 1970s. The interpretation of the welfare of children was concerned with the physical environment. The case records after the mid 1970s indicated the development of a more comprehensive approach to child welfare. There was greater concern for their emotional welfare and evidence of referral and liaison with other agencies.

'Parents cohabiting - father awaiting results of divorce proceedings. Mother of the same has been in desertion for 24

years. It was noted at a recent outing to the Zoo that X was displaying emotional problems, he has been referred to Child Guidance and parents are aware of his problems. Parents are co-operating and the situation has improved since last year. Parents are delighted at the prospect of another baby and do not foresee any difficulty in maintaining the stability of this home. I would request further supervision and continued involvement'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1979: 61)

In the 1980s there were records of intervention with children. The following case extract from Castlemilk in 1983 demonstrates developments in practice. There was concern for confidentiality, and an attempt to support the mother by direct intervention with the children. Such an account would not have been found in the 1960s.

'Called at family home where all 4 children were seen. Asked why the boys were not at school and mother admitted to having slept in. I advised mother of the complaint and asked if she felt the boys were outwith her control. She told me they seemed to be constantly fighting and at times in trouble at school.

The family lived in the ground floor flat in a building, which was due for knocking down. Mother told me that father had left the family home nine months ago to live with another woman. Since mother's sister and another woman were present I had to ask to speak to mother in private. She took me into the bedroom. I asked her to call the boys in and I would have a word with them. Each of them came in separately although X had run off and had to be persuaded to return. They are four healthy enough looking boys, none too clean, and rather poorly dressed. They all admitted to fighting, I told them about the complaint I had received and warned them that they must behave better. They were polite with me but I got the distinct impression of a devil lurking in each of them. Mother impressed me as a nervous soul who did not quite know what to do with four boys on her own. I arranged to call back on Tuesday. Telephoned school who confirmed the boys are constantly in trouble.' (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1983: 21)

In interviews with staff they described the changing practice as 'casework.' This is a debated term, which is discussed in the next section, but RSSPCC staff interpreted it as working with families on their feelings and relationships. The paradigms of practice identified in Chapter 3⁸ do not rely on 'casework' as a defining feature of practice, partly because of the debates about what it means, but also because the case records indicate a wide range of practices. The focus of work or targets of intervention are used to identify approaches to practice. These are discussed further later in this chapter. However as RSSPCC staff identified 'casework' as important to their later practice, the term is reviewed below.

6.10 Casework

Casework as a method in social work has a long history and many definitions. These are reviewed briefly below as a preface to discussing the role of casework as a category of intervention by the RSSPCC. Casework has never been easy to define. Timms (1964) refer to the various attempts made in both the USA and Britain to classify casework processes, and the confusion around the distinction between terms such as methods and techniques, processes and procedures, goals and aims.

The problem has been that there is no generally accepted theoretical framework and professional vocabulary by which caseworkers can unambiguously explain and express their practical experience. (Foren and Bailey, 1968: 260)

Hollis, (1965) one of the most famous exponents of early casework distinguished between direct work (with the client) and indirect work (with their environment). Hollis classified treatment into six categories: (a) sustaining procedures, (b) procedures of direct influence, (c) catharsis or ventilation, (d) reflective discussion of the nature of the current situation; the client's responses to it, and their interaction, (e) reflective discussion of the dynamics of response patterns or tendencies, and (f) reflective

⁸ practical-chauvinist, protectionist and feminist-welfare

discussion of the generic development of response patterns or tendencies.

The worker often regarded sustaining as the most fundamental aspect of the casework. One of the most important techniques was interested, sympathetic listening which conveys to the client the worker's concern and acceptance. Acceptance has always been a core value of casework. Hollis (1965) pointed to the importance of recognising the whole person.

We know that it is easy to have feelings of warmth of positive good will towards another who is likeable.....in order to help another person through the casework method there must be sufficient understanding of the need to act in this way, and of the suffering that either precedes and causes such behaviour...unless this atmosphere exists we have little indeed to offer our clients. (Hollis 1965: 38)

The worker's non-judgmental attitude is another core principle of casework. Casework literature has debated whether 'directive' techniques are ever appropriate. Halmos (1965) argued that it was impossible to be 'non-directive'. However, the client-worker relationship gained in importance with the increasing influence of psychoanalytic concepts. There were debates as to how the relationship could be used to help the client. Parsloe (1965) wrote an influential article about the role of presenting clients with reality.

It could be said that most casework is concerned with presenting reality, and there are different aspects of reality which caseworkers may try to present. These may range from the reality of the client's feelings and of their internal world, to the reality of the demands which Society makes of its members to send their children to school, or to pay the rents of their council houses. Seldom are caseworkers attempting to present only one aspect of reality; more frequently they are trying to help their clients to tolerate conflicting aspects of reality.... (Parsloe, 1965: 2)

Whilst these and other issues of casework were debated in social work in the 1960s there was little evidence that the values and methods of casework were part of patterns of RSSPCC practice in the same period. One of the tensions, which became apparent in

interviews with the RSSPCC staff team in 1993/94, was around the nature of practice. Newer staff maintained that there were those in the Society who did not appreciate fully the values and methods of casework. The Society's earlier work was regarded as essentially practical, *'There are some seniors who have never taken on board what modern social work is about. They think you just go in and 'tell' the family'*. (RSSPCC Staff, 1993)

Staff who had been with the Society in the 1960s and 1970s recognised the issues but saw them differently.

'Social work has changed. Perhaps we never were social workers, after all we were called inspectors and that is what we did. We cared a lot about the 'weans'. We were not employed to 'listen' or 'consult' families or ask them about their childhoods, our job was to try and help the families to do a better job bringing up their children'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1995)

Training for social workers in the 1960s included casework principles and methods. Social work training for RSSPCC staff was not introduced until the 1970s. The Annual Report for 1975 noted that there were

.....five probationary staff undergoing training. In the field of further training the Society at present has four members of staff seconded on full-time training courses leading to Certificate of Qualification in Social Work.... In addition, several members of staff have attended a variety of short courses. The courses organised by the Central Council for Training and Education in Social Work on "The Law and the Child" and "Non-Accidental Injury to Children" were particularly successful. (RSNSPCC, 1975: 12)

The application of casework principles of sustaining and reflecting was much more evident in some of the work in the 1980s. As noted earlier, the majority of intervention was of a short-term nature, advice on housing and benefits. A referral to the RSSPCC by a woman whose husband was gambling is reported as follows. The warning is still central but the encounter, and use of language, reflects a social casework approach.

'I called at the home where I interviewed father who was alone in the home, his wife being at work. The interview was not very successful as Mr X was either not willing or unable to discuss the existing marital problems - although he was emphatic that he was not addicted to gambling and would derive no benefit from Gamblers' Anonymous. He conceded that on occasions he did gamble and had lost his wages. When I asked him if his gambling coincided with his drinking he played this suggestion down. He only gambled at weekends and not on a regular basis. I refrained from drawing his attention to the fact that on this occasion at least he had lost his wages on a Thursday. When it was apparent that Mr X was going to continue in the role of the chastened sinner I warned him that a repetition could result in my agency submitting a report to the Procurator Fiscal. I also indicated that in view of his wife's complaint it would be necessary to monitor the situation over a period of time to try to ensure that a similar incident did not occur again. Rather than object to this proposal he stated that he would welcome it. And I again asked him to consider if his desire to be watched might not make him question himself as to whether or not he had a problem. In order to assess whether he really was considering this problem, Mr X was asked, near the end of the interview, if he thought his problem was affecting his children. He conceded that the youngest child was displaying some problems at school, which had recently required him to attend the school to discuss the situation with the Guidance Teacher.

Initial Assessment

As already indicated Mr X's reserve to discussing his position makes it impossible to do anything other than speculate on the root of his problems at this stage. Although hopefully after a joint interview with both parents he may be forced if not encouraged to be more forthcoming.

Action

1. *Mrs Y's Social Work student took over the case and supervised the situation for the remaining period of her placement. Working towards a clear contract with mutually agreed goals rather than to merely monitor whether Mr X controls his gambling, through the existing unsatisfactory, 'foot in the door' situation.*

2. *To interview both parents together with a view to observing the interaction between them and also hopefully to stimulate an atmosphere where Mr X may be able to communicate his feelings and problems if these exist. Also to see if possible interaction between children and parents.*

3. *To try and identify if there has been a pattern of Mr X's gambling. If parents are willing to discuss these things openly it may be possible to draw up a family contract'.*

(Case Records, Glasgow, 1983: 29)

This final extract from the case records in the 1980's concerned a female worker working with a man and in that respect it was untypical of the majority of interventions

by the RSSPCC in the three decades of this study. Almost all the inspectors were men until the mid 1970's when more women were recruited. The inspectors worked with parents and as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, most forms of intervention were gendered. A feminist perspective highlights the way in which intervention could further oppress women in poverty. Segal (1993) has argued that notions of what makes a good mother is often middle class, thereby making working class women at greater risk of intervention. They are also in a contradictory position, being subject to the dominant ideology that their primary role is to be a mother but their economic circumstances often require them to seek paid work. Women in the 1960s were often advised to give up work and be at home with their children. The expectations of women as homemakers identified at the beginning of the twentieth century remain unchanged for seventy years. Alcohol misuse by mothers was frequently noted as problematic for fathers and the children.

The Executive Committee Minutes of October 21st 1914 record that a letter had been received from the Falkirk District Committee expressing their concern at having significant evidence of the wastage of allowance money in drinking by wives of men on active service. (Ashley,1985: 105)

The concept of deserving and undeserving families is developed in the next chapter and considers the role of the male inspectors 'protecting' some women from abusive husbands. In the age before Women's Aid the RSSPCC was, apart from the Police, one of the few organisations which could be called upon for help. As noted, the case records indicated that women were more likely to get support for financial problems, e.g. where husbands would not hand over their wages, rather than for acts of violence.

The case records of the 1960s revealed appalling housing, poverty and industrial restructuring in Glasgow leading to unemployment for men. A feminist analysis which deals with the oppression of women only is inadequate to address the implications of the lives of some men at this time. An approach to the RSSPCC archives which was concerned solely with the oppression of women could lead to an analysis which would

see all men as oppressors of women. Recognition of the oppression of RSSPCC fathers, opens up the possibility of a more complex analysis of what the RSSPCC intervention was intended to achieve, and how it was represented publicly. Donzelot (1977) recognised that the 'transformation of the family' required the active participation of women. Women were recruited to 'disseminate' the principles and new norms of family life. The women visitors who were recruited for the first time in 1956 came within this category. Middle class women who were expected to instruct and support women in home craft. The Annual Report for 1975 notes the retiral of the first woman visitor.

Mrs E McIntosh, MBE was appointed in 1956 as the first Woman Visitor (the Society had previously had Woman Inspectors but the role of Woman Visitor was a new development... Although she put tremendous enthusiasm and energy into the task of Chief Woman Visitor, we suspect Mrs McIntosh was always happiest when involved directly with her "wee families." (RSNSPCC, 1975: 12)

By the standards of today much of the earlier intervention was judgmental and moralistic. Donzelot's three questions; the place of the judicial, the purpose served by psychiatric intervention and the politics of the family, can be asked of the four themes in this chapter. The 'politics' of the family was for most of the decades of this study based on assumptions of gendered roles. Psychiatric intervention had a limited role, the influence of psychoanalysis came later to the RSSPCC.

The place of judicial action in the development of social control can explain the changing pattern of prosecutions. Rising concern about 'neglectful parents' in the early 1960s is at least a partial reason for the increase in prosecutions of parents. And again, growing concern about 'baby battering' may have influenced the rise of judicial action in the 1970s. The subsequent decline of prosecutions does not necessarily reflect a lessening of concern with child abuse, but rather, the evolving Social Work Departments. Given the nature of RSSPCC intervention at this time it is not surprising that increased awareness of a child neglect or abuse would merit a judicial response.

The Society's own image as represented through Annual Reports, histories and publicity material strikes a balance between the judicial and the ability to exert influence over poor families through advice and liaison with others important in their lives. The under representation of the amount of material help can be understood as an attempt to sustain this image. The references to material aid in the case records are fleeting and often contained within another topic, for example, *'Woman Visitor advised mother on the making of wholesome soup, large pot provided. She was also instructed in the appropriate way to scrub the floor'*. (Case Records, Govan, 1962: 158) Cixous' (1988) belief that the text is always more than the author wants to express is relevant here. In the interviews with staff who worked during this period, the recording practice of which they have the least clear recollection concerned material help.

As noted in Chapter 5, helping families who were in fear of their neighbours can be found in about 17% of cases within the sample of 1,500. Racial discrimination was found in about 10% of 1980s cases; all minority ethnic community families with whom the Society worked reported harassment on grounds of their race. The image of the Society as preventing child abuse and neglect may have been jeopardised by public recognition of sectarianism. Only one interview with a long serving member of staff sheds any light on this.

'We took it (sectarianism) for granted, anyone who grew up in Glasgow does - there's always been Celtic and Rangers and a lot more besides. The management of the RSSPCC were, still are, based in Edinburgh. Sectarianism was not such a problem in the East and they may not even have understood it'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1995)

As this is only one person's view a firm conclusion cannot be drawn. The analysis of practice demonstrates similarity with Donzelot's (1977) description of the two-fold approach to families, the provision of material help to gain access and to support the family and the attempt to enhance the morals of the family. The public face of the RSSPCC appeared more willing to reflect the latter account of practice. These

expectations were not only expressed in the responses to families but also in the entire discourse of the Society based on patriarchy. The provision of material aid and help in the face of discrimination could in Cixous' (1984) term be '*feminin*' and therefore not part of the patriarchal discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter explains the ways in which the RSSPCC intervened in the lives of the families. The gendered nature of intervention was demonstrated throughout the decades. Mothers who quite often sought out the help of the Society found themselves subject to a range of advice on many aspects of their lives. In the practical-chauvinist phase of intervention this took the form of prescriptions for homecare and cleanliness of the children combined with material help for heating, cooking and clothing the children. Dissent or disagreements were signs of poor parenting and these are discussed in the next chapter.

The patterns of intervention change in the next decade, the protectionist phase responded to the increasing referrals of child physical abuse, and there was more advice on children's behaviour. Help was directed towards resources outwith the home for the children e.g. play-schemes and with finances. The 1980s saw the introduction of the feminist-welfare approach, which sought to empower women within the context of helping with their relationships with men and their children and assisting them with their finances.

One of the puzzles of this study is the ways in which the Society represented its work publicly. Material help was acknowledged but underplayed, help for families experiencing religious and racial discrimination was ignored. The preservation of the role of men as providers and defenders of the 'family' may have been important. These themes are considered further in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Reluctant Families

This chapter concentrates on the 'decisive tussle' (Donzelot, 1977) between parents and the RSSPCC. Six themes are developed in this chapter to illuminate the complexity and depth of relationships between the staff and families. These themes of power, public and private zones of the family, the meaning of assessment, recording practices, the roles of mothers and fathers and families responses to intervention, are important in the examination of the negotiations between parents and the RSSPCC.

The Society established a power base for intervention in families in the nineteenth century and retained it until the implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 in the early 1970s. This tutelage (Donzelot 1977) of the family was based on the capacity to define minimum standards of parenting and to warn and prosecute parents who failed to achieve these standards. Support for parents could be extensive, almost daily visiting combined with material aid. The price of support for many women was intense scrutiny of their domestic life; cooking, cleaning, cleanliness of children and financial management were all in the public sphere of control. Relationships, sexual matters and violence to mothers and children remained largely in the private sphere until the late 1970s. Parents, mothers and fathers responded in different ways and the continuum of responses to intervention, developed in this chapter, enables the complexity of the relationships of power to be examined. Parents together and separately move from hostility to cooperation by varying degrees. This chapter considers the paradox that for many parents, (women and sometimes, men) having recruited the Society for one reason, they then found themselves subject to intervention in others areas of their lives.

7.1. Power

As indicated in Chapter 1, the RSSPCC stated, as early as 1896, that its duty was to look at cases brought to attention in three ways, from the viewpoint of the child, the parents and the community,

every child that is rescued from an untimely end and made a useful citizen, or who is saved from becoming a criminal, is a distinct gain to the community. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895)

The RSSPCC established rapidly a persuasive argument for its intervention. Public support was based on three grounds, not only to protect children, but to save resources¹ and,

...to render their land (Scotland) "Sweet and wholesome", not only at present, but for years to come, by rescuing infant life from premature termination and many young children of Scotland from a career of crime and vice. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1895)

The rationale for establishing the RSSPCC, has parallels with Platt's (1969) account of the 'child saving' movement in America. Platt argued that as well as seeking to protect children, the movement was concerned equally to preserve 'family values' by intervention through the courts. By the beginning of the twentieth century the RSSPCC had established a rationale and context for practice backed up by the laws of the land.

In 'City Sparrows' (The SNSPCC's children's magazine) in 1896 the developments of child saving was explained as follows:

Helpless little boys were choked to death in chimneys they had been pushed up to sweep, and the bitter cry of the children echoed throughout the land...But since that joyous June day, sixty years ago, when our bright young Queen came to the throne, 107 Acts of Parliament have been passed relating to child-life and child-suffering, and only two years ago the Queen gave the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children a Royal Charter, authorising it to carry out its work of helping children in their own homes - of seeking out these helpless, suffering subjects of hers, and protecting them, by making cruel and unnatural parents and guardians do their duty towards them. For, by the Children's Charter of 1889-94 - to carry out

¹ *'...it is a most economical and wholesome way of relieving the ratepayers from the charges which would otherwise be incurred if these children were permitted to become members of the great army of criminals...'* SNSPCC Annual Report (1895-6).

which the Society exists - the children of the nation were recognised as subjects of the Queen, with legal rights of their own, that can be enforced for them. (Quoted in Ashley, 1985: 56)

The RSSPCC, as noted in Chapter 6, established their practice on the basis of prosecution and warning parents, *the specific relations of domination which have their own configuration and relative autonomy*, (Foucault 1980: 188) were in place by the end of the First World War. The next section of this discussion of power relations employs Foucault's (1979) five rules for the analysis of power to analyse the work of the RSSPCC.

i) Foucault recommended that power at the 'extremities of society' be examined. Chapters 5 and 6 establish that in many respects 'RSSPCC' families were socially excluded or at the extremity of society. As will be discussed later in this chapter, some families e.g. travelling families were further marginalized and disenfranchised.

ii) *'How and where power is applied'*.

Power was most explicitly applied in the 1960s through prosecution and warning. Advice in this decade was often expressed through coercion. The police were called upon to support the inspectors in their task. For example the RSSPCC were called to a family in Govan in 1961. The house was very dirty. There were six children² who were sent next door to the neighbours. The parents were then instructed to clean the house all night. Scrubbing brushes and carbolic soap were supplied. The local beat policeman was asked by the RSSPCC to call at the house every hour throughout the night to ensure that the parents are still cleaning. At 7.00 a.m. the RSSPCC inspector returned, the house was judged suitable for the children who were brought

² There were two girls in the family, aged 12 and 14. There was no suggestion that they should remain for even part of the time to help their parents. The absence of gendered expectations of children is a puzzle.

back home. The case records note: '*... called at 7.00 a.m. - mother scrubbing the floor with disinfectant and complaining of feeling tired*'. (Case Records, Govan, 1961: 124)

Power was applied in the home and principally upon the parents. Influencing children was not apparent until the late 1970s. As illustrated in Chapter 6 the power applied to mothers and fathers took different forms in the 1960s. Gender roles and expectations resulted in fathers being 'pressured' to 'provide' and mothers to sustain an orderly home. Every practical aspect of life in this decade was open to scrutiny: the kitchen cupboard, mother's purse, the state of the bedrooms and the washing on the line. Confidentiality as a principle of practice had a limited scope at this time. Neighbours were consulted on the whereabouts of the family, employers were contacted to ensure that father's wage packet was divided and money given to mother. A uniformed RSSPCC inspector waiting at the factory gate to ensure father hands over his pay packet would be apparent to other workers. Power was applied both publicly and privately.

iii) *'Power as a network'*

The examples above illustrate that the power of the RSSPCC was part of a network. It was not simply that power was vested in the inspector and woman visitor. The inspectors were able to mobilise a network which was developed and extended in each decade. The network of power in the 1960s was concerned primarily with the material welfare of the family. As the concept of the 'welfare' of the children widened to include their emotional well-being the network extended to other agencies, schools, hospitals, child guidance clinics, social work departments. Judicial power and psychiatric knowledge (Donzelot 1977) became more evident in practice of staff in the 1980s.

iv) *'Microanalysis of power'*.

Foucault argued that power could only be understood if the everyday routines of the exercise of power were analysed. An understanding of power needs to come from considering the mechanisms of power and the preconditions.

It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantage of political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole. (Foucault 1983: 101)

The 1960's agenda for the RSSPCC had been set in an earlier age, their practice endured with remarkable continuity in periods of rapid economic and social change both nationally and locally. As the RSSPCC's role changed, the power to investigate concern about families became increasingly the role of the Social Work Departments. An analysis of the RSSPCC which proceeds with a conception of power located at the summit and then looks at its diffusion, can be found in Abrams (1998).

The consequences of the Orkney affair for child protection policy and practice in Scotland and the rest of the country have been profound. It was largely responsible for the winding up of the RSSPCC as an investigative organisation owing to the criticism that its officers had failed to act impartially. (Abrams, 1998: 236)

The study of the day to day practices of the society demonstrate that power relations were being diffused and transferred to Social Work Departments from the implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. Lord Clyde's report knocked the last nail in the RSSPCC's coffin as an investigative agency. The coffin itself was being made from the early 1970s onwards.

v) *'The production of knowledge'*

Power is exercised in conjunction with the apparatus of knowledge. The early accounts of the Society's development indicate a rapid establishment of *'knowledge'* about cruel and neglectful parents. As Parton (1985) noted:

We are not therefore simply concerned with the process whereby child abuse was recognised as a social problem, but also tracing the way the facts regarding the problem have been shaped. Here the concepts of ownership, causal responsibility and political responsibility will help specify the way the problem has been constructed. (Parton,1985: 9)

By the beginning of the twentieth Century the RSSPCC had identified a uniform pattern of neglect from the tenements of Glasgow to the fishermen's cottages on the Isle of Lewis. In 1906, Inspector Macdonald reports:

I found that the majority of the Island children living in the houses of crofters, cotters and fishermen were poorly clothed, many being in rags, shockingly dirty, and evidently rarely washed and very verminous....The most of the houses in Lewis are really shocking, they are rarely cleaned and smell of manure, fish entrails and all kinds of rubbish...The town of Stornoway compares favourably with other towns, but I have seen cases in it as bad as several I have seen in the slums of Glasgow. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1906)

Together with this knowledge of neglect developed a categorisation of *'careless'* parents. On his visit to Uist Inspector Macdonald discovered that in one family the children were lying on the bare floorboards because the straw on which they normally slept had been given to the cattle. *'...this was all due to the father being a lazy drunken character'*. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1906) Fathers continued to have a 'poor press' in the case records up to the end of the 1960s. They were described frequently as lazy, heedless, gamblers and work shy. If they were in work, they often drank their wages.

Alcohol was also noted frequently as a cause of 'careless motherhood'. RSSPCC mothers often failed to keep the house clean and tidy and some associated with men, other than their husbands. The knowledge of families and the causes of neglect had strong moral connotations until well into the 1970s. As discussed in Chapter 6, the approach to family problems then demonstrated a greater awareness of the wider economic pressures and the changing roles and expectations of women.

From its early years, the Society developed knowledge about vagrant or travelling families. In 1909, the Executive Committee received the following report on the children of vagrants:

I have made enquiries regarding the children of vagrants throughout all branches of the Society, including the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland, who at the end of November were living out-of-doors...The severe weather in the middle of the month caused a great many vagrants to seek shelter in country towns...the children living in vans are mostly fairly comfortable and clean and are attending school. The children living in tents are far otherwise. Few if any are receiving any education whatever and in the inclement weather must be exposed to many hardships and much suffering... (Report to the Executive Committee of the SNSPCC, 1909:9)

In 1910 another report on the same subject called for legal action.

The Children Act 1908, Section 12, points that a parent or guardian shall be deemed to have neglected a child or young person in a manner likely to cause injury to his health if he fails to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid, or lodging. We are not aware of any cases reported to Procurators Fiscal for failing to provide 'adequate lodgings' alone, but if this provision could be enforced it would clear the country of vagrant children, and secure for them proper maintenance and education...It is understood that School Boards in country districts frequently neglect to enforce the law as the presence of vagrant children is not welcomed in schools. (Report to the Executive Committee of the SNSPCC, 1910:2)

The Annual Report of the Society two years later noted with pride:

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us to be able to report that substantial progress has now been made in suppressing vagrancy among children. The full extent of the evil is not always recognised by those whose only acquaintance of vagrants is obtained through a visit to a tinker camp in summer. Far different is the condition in winter of the poor children living in a miserable tent or cave exposed to all the rigours of our northern climate. But serious as is the physical suffering the moral wrong inflicted on the children is even greater. They are not brought up like other children. They are outcasts in the midst of a civilised Christian state. They grow up in ignorance and idleness. Vagrants contribute nothing to the commonwealth of the country. They live the parasite life, subsisting on the industry and thrift of others. No greater cruelty can be inflicted on a Scottish child than to permit it to grow up in such conditions - without ever learning the meaning of the word self-respect, let alone still higher things. It is generally admitted that it is well nigh hopeless to reclaim the adult vagrant. The best hope lies in saving the children. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1912:6)

These reports have been quoted extensively as they demonstrate effectively that the knowledge developed reflects concern with economics and 'child saving'. The particular concern with 'vagrant' or travelling families remains part of the history of the RSSPCC into the 1960s. Case records reveal a somewhat different range of expectations and interactions with travelling families as discussed in section 6 of this chapter.

7.2. Public and Private areas of family life

The 1960's practice of the RSSPCC was paradoxical. The concepts of public and private expectations of the family are developed in Chapter 3. In the first decade of this study the 'private' world of the family was subject to intervention in respect of the material aspects of the home (women), financial management (women), distribution of wages (men), employment (men), morality (women), remaining in the home (women).

At any time of the day or night the cupboards, bedrooms and mother's purse were open to inspection. The physical welfare of the children was also open to public view. The extent and power of the RSSPCC's influence in the day to day running of the homes of the poor in the early 1960's was demonstrated by the case example in Govan cited at the beginning of this chapter. Other areas of family life at this time remain almost completely private. Domestic violence was acknowledged infrequently, relationships between parents and children were rarely noted or discussed. As the decades passed the pattern was reversed. The domestic sphere of family life decreased in emphasis. The inspections of the home were modified substantially by the late 1980s, as were the examinations of the children's heads for lice. Financial difficulties were treated more sympathetically and mothers were encouraged to find work. Family relationships, domestic violence, alcohol misuse and gambling became subjects of intervention.

Donzelot's (1977) question -

How could the family be divested of a part of its ancient powers - over the social destiny of its children, in particular - yet without disabling it to a point where it could not be furnished with new educative and health-promoting tasks? (Donzelot, 1977:199)

is relevant at this stage of the RSSPCC's development. The control of families by methods which were largely unchanged since the end of the First World War were ceasing to be viable in a new political climate.³ As discussed in Chapter 6, the 'casework' approach in social work was growing in popularity. The influences of psychoanalysis in the ordering of family life came much earlier to France (Donzelot 1977:200). Some writers have suggested that these influences were seen in English social work, however the psychodynamic approach was being modified or abandoned by the end of the 1960s. Pearson et al (1988) refer to the parody of 1960's psychiatric

³ The term 'new political climate' was used by Clarke (1993) writing about the freedom movements of the 1960s, the impact of feminism and the introduction of consumer rights.

social work, which reinterpreted material difficulties as problems of the 'inner world of the client'. The summoning of experts to discuss the problems of adolescence reached Scotland during the 1960s when the Kilbrandon Report (1964) was being prepared and began to influence practice in the RSSPCC by the mid 1970s. Reorganisation of services in the light of the Children Act 1975 and other influences was discussed in the Annual Report of that year.

In many ways there could have been a reluctance to change any aspects of a structure which has stood the test of time since 1884, and in the end the proposals of a sub-committee which was set up with this responsibility was made with a view, so far as possible, of retaining the best traditional qualities of the RSSPCC with a greater degree of support and supervision. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975: 9)

By the end of the decade the Society was promoting support services to families.

Two new "mums and toddlers" groups were formed to serve the needs of mothers with young children who were experiencing similar problems and had found the group setting an appropriate way of tackling them. Another group was formed to meet specific needs of mothers with school age children, based on self-help principles with a limited input from the worker. The RSSPCC initiated ventures are all co-operative efforts involving parents and enlisting the support of Health Visitors, Social Work Departments, Community Education, etc. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1978: 9)

These services were intended to exert influence on the upbringing of children in a less direct way. The role of mothers remained central. The need of mothers to escape the 'private' zone of the family was recognised. The records gave examples of mothers being encouraged to take part time work or join groups.

'Writer encouraged the mother to think about getting out of the home. The possibility of a women's group was discussed with her and a leaflet left. This would help her depression and offer support and guidance in rearing the children'. (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1986: 21)

Domestic violence was more openly recognised with specific discussion and advice for women. However as studies in 1974 of domestic violence in Edinburgh and Glasgow discovered it accounted for nearly a third of all reported violence (Dallos and McLaughlin, 1993). Therefore the accounts found in the case records of the RSSPCC were likely to be an under representation of the extent of the problem. The discussion of the problem within the case records reflected a similar discourse to that found by Pahl (1985) that many women endured a violent relationship for the sake of the children.

'I told mother I would attempt to visit her later in the week and to think very carefully about the matter before discussing this with father. I pointed out to the mother that she had her own well being to safeguard whereby she indicated that she could not take much more of the pressure she was living under, but that the children were her main concern'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1986: 47)

7.3. Assessment

The assessment of families by the RSSPCC became more explicit by the 1980s with a section of the case records identified 'assessment'. However assessment, in terms of defining, describing and deciding what should happen was apparent throughout the decades of this study. *'Children in good order, father working'*. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1964) The assessment of cases in the sixties was much less explicit than in later records. That assessment was taking place is clear from the decisions in the records, particularly in respect of closing cases and in the decision to prosecute.

'All in good order - father deserted six months ago, house now in mother's name'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:317)

'Mother on MSS managing well - MGM stays next door and all is well...Request close'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1965:58)

'No further complaints received'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1963)

Assessment was based on the perceived skills of the mother and on her willingness to co-operate with the inspector. Hostility to intervention was frequently equated with poor mothering as is discussed below. The mother's objections to visits were interpreted as evidence of careless or uncaring attitudes to her children. There were fewer records of hostility by fathers; this may not be a reflection of the level of their hostility but of their lesser relevance to sustaining the family. The need for prosecution, apart from serious cases of violence to children (which were few in numbers) was related to the need to get parents to recognise their responsibilities and '*to bring them to their senses*'.

'The mother was warned as her care stood at present she could be reported to the Procurator Fiscal'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1966:41)

Assessment at this time was concerned largely with deciding on the '*type*' of parents. Their responsiveness to intervention was considered crucial. The next stage of 1960s assessment was to describe the causes of concern. The final stage was deciding. The case example below was typical of '*assessment*' of a short-term case in Glasgow in the 1960s.

Parents X 30 and Y 27 have two children; girls aged eight and six years. They live in a decaying tenement with two rooms. X is an upholsterer but has been off work through sickness, he has asthma. The referral came from maternal grandmother; Y and the children had come to her, as there was no food in the house. The nature of the wrong as recorded on the file, was '*Careless father*'. The inspector visits on the 5th of January to assess the state of the home as '*untidy but basically clean, adequate bedding but no food or clothing*'. Both parents are seen and '*Reminded of their responsibilities*'. There is no comment on the girls except that their clothes are thin for the time of year. The inspector visits on 6.1.62, 11.1.62 and advises father to get work and mother to clean up the house. On 12.1.62 he accompanies the mother to the WVS store to get clothes for herself and the children so they can return to school. Visits are made to check progress on 21.1.62 and again on 6.2.62. At the final visit on 28.2.62 the parents are back together, father is working. The case is closed. (Case Records, Govan, 1962:213)

This family was co-operative and grateful for the help received. There were hints of domestic violence in the record *'the mother left the house after an argument, she claimed the father was the worse for drink'*. This was not developed. There was a clear expectation from the inspector that traditional gender roles should be re-established within this family, father providing, mother caring for the home and the children. In an implicit sense the inspector could be seen as supporting the mother by reminding father of his responsibilities, ensuring some material support and only withdrawing from the family when the expected roles had been resumed. This pattern accounts for approximately a third of 1960's intervention.

The following 1960's case indicates an assessment at different stages, which demonstrates the need for continuing intervention.

X 47 and Y 39 have nine children aged between 13 and 1 year. The second child, a boy aged 12, is on probation. They lived in a three apartment flat in a street in Govan, which no longer exists on the map. The flat is described as *'sparsely furnished and devoid of comfort'*. There have been a number of referrals for neglect going back to the early 1950s. The 1961 referral is made by the eldest daughter who was sent to the police station by mother, as father was very drunk and violent. Both parents were described as having a drink problem. When the inspector called, one child aged 6 needed stitches to her head having fallen against the sink. Mother threatened suicide if the children were to be taken into care. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961:170)

There was no recorded consideration of the consistency of the child's injuries.

The following week, January 1961, father was remanded in custody for holding up a post office and mother deserted. The children were taken into care. A week later the children were returned. Mother objected to the RSSPCC involvement but was told if she did not co-operate the children could go back into care. At the next visit she was;

'More approachable, more pleasant, she is warned of her responsibilities'. Glasgow (1961).

There were regular visits including those of a Woman Visitor.

Mother was advised on various matters and it was noted when being told to;

'put a nappy on the baby...and take the four year old to the doctor...' ...mother lost her temper. She is clearly the type who could abandon without provocation'. (1961).

Weekly visits followed throughout the summer months. In July a visit record noted that;

'There was a smell of drink although mother appeared sober. There was a man aged about 20, who refused to give his name. He appeared to be associating with mother to some degree although he was pretending to fix a lock on the door...Mother was obviously up to no good with this man prior to our knocking on the door and consequently she was more co-operative than usual in answering questions'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961:170).

Later in the summer, a car hit the four-year-old and the oldest girl was kept off school. In September the case papers were sent to Edinburgh for review and the case was continued.

In October the ten-year-old was missing from home and the police not informed until after midnight. A aged twelve had a severe cut to his head; alleged mother hit him with a shoe. On inquiry it transpired that A was hit after lying to mother about his missing brother's whereabouts. There were further complaints from a local shopkeeper saying that the children were neglected. A ran away and was taken into care for the night, he refused to come home. The record of the same week noted that:

'Mother is annoyed at being visited so regularly'. (1961). There were meetings with the Children's Department. The RSSPCC obtained a place of safety for B aged 10 who was frequently running away. There are messages from Perth prison that father was concerned about the welfare of the children. The case was reviewed and closed in December 1961 as the Children's Department was involved.

Three weeks later in early 1962, the police called in the RSSPCC, mother was drinking and stolen property found in the house. The children were taken into care and the records noted that,

'They were all delighted' (1962).

Two days later the children were back home. Father was out of prison. Further visits ensued, the focus being the state of the home. In February the children went back into care after father came to the office to complain of mother's drinking. At this point the case was closed. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 170)

Assessment at this time rarely addressed alcohol directly; there appeared to be an inherent assumption that abstaining from or reducing alcohol intake was a matter of individual will.⁴ The concept of addiction does not appear until the 1970s. Plant (1997) explains that 'working with alcoholics' implied dealing with men. Only recently has discussion of alcohol-related problems included women. However it was not until the 1960s that the first Scottish Alcohol Treatment Unit opened in Edinburgh (Collins 1990). The same period saw the emergence of community-based specialist alcohol services.

This development represented a response to the growing need for services, given the increasing incidence of problem drinking, but also to the re-definition of alcoholism as problem drinking, which can be viewed as a social rather than an exclusively medical problem. (Collins, 1990: 24)

The later case records evidenced parents being advised to contact Alcoholics Anonymous. The new assessment form introduced in 1975 included a category for alcohol problems. The new form was comprehensive in its approach to the data required about a family to complete an assessment. Examination of the records indicated that within the first few months of the new forms implementation not of all the required categories were completed. By the 1980s the short term work which preoccupied the majority of staff time required a rapid assessment. Longer-term work included a written assessment amounting to several paragraphs. The example below of 1980s practice was still preoccupied with home standards.

⁴ Alcohol misuse features in the majority of the families but there are almost never any suggestions that the parents should address their drinking habits. There was an implicit acceptance of the problem for most of the decades of the study. There was a more rigorous approach in terms of child protection by the Social Work Department in the late 1980s, but new guidelines introduced by Strathclyde Region Social Work Department in 1992 stated that as alcohol misuse was so common in families in the West of Scotland, child protection procedures should only be instigated if the child or children were in immediate danger.

'Visited home at 4.50 p.m. saw parent and all children who seemed happy and content. Children accompanied by writer inspected the bedroom: 2 single beds in the children's room, one used by X (girl) mother, Y and Z (boys) sharing. W sleeps in a cot. The bedding was adequate if somewhat well used. Again bedroom curtains have been pulled down. X has been enrolled at the playgroup and told me about her enjoyment in this group. Because the children had peeled some of the paper off the bedroom walls father had partially re-papered it. He had made a fairly good job of it. And he was complimented by the writer. Easter Eggs were left for the children.

Since the last review, home standards have once again reached an acceptable level and then slid back to a level, which could do with improvement. X has started attending a day nursery. Enquires by writer at S..... Primary School confirms that X and Z are doing as best as can be expected. However writer would like to continue supervision of the family to try to assist with the improvements of basic home standards, which overall are improving somewhat slowly. Coupled with this the family are always in need of material goods and with the additional child expected, making five children, this will no doubt cause stress in the family.

Visited family home saw father and all children all of whom were adequately clad, healthy, happy and content. Father advised that X had recently started to wet the bed again. No reason given for this. X and Z have started picking wallpaper from bedroom wall. Were spoken to by the writer and solemnly promised to stop doing this forthwith. Home condition showed little or no improvement.

Next Case Review- Since last case review there was an upsurge in tidiness of the home and father had redecorated the bedroom, the hall, children's bedroom and bathroom. However again, conditions have deteriorated. Mother is once again pregnant. Father is being encouraged to try and improve home standards. He has advised the writer he is saving £5 per week unknown to mother for the redecoration of the living room. Children seem to be progressing satisfactorily, although the control over them by parents is somewhat lacking. Children very much left to play by themselves. Suggest supervision is continued in an effort to raise home standards.' (Case Records, Glasgow 1985 :30).

The next example of reasons for closure in the mid 1980s indicated the role of other agencies, Child Guidance for behavioural problems and the Social Work Department for family support.

'The family has been known to the Society for approximately 12 years intermittently. Father is on Invalidity Benefit and is the dominant partner, he presents himself as very caring, however, when problems present he opts out. Mother attends to all problems concerning children, she is a caring person with strong maternal instincts and does not discriminate between B and P. She is very pleased she is pregnant - baby due in April. Child B leaves school in December, attendance has been erratic - no excuses - P has always presented problems - he is at present being assessed by Child Guidance - has been repeatedly suspended.

Writer has been in contact with school and Child Guidance - T - bright attractive child - no apparent problems, appears underweight - M - subject of NAI investigation 1983 (unfounded) - he is quiet subdued child. J aged 5 recently started school - no problems apart from being enuretic. Baby R - no problems. Parents were re-housed.

Assessment

Problems in this family will be difficult to resolve. P is awaiting the assessment of Child Guidance. They are delighted at the prospect of becoming parents of twins. Parents now relate to Social Work Department. Parents are aware case is being closed.' (Case Records, Glasgow 1986 : 11).

The examples of assessment quoted above reflect the developments within social work assessment. The 1970s saw a number of studies on methods of assessment (e.g. Roberts and Nee, 1970; Pincus and Minahan, 1975; Specht and Vickery, 1977). Social work intervention was viewed as an ordered process, in which assessment was part of a preliminary to effective action. By the 1980s a shift in emphasis was growing, the

child abuse inquiries resulted in a process in which:

Assessment assumed importance as social work practice in its own right, rather than a stage in some potentially therapeutic process. Moreover it became focused predominantly on certain factors, notably risk. (Lloyd & Taylor, 1995:92)

The RSSPCC assessments also demonstrated the changing use of language and representation of conclusions. These were reflected in the recording practices.

7.4. Recording Practices.

From the early years the RSSPCC prided itself on thorough and careful recording. This section reviews work of the RSSPCC within the wider context of social work recording. In 1896, Beatrice Webb recalled in her diary a conversation with Octavia Hill: *We talked of artisans' dwellings. I asked her whether she thought it necessary to keep accurate descriptions of the tenants. No, she did not...there was already too much 'windy talk': what was wanted was action.* The earliest records kept, in the early days of the Charity Organisation Society, were one line entries giving name, problem and the help given. Later in the nineteenth century the content of records increased leading to diary type entries with more practical detail. The development of records mirrors the growth of the social work profession. More detailed records were kept as social workers became interested in the overall circumstances of their clients. The influence of psychoanalytic theory and a greater emphasis on personal and relationship problems rather than material ones, led in the nineteen thirties to long process-records, which Hamilton (1946) described as meandering on for pages.

The RSSPCC established their own recording style by the end of the nineteenth century and continued the pattern of detailed descriptive recording for most of the twentieth century. Elsewhere, in social work practice, Hamilton (1946), identified four purposes (practice, administration, training and research) but also concentrated on style, developing an influential format for future workers. By the 1950s case records reflected

a concern with 'diagnosis' and 'treatment'. Supervisors routinely read the records and in their research into a social work agency Frings, Kratovil & Odemis (1958) found that records were most frequently used for supervision. The RSSPCC records in the 1960s were always read and 'corrected' by their supervisors. As social work sought to become established as a profession ⁵ attempts were made to clarify professional practice and recording. BASW in *Effective and Ethical Recording* (1983), summed up the purpose of the record as follows; *The nature and extent of recording required should reflect the information needed to provide the best possible service to the client.* Gelman (1989) pointed out that recording in such a way may take more time because it will require thought in place of rambling and often disjointed commentary.

The thinking and decisions, which precede recording, are one site of professional power, as evidenced in Chapter 6. The second is the use of language. The 1970s saw a series of research projects, which have suggested that, a set of relationships came into play when people who are socially disadvantaged relate to agencies. They noted that the inequalities in society were reflected in service provision (Harvey, 1972; Pahl, 1970; Bernstein, 1970). Other studies have explored the differential filtering that seems to operate in welfare organisations, (Kemeny and Poppleston, 1970; Pinker, 1972), schools (Hargreaves, 1976), psychiatric hospitals (Goffman, 1968) and general medical provision (Seed, 1973). These all revealed that criteria other than 'need' operate unconsciously and that the most disadvantaged are likely to get the least preferential treatment.

Combined with these initial disadvantages is the power of the professional to define the situation. Allen (1964) argued that the vocabulary of therapy had been exploited to serve a public relations function. He showed that as groups become more

⁵ The debate about whether social work is, is or is not, a profession has been extensively discussed in social work literature, (e.g. Clarke 1993)

professionalised they move further away from the reality of the situation and seek to bring people within their own orbit. De Wolfe (1970) concluded that professional groups tend to expand the boundaries of the label, bringing the client within their own administrative sphere. Mechanic (1971) showed how clients with crises are referred to increasingly professionalised personnel who in turn redefine their problems in terms that they can handle. Social class and use of language, rarely mentioned in social work textbooks, further distance the client from the agency. Society is not so homogeneous that it can be assumed that clients are able to assert their rights with ease. In 1960, Schattshneider encapsulated the issues as follows: *The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly choir sings with a strong upper-class accent.* (1960: 12) In 1987 an international conference on record sharing expressed the problem in more prosaic terms:

There are disproportionate numbers of disadvantaged people who are clients of the social services, people who mainly have not been socialised into asserting their rights. (Eurosocial, 1987: 16)

The clients of the RSSPCC rarely if ever appeared to assert their rights and their reluctance to do so may well have roots in the way that language was used. Communication between worker and client is influenced by language and meaning. In 1968 Timms made an important assertion:

Language does not occupy a central place in social work and social workers themselves appear indifferent to its significance. It is worth enquiring why. Two factors can be readily identified; their mistrust of language and their apparent belief that it is somehow indispensable. (Timms, 1968: 2)

As far back as 1933 Miller identified that language is frequently adapted to the functions of a particular group. Baldock (1981) demonstrated that probation officers frequently used language that their clients did not understand. Rojek, Peacock and Collins (1988) argued that professional language was a form of power, part of the trend

of domination and dependency in social work practice. In a different context, Bourdieu (1991) argued that, however personal and insignificant it may seem, all linguistic interaction bears traces of the social structure. He was critical of the notion of a common language which ignored the social and historical conditions which have established a particular set of linguistic practices as dominant and legitimate. Through a complex historical process a particular form of language becomes dominant and other 'languages' or dialects are subordinated. Bourdieu (1991) identified this dominant or legitimate language as the 'victorious language'.

The language used in the case records was descriptive and for the most of the twentieth century explicitly judgmental. Standard English was used throughout, there was no Glasgow dialect, and the 'weans' never appeared. The use of the word kids to describe children crept into the language by the late 1970s used mainly by teachers and health visitors. RSSPCC staff continued to refer to children.

The recording practice of the RSSPCC was the subject of criticism by Lord Clyde. The requirement for accurate recording in child abuse work is recognised in many child abuse and protection enquiries into the deaths of children.⁶ In the report into the death of Maria Colwell a section of the report focused on the inadequacy of the case recording. *Inaccuracies and deficiencies in the recording of visits and telephone messages played a part in the tragedy ...the importance of recording the actual dates of visits and distinguishing between fact and impression.* (DHHS, 1974) The Annual Report of the RSSPCC in 1975 recognised the importance of careful recording. However my examination of the RSSPCC case records revealed that the standard of recording in terms of detail of dates/times of visits, presence of children, etc. declined

⁶ For example between 1974 and 1981. Records kept on eight children, Maria Colwell, John Auckland, Stephen Menhennott, Lester Chapman, Darren Clarke, Carly Taylor, Paul Brown, Malcolm Page, were incomplete. Records were criticised for failing to separate fact and opinion and for not recording precise details about the child.

towards the end of the 1970s. At the Inquiry into the welfare of Richard Clark (Scottish Education Department, 1975:35) the RSSPCC were reported to have carried out their duties and recording in an exemplary fashion.

In interviews I conducted with staff in the 1990s, recording practice was an area of disagreement. Some newer staff regarded detailed recording as a breach of confidentiality and a perpetuation of the unequal power between workers and clients. Longer serving staff looked back to the Society's tradition of detailed, precise recording and argued that such a style served child protection functions. The RSSPCC remained outside this debate and their official statements and Annual Reports paid little attention to shared recording as being a factor in empowering service users.

7.5. The creation of the roles of mothers and fathers.

This section draws on the contribution of feminist writers and on the work of Bourdieu to illustrate the construction of appropriate roles for parents. The capacity to assess and define lay with the RSSPCC. As few (less than 5%) of the 1960's cases analysed had physical abuse as their explicit concern, most cases were concerned with neglect of children and issues about the maintenance and cleanliness of the home. This area of domestic life offered considerable scope for differing interpretations and definitions of what are minimum standards for the care of children in a culture at a particular time in history. These descriptions also rely on a shared usage and understanding of language.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the warning was one of the most significant terms. Parents were warned separately and together. The assessment of parents by the RSSPCC, particularly up to end of the 1960s can be interpreted in terms of binary opposition (Kristeva, 1991). Parental roles were dichotomised. Fathers were conscientious/lazy,

supportive/unsupportive, keen to find work/unwilling to seek work. These terms, which were reflected in the use of language in the case records, convey a male privilege. The male persona was working hard to provide for his family, actively seeking work. 'Careless' fathers were defined in contrast with competent fathers and the polarisation of these identities can be interpreted as a source of oppression. Bourdieu (1991) describes the 'symbolic struggle' to define or produce common sense.

.... or more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate naming as the official i.e. explicit and public - imposition of - the legitimate vision of the social world, agents bring into play the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles.... (Bourdieu, 1991:239)

The definition of 'careless fathers' or 'careless mothers' can be understood from Bourdieu's identification of official naming, a symbolic act which has the support of common sense. This power is derived not just from common sense but also because the RSSPCC inspectors possessed the delegated power of the state, the holders of the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence.

There was little comment within the records about the educational opportunities of parents but their unskilled employment suggests they had minimal schooling. The records in all decades, noted a small proportion ⁷of fathers and mothers who could not read. The recording of all interactions in Standard English could be interpreted as a professional approach, but also as a symbol of power. The assessment of mothers is based on common sense notions of what motherhood should be about. Bourdieu's secret code can be identified as transmitting what good mothers should be doing. The role of the Women Visitors in instructing mothers was unlikely to have been executed solely by language but through suggestions *inscribed in the most apparently insignificant aspects*

⁷ Adults who cannot read are noted on the body of the case records there was not a category in the front sheet, so recording of this was not formalised. It is therefore difficult to quantify the exact proportion. It is probable that the illiteracy was under recorded in the case records. Some case records comment explicitly about a lack of literacy, and Women Visitors are enlisted to read letters etc. In the later, 1980's records there are a few references to parents being encouraged to attend literacy classes.

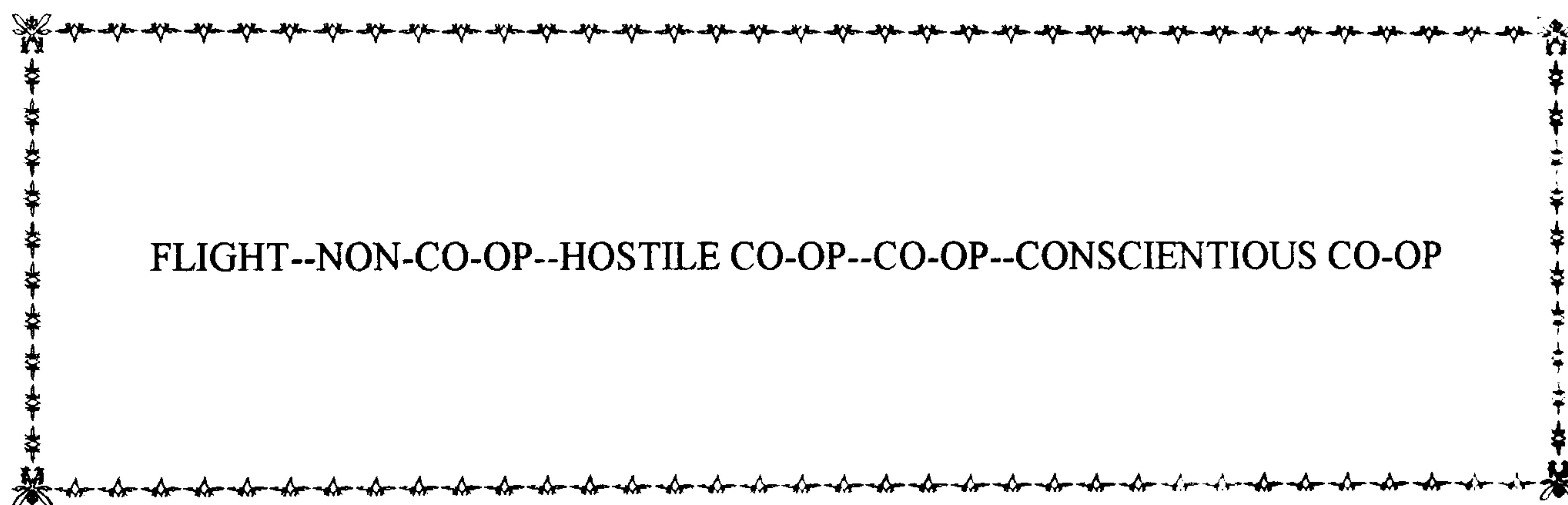
of things, situations and practice of everyday life'. (Bourdieu, 1991: 51)

The next section, which discusses the continuum of response, develops this theme further.

7.6. Family Response to Intervention

The response of the families to RSSPCC intervention as perceived and interpreted by staff in the agency's records is complex and to try and make sense of families' responses I developed a continuum of co-operation. The continuum ranges from co-operation to outright hostility and refusal to work with the staff. This continuum is inevitably a construction.

Figure 7.1 Continuum of Family Responses to RSSPCC intervention.



All families are unique and the way in which they were portrayed in the records by a number of staff at different periods in the Society's history suggests that families arrived at a range of ways of dealing with the intervention in their lives.

The way in which these interventions and reactions are described is patterned by the organisation of the agency and the training and experiences of the workers and the historical period at which they operated. Those who wrote the records were in Goldman's terms authors and:

The ideas and work of an author cannot be understood as long as we remain on the level of what he wrote, or even what he

read and what influenced him. Ideas are only a partial aspect of a less abstract reality: that of a whole living man. And in turn this man is only an element in a whole made up of the social group to which he belongs. (Goldman, 1966: 7)

The construction of the mothers' and fathers' responses is described and interpreted in ways which differ in crucial ways during the decades. The explanation of these differences can be located in the social, legal and political contexts, for example the preoccupation with legitimacy. The early records noted all illegitimate children in red ink; this could be interpreted as a purely moral matter, or a concern that these children within the family might receive different treatment from their mothers and/or fathers.

To analyse the interaction between the RSSPCC and families, a continuum is developed within this section. The notion of a continuum has been employed to reflect the movement of families. Rather than categorise families as Donzelot (1977) did I adopted a more fluid approach to reflect the evidence that families moved between different stages within a relationship with the RSSPCC.

As has been recognised throughout the study the term 'family' does not reflect the gendered experience and where appropriate distinction will be made between mothers and fathers. In a significant number of cases mothers and fathers reacted differently to intervention and therefore moved in separate directions along the continuum. Mothers who left '*careless fathers*' and struck out on their own were often re-assessed and intervention was terminated.

'Mother has returned to her mother with the children and will remain there until she can obtain her own tenancy. Visited to find conditions much improved. Children in good order - recommend case closed.' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 702)

'Mother has the tenancy since father deserted. Children clean and tidy, going to school. Home conditions adequate. All in good order. Recommend case be closed' (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 224)

This study did not have access to what the families actually thought or felt about intervention.⁸ The records gave impressions of families' reactions to the RSSPCC: those of the travelling families suggested a pattern of hostility, but also of differential expectations of parenting by the RSSPCC. In the case records, one girl, 'runs away', from an urban family, the girl from the travelling family 'wanders'. In discussing the continuum of response to intervention, the majority of families were not travelling families. Where there are differences the travelling families are identified.

Figure 7.2 Combined Table of family responses to intervention and RSSPCC recognition of 'all in good order' and closure of the case.

sample of 100 cases in each year from March 30-1960, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1975, 1980/1* 1985-9* Glasgow records.

*due to smaller number of available case records these years are grouped together

year	flight	non	hostile	co-op	cons.c	all	total
1960	22	11	13	21	8	25	100
1964	23	6	19	25	7	20	100
1968	17	8	17	36	11	11	100
1972	18	5	15	39	8	15	100
1975	19	3	12	41	11	14	100
1980/1	14	2	5	51	7	21	100
1985-9	7	4	6	36	10	37	100

Key: Abbreviation of family responses- flight - moved away: non-non co-operation: hostile-hostile co-operation: co-op-co-operation: cons.c-conscientious co-operation:
Abbreviation of RSSPCC record - all - 'all in good order' reason for closing cases as stated in records.

⁸ When Ashley (1985) was preparing for his centenary work on the Society he placed advertisements in all Scottish local newspapers asking for people with experience of the RSSPCC to write to him with examples of practice, good or bad. The majority of those who wrote to him (1985:127) were reported as making positive comments about the role of the Society. There were a small number of extracts from letters by people who had resented intervention, or had not found it helpful.

This table is based on analysis of the case records on a particular date and does not capture the complexity and 'movement' of families' relationships with the RSSPCC.

7.6.a Flight

Flight from the RSSPCC was rarely mentioned in the official statements of the Society. In the sample of cases studied in 1960 and 1961 about one fifth were closed on the grounds that the families had disappeared. Travelling families moved on to another location and there were no further attempts to contact them. The remainder of families moved in with relatives or went to England. The earlier records revealed work being sought at Scunthorpe and Northampton. The NSPCC was contacted and some families were traced and the NSPCC resumes supervision. Fathers who depart from the family were regarded differently throughout the period of this study. Often there was a note of relief on the records, for example, *'Mother managing better on her own since father deserted'*. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 629) Deserting fathers were pursued by the RSSPCC to support their families with a zealotry which would have won the approval of the Child Support Agency. The 1960's records detailed lengthy correspondence with the Society across Scotland to trace fathers and collect payment from them. The NSPCC occupied a similar role with fathers who moved to England.

Mothers who *'desert'* were viewed as *'bad'* mothers.

'Mother is the careless type who would desert if the paramour would offer her a home'. (Case Records, Springburn, 1962: 194)

The sample of case records for the whole study (n = 1,500) indicated only a small proportion (5%) of mothers who permanently leave the family. The later records (1975 onwards) revealed fewer families going to England, reflecting the national rise in unemployment. A new type of 'flight' emerged. Families, by this time mostly lone mothers, moved from one perimeter-housing scheme to another. As accommodation in Glasgow became rapidly unpopular it was, and still is, relatively easy to swap flats

between Easterhouse, Possil, Springburn, Drumchapel and Castlemilk. The 1980's records indicated telephone calls and correspondence between the Society and the Social Work Department seeking to trace missing families.

7.6.b Withdrawal of co-operation

Families who withdraw co-operation were frequently prosecuted. As discussed in Chapter 6, they were '*warned*' and those who failed to heed warnings were prosecuted. Co-operation was measured or assessed differently for mothers and fathers. In the 1960s mothers who continued to drink and failed to clean up the house were regarded as withdrawing their co-operation.

'The mother was advised against intemperance. She denied the empty bottles found in the bedroom were her property. She lost her temper and complained she was visited without notice. Mother was reminded of her responsibilities for the children and warned of her situation and state of the home. The mother is the careless type who could abandon her children'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 200)

'Mother stated she wished to run the home without interference. She was warned that as her case stood at present she could be reported to the Procurator Fiscal'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963: 347)

The removal of parental responsibility was regarded by the RSSPCC as a failure of parenting and was to be avoided if at all possible. Only cases of cruelty justified the removal of the children and prosecution of the parents. As Donzelot (1977) noted there was a sense of mission in the approach to families who were recalcitrant.

Go see what you can do in this field. Do what is necessary in order for the parents to fulfil their obligations. They will not be able to challenge you, since we have just had a series of laws for the protection of children... (Donzelot, 1977:151).

Any challenge to the RSSPCC inspectors in the 1960s was swept on one side and furthermore provided confirmation of unsatisfactory parenting. The case records were worded in such a way that no room was left for alternative explanations. There was one

common sense role for mothers and fathers in working class families. As the RSSPCC responded to the introduction of Social Work Departments their coercive role diminished. There were fewer examples of families who withdrew co-operation in the 1980's records. Families with severe problems were by that time the responsibility of the Social Work Department, as the following case extract from 1986 illustrated.

1986 Referral -

Mother attempted to strangle her third child. Three children ages: 3, 2 and 8/12. Police involved - mother tried to strangle children again today. Joint visit with Social Worker. Mother very distressed condition did not want any help. Had an argument last night with father. Mother admitted that she had tried to strangle the children. Had beaten children and had bitten the baby's foot. Doctor had left mother sedatives. Children stayed with neighbour overnight. I arranged for neighbour to stay with mother for the night. Spoke to doctor who considered that there was a likelihood of mother overdosing. She was overwrought but not certifiable.

Yorkhill contacted: children brought along by Social Worker for an examination - no evidence of bruising. Children admitted to ward as a precautionary measure. Social Work advised although there are many problems in the family there was little evidence for RSSPCC involvement'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1986: 34)

7.6.c Hostile co-operation

The previous case extract illustrates a 'mother' who fluctuated between withdrawal and hostility to intervention. The threat of removal of children often appeared to be a factor in parents or mothers moving from withdrawal to hostile co-operation.

The relationship with travelling families portrayed in the 1960s records gave glimpses

of hostility and of grudging co-operation.

'The father had been out with the dogs and returned as I arrived. He had three dead rabbits on a string. They were poor quality beasts. I reminded father of the current outbreak of myxomatosis and that the rabbits could be unfit for consumption. Father said he knew the countryside better than myself and complained of interference. The children Y 8, X 7, Z4, W3, were seen and had head lice, clothes dirty and unkempt. Mother was cooking soup over a fire; pot was very dirty and ingrained with years of soot and grime.

Mother reported the children were not welcome at school. Parents were warned of their responsibilities. Clothes for the children were left'. (Case Records, Hamilton, 1962: 26)

The same case a week later.

'The children had been wandering a mile from home, seen by police. Father reported that they had been with him. Parents were warned of their responsibilities towards the welfare of the children'. (Case Records, Hamilton 1962: 26)

The provision of material welfare to families was discussed in Chapter 6 and appeared to occupy an important role in securing minimum co-operation from families. As Donzelot (1977) identified the state developed the techniques of 'normalisation' and 'moralisation'. The former, *...was available primarily for the deserving poor who could demonstrate that their problems arose for reasons beyond their control.* (Parton, 1991: 13). Other working class families who interacted with the Society demonstrated hostile co-operation. As in the case example discussed in Chapter 6 there was sustained intervention until the children were taken into care. This was typical of families who remained hostile to intervention. Fathers who were hostile were rarely mentioned. As noted earlier this may in part be because mothers were regarded as central. Hostile mothers in the 1960s were usually deemed so because they were drinking and or engaging in illicit sexual behaviour.

'The mother was up to no good with a man when we called. He refused to give his name. Mother objected to being visited. She was warned of her responsibilities to the children'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1966: 524)

'The mother has been seen by the neighbours with a paramour. She was warned about leaving the children'. (Case Records, Springburn, 1967: 723)

The nature of working in a hostile climate was discussed with RSSPCC staff in interviews. One retired inspector summed up his recollections:

'Most families were friendly and wanted help. But there were those who had something to hide. Mothers who drank and fathers who gambled and drank the wages. They did not welcome someone who was concerned about the state of the home and the children. I don't remember any one every being attacked. if there were problems we would visit together or with the police. We were threatened sometimes but never attacked. We tried to get it across that we were there for the 'weans' but some mothers didn't care.' (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

Another talked about changing attitudes to hostility.

*'Modern social work probably sees hostility as something to be 'worked on'. We saw it as stopping us making sure the children were safe. You couldn't be put off at the door - we needed to see what was in the home, what there was to feed the children. As I remember the Child Abuse Inquiries in England, far too many social workers were out off too easily. One of them climbed up and looked at a child through a window. Shortly afterwards she died. Abusing parents like that need a direct approach'.
RSSPCC staff, 1995)⁹*

Evidence of hostile co-operation continued and diminished to the end of the 1980s. The records suggest that later cases were more concerned with mothers who have a mental illness. There was little indication that mothers suffering from depression were recognised by RSSPCC staff and that it might have been a reason for hostility. It was

⁹ This member of staff was probably referring to the Kimberley Carlile Inquiry (Greenwich, London Borough of, 'A Child in Mind', Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the death of Kimberley Carlile, London Borough of Greenwich, 1987.

very probable that a number of the mothers in this study were suffering from depression but it was never acknowledged explicitly in the case records. Research in Britain since the 1970s suggest that mental disorders are widespread in the community and only small proportions of people receive professional help, (Goldberg and Huxley 1980). Brown and Harris (1978) in their study in Camberwell found that over 20% of women suffered from depression. The authors linked this to a range of social factors including three or more young children at home, lack of an intimate relationship, poverty, and unemployment. The life circumstances of 'RSSPCC families' fall within these categories and may suggest that depression among mothers in the 1960's was unrecognised.

The 1970's records evidenced the trend of GPs prescribing Valium, for example:

'Mother has been prescribed Valium. She is managing the home better. Children in good order'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978: 182)

7.6.d Co-operation

In order to retrieve their children, the recipients set about producing all the exterior signs of morality that are expected of them...scrubbing the house on days when a visit is rumoured...the important thing is to show a spirit of co-operation... (Donzelot, 1977: 86).

Many case records throughout the decades evidenced co-operation between the RSSPCC and families. Advice was acted upon and there were notes in the record of cordial responses from parents. Some families '*came to their senses*' and having been hostile become co-operative. As discussed in Chapter 6 there were different patterns of intervention. Some families who started out in a hostile mode became the subjects of intense long-term intervention and became more co-operative with the RSSPCC. The following is a typical example:

(Encouraged mother to 'X' - family. Mother 40, Father 42, 11 children 16 - 3 months.

The family is living in derelict property. They are referred by the National Assistance Board. The visiting pattern is as follows:

09.09.60 Assessment - clean up the home

18.09.60 Parents warned to clean up

24.09.60 Parents warned to clean the house

05.10.60 Material help

07.10.60 NAB contacted

Visits in October: 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 31 (mostly checking and encouraging).

Visits in November: 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28 (Paid for coal, concern at bed-wetting).

Visits in December: 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 22, 27, 28 (Problems with roof, more coal, toys for children*).*

Visits in January 1961: 19, 23, 25, 28 (More problems with roof).

Visits in February 1961: 9, 10, 13, 21, 24, 27 (Cleanliness, bed-wetting).

Visits in March 1961: 15, 27, 31 (Housing, clothes for children).

Visits in April 1961: 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 22 (Child in hospital).

Visits in May 1961: 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 24, 30 take child to hospital. Mother pregnant - material aid).

Visits in June 1961: 2, 7, 9, 15, 17, 19, 26, 30 (Husband in prison, child in Yorkhill).

Visits in July 1961: 4, 7, 11, 14, 19, 24, 28 (Home conditions)

Visits in August 1961: 2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 25, 30 (*Washing seen on line - home conditions generally - new baby).*

Woman visitor who has been resented to date finally begins visiting: her visits are not recorded but the inspector continues:

Visit September 1961: 1, 4, 8, 11, 12, 15 (Instructs father to get work).

Visits October 1961: 2, 3, 6, 13, 17, 28

Visits November 1961: 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 16, 20, 24, 29 (Liaison with school, material aid.)'

The case was closed in January 1962 as the family circumstances are thought to have improved.

'Children attending school. Mother caring well for baby. Father working. All in good order - recommend case closed'. (Case Records, Glasgow 1960-62: 4)

The level and extent of intervention into this family's life was concentrated on the material and physical aspects. There were glimpses that the Woman Visitor was much less well received than the inspector. One entry notes that mother found her to be *'too quiet'*. Another that she made her *'uncomfortable'*. These are brushed aside as mother was recommended to make good use of advice being offered. As Bourdieu (1991) noted, suggestion can be a significant form of power.

The relation between two people may be such that one of them has only to appear in order to impose on the other, without even having to want, let alone formulate any command, a definition of the situation which is all the more absolute and undisputed for not having been stated. (Bourdieu, 1991: 52)

The later records evidenced a different approach for women workers; women were advised on domestic violence and reminded of their rights as women. Co-operation was actively sought by making appointments and negotiating entry.

'Writer recognised it would take time to gain the trust of _____ (mother). A plan of six appointments have been identified to enable the writer to gain understanding of the family problems'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1988: 41)

7.6.e Conscientious Co-operation

This differs from co-operation in that the families appeared to embrace the values of the staff. Fewer families demonstrated the characteristics required of this form of co-operation, and it was manifested in different ways at different times in the decades of this study. In the 1960s parents recognised the error of their ways.

'The father admitted he was foolish'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1964: 66)

'Mother accepted she had been careless'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963: 300)

'Parents were warned of their responsibilities and recognised their foolishness'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 217)

Expressing gratitude from families were found in notes and letters on the file, for example,

'I just wanted you to know that your help came when it was needed. Thank you'. (Case Records, Govan 1961)

Travelling families never appeared to recognise their 'problems' or express gratitude.

Conscientiousness in the 1970s and 1980s was measured by other standards. A willingness to recognise the workers concerns was important as the case example below suggests:

Due to the request to keep an eye on the family during Social Worker's annual leave I visited and saw parents and all the children. Baby asleep through most of interview. Children were playing, appeared healthy and well nourished.

Statement of financial affairs - had quite a long talk with parents - Mother stated that holiday with maternal grandparents had gone as well as could be expected. Mother states that what seems to be apparent now is the amount of pressure on parents trying to cope with three children. Currently X has taken to taking her clothes off in the street. Before I could really give any opinion the father interrupted and said it was a phase the child was going through. I was inclined to agree with father but it obviously upset mother who was going back to Dr. - she is currently on phanlaxan and diaphoro hexanfan. My anxiety is and this was expressed to the parents, in a few months the Social Worker would be giving up her work and the case transferred to another. The difficulty always is here that when a case is transferred whether it be Social Worker or RSSPCC is finding the same amount of time and interest for something you were not initially involved in. Parents accepted this and I intimated that this is something which would really need to be discussed as it is obvious parents still require a great deal of support. They were anxious about a letter they had received from the Children's Panel advising them that the children were under Voluntary Supervision.

7 July 1976. Called and collected Social Worker we visited the family home - throughout the interview which lasted about 45 minutes, the children were less active and less demanding. Although mother denied this - she still stated that they were a bit of a handful. Father however was of the same opinion as myself. He told the Social Worker that he felt the children were less difficult to cope with. The parents seemed to be at logger heads and were quarrelling. Mother stated that the marriage was finished, although she was bringing up situations which happened months ago, when father in fact retaliated by quoting an incident when she had been drunk. Mother went almost hysterical and left the living room and ran into the bedroom crying. However she returned and the parents quietened down. Assessment: Further work is required with mother to encourage her to recognise the problems with the family'. (Case Records, Glasgow 1976:143)

Case examples from the 1980s concerning child sexual abuse have not been included as explained in Chapters 1 and 3. However the requirement of the client to 'co-operate' with worker's view was still apparent. In the later records co-operation was sustained less by material goods but more by developing a shared definition of problems.

7.7. All in good order

The withdrawal of the Society from families in the first half of the decades of this study relied upon the children '*all being in good order*'. Fathers providing, mothers cleaning and cooking and the children being free from head lice achieved the arrival of 'good order' for most RSSPCC families. Clean (or reasonably clean) washing hangs on the line. Nourishing soup is bubbling on the gas stove, the supply to which has not been disconnected. The beds are not (very) wet and the baby has a clean nappy on. The rent book reveals arrears have been reduced and the holes in the roof only leak in heavy rain. The minimum standards of welfare have been achieved. Furthermore the mother has accepted guidance from the woman visitor and father works (most of the time).

'*Good order*' in later decades was much less easily defined. Many cases were transferred to the Social Work Department. The following extract from a 1980's Case Conference was typical of the Society's withdrawal from complex cases.

'There was discussion about the situation of the S family. At the initial Case Conference the family situation appeared so unstable it was considered necessary for the children's names to be placed on the At Risk Section of the Child Abuse Register. It would now appear that there has been no deliberate abuse of the children and S has caused any injury to A (children). Many of these injuries taking place in G. school. It was agreed by the Conference that this is a family where there is a lot of rough and tumble. The risk to the children was considered in the light of the new child abuse procedures and after further discussion it was decided it was no longer necessary for the children's names to be on the Register. It was however clearly stated that there should be a decrease in support given to the family and the

Social Work Department will assume responsibility'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1986)

Conclusion

The relationships between mothers, fathers, children and the RSSPCC were complex. As this chapter illustrates there were shifting patterns of power between the RSSPCC and families, and the way in which power was exercised varied depending on the parents' presentation and acceptance of the definition of the problems. The power of the Society was evident in its capacity to define 'minimum standards' of parenting and to warn those parents who failed to achieve them. The interaction between parents and the Society was influenced by the ways in which mothers and fathers 'resisted' the prescriptions of better parenting.

The continuum developed in this chapter recognises that these relationships were not fixed or static, families or individual parents progressed from hostility to cooperation and some retreated into flight. In some instances different family members moved in different directions along the continuum e.g. a mother could become more co-operative and a father more hostile to RSSPCC intervention. The records convey in much more depth the RSSPCC staff's perceptions of mothers' responses and this suggested recognition of the importance of mothers in sustaining the family.

To state that the influence of the RSSPCC was achieved by a mixture of threat and material aid is too simplistic. This chapter demonstrates the range and complexity of negotiations undertaken between staff and parents. In the 1960s (when there were few official agencies to help with domestic violence) the RSSPCC was able to offer some protection for some women. Children were to a great extent absent from these deliberations, although for many of the mothers they were the primary reason for seeking help. The accounts of the positions of children in the archives was one of the most problematic aspects of this study and is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Missing Children

'Our task was to warn and encourage families to become responsible for their children. The Society always stressed this part of our work'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

One of the challenges of this study has been to try to gain a picture of the 'RSSPCC' children. The RSSPCC's work encompassed thousands of young Scots. In this study which examined the records of 1,500 families I identified a total of 4,897 children. The representation of the children within the work of the RSSPCC in both their public statements and day to day work is discussed within four themes, namely:

- Who were the children?
- What was expected of them?
- What form did intervention take?
- Why were the children invisible?

8.1 Who were the children?

The social circumstances of their families are set out in Chapter 5. In summary, the RSSPCC children of the first fifteen years of this study were: poor, white working class children. The numbers of children identified in the case records which formed the basis of this study, 4987 were identified from the records of family composition at the time of referral. Therefore they represent a snapshot rather than a record of all the children in all the families, as many babies were born during the recorded intervention of the RSSPCC. The table below is reproduced again from Chapter 5 as it shows the numbers of children in families in each decade of the study.

Table 8.1 Numbers of children recorded in RSSPCC case records in this study - 1960-1989

TOTAL CHILDREN 1960-1989 = 4897	GIRLS = 2547	BOYS = 2350
Families 1960-1969 = 1089 children = 3452	GIRLS = 1869	BOYS = 1583
Families 1970-1979 = 261 children = 1005	GIRLS = 569	BOYS = 436
Families 1980-1989 = 150 children = 467	GIRLS = 281	BOYS = 186

Disabled children were noted infrequently in the records. The majority of RSSPCC children lived at home; the remainder were resident in approved schools, children's homes, hospitals or foster homes. As table 8.2 shows the percentages of children living away from home changed very little during the period of the study.

Table 8.2 location of children away from home - number and percentage of all children away from home: 1960-1989.

Years	res. school	foster home	hospital	relatives	total & %
1960-69	59	37	96	68	260 (7.53%)
1970-80	11	12	18	18	59 (5.87%)
1981-89	6	9	7	14	36 (7.70%)

Their welfare was important to the RSSPCC staff, but as discussed earlier, their identities were shadowy. They were to quote Butler-Sloss (1988) *objects of concern*. Glasgow RSSPCC children had head lice, whopping cough, TB¹, wet their beds, they wore dirty clothes and were frequently unkempt. They played in the close and occasionally '*ran away*'. Travelling children of the 1960s lived in tents or caravans, had

¹ The decline in the numbers of children in hospital at time of referral suggests an improvement in children's health in the later decades of the study as the incidence of TB and diphtheria diminished.

similar illnesses to other children and were frequently '*very unkempt*' and smelly. They played in the fields and occasionally wandered from home. They did not always attend school, partly because schools did not want them. The RSSPCC waged a century long battle to get travelling children educated. The 1960 records indicated inspectors visiting head teachers to ensure travelling children could attend school. After the 1960s little is known of the travelling children, as they do not feature in the case records.

School attendance was seen as important by the inspectors and Women Visitors. Teenage girls 14+ were occasionally kept at home to help mothers and or fathers with younger children. The RSSPCC challenged this practice and sought to encourage parents to send the children to school.

'Advised the mother that keeping X 14 at home to help was an illegal practice. Mother is the careless type and would prefer to be out of the home rather than caring for the children. Reminded mother of her responsibilities'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1962: 81)

'The eldest girl X 13 is kept at home to care for the baby. Mother was severely warned of her responsibilities'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1961: 143)

Lone fathers who relied on older children were viewed more sympathetically but were still '*warned*'.

'Father is caring for five children since the mother deserted. The elder girl X 14 is helping him, but the school report she is absent many days. A woman visitor will advise father on home craft. He was warned of his responsibility to ensure X received her education and that he must uphold the law'. (Case Records, Govan, 1963: 292)

The RSSPCC children of the late 1970s and 1980s continued to be from poor working class families. Some (less than 7% of the sample) were noted as disabled, mostly they

were recorded as being 'mentally handicapped'. I found three cases of spina bifida and five cases of muscular dystrophy. This reflects the beginning of the trend for disabled children to receive more care at home (Oswin, 1978; Morris, 1993).

Most of the children were white; minority ethnic communities were included by the end of the 1980s. The late 1970's children have fewer serious illnesses, such as TB and fewer head lice. Bed-wetting was still a major problem, but was thought by this time to have its roots in emotional difficulties.

'X 9, Y 7 are still wetting their beds nightly. Mother at the end of her tether. She now has a washing machine and is keeping the sheets clean. She told the writer that she and her husband have been arguing about how to deal with the boys. The father feels a strong line is needed, but mother prefers encouragement. Writer suggested a middle path of encouraging the boys to take responsibility for the wet sheets. Writer suggested to mother that the cause could lie with matters within the family and that arguments between them could make matters worse. If the situation does not improve over the next few weeks writer will advise mother to take the boys to her GP'. (Case Records, Castlemilk, 1980: 4)

The later records indicated greater discussion of the expectations of children.

8. 2. What was expected of the children?

Within their families it was likely that the children experienced the same range of expectations from their parents as did other children of their generation. Going for the 'messages', caring for younger brother and sisters, helping with housework, taking the dog for a walk, running errands for neighbours and taking messages to relatives who live locally were all likely to have been typical activities (Caldwell, 1993; Cowan, 1974; Damer, 1989).

This section is concerned with the expectations of the children as they were reflected in the records of the RSSPCC. The activities listed above would be '*common sense*' and taken for granted. Interviews with staff who worked at this time confirm this view.

'All the 'weans' helped out at home, especially the older ones. The girls were more helpful as they spent more time with their mothers, looking after the babies and cooking and cleaning. They went for the messages and pushed the baby out in the pram. If there was a new baby we sometimes had trouble getting the older girls to go to school, their mothers couldn't see the point of it'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

'The older children all helped out at home, it's a tradition that's going now. It kept them occupied and gave the mother a hand. What we looked out for were girls who were 'drudges'. Those who never got to go to school or out to play. You got that you could spot them - they were lifeless and their eyes were blank. Occasionally we would ask them, but they always said they liked helping. But then, children know what is expected of them - they know what to say. Speaking to them was a waste of time in some ways'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

Within the accounts of staff intervention there were few suggestions that the girls should help their mothers for example when the house needed cleaning. I raised in interviews with retired staff the absence in the case records of gender specific expectations of children. This response was typical for the group as a whole.

'Firstly - we were concerned with parental responsibilities - the mothers were expected to look after the home - and the fathers to a lesser extent if they were working. Secondly - if the mothers were irresponsible what you often found was that her role was being undertaken by the older girls and that was not something we were there to encourage. We believed children were meant to be children, that's what the job was about'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

In the later records the role of mothers was viewed differently, there was reflection of a greater sense of shared responsibility for the home. This is glimpsed in a visit to a home in Possil in 1974:

'I advised her to get some sort of system, but not to rush about and get over tired, to do one place at a time. I could see no reason why the older children couldn't help as it wasn't very fair asking father to come in from working all day - although he could probably do a bit more than he's obviously doing in the home'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1974:28)

The 1980's records were more concerned with short-term intervention and advice on benefits and the roles and expectations of children were less discernible. Throughout the records, there is an implicit expectation that children will provide evidence of parental 'wrongs'. The prosecution records relied on the evidence of older girls in particular. Despite the expectation that children would provide evidence against their parents, the records revealed examples of the intense loyalty of children to parents in even the grimmest circumstances. Children could not remember how they fell, were scalded or otherwise injured. Each decade contains typical examples:

'X 9 had a severe cut to his head. Mother advised to take him to the hospital for stitches. The neighbour alleged that X had been hit by his mother wielding a hard brush. X advised he had fallen against the sink'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1967: 614)

'B was asked about the cut to his head. He could not remember how he came by it...B said his dad had never hit him before'. (Case Records, Possil, 1975: 52)

'M when asked at school said her mother had struck her with a shoe for telling the neighbours her mother was out drinking...Mother denies allegation she threw the shoe and hit the child M by mistake...M when questioned confirmed this account'. (Case Records, Easterhouse, 1978: 41)

This timeless loyalty was evidenced again in a 1980's case example. In the mid 1980s RSSPCC staff were involved in a case of a boy of nine who has a black eye. He was questioned by four different teachers at school and gave a different account of his injuries to each of them.

'At one point whilst being questioned by Mrs -, the child left the room crying and said I don't want any more questions I'm tired'.

The child was later interviewed by a RSSPCC worker. The following is the account of the visit to the home.

'I spoke to child at school about his injuries. Mother returned to her home and we made her aware of our reasons for calling to which she replied - "I expected something like this from the school".'

'We asked mother that we speak to her privately and she conducted us to a room upstairs which was very untidy and in the midst of which were three full crates of Guinness. I explained to mother that the school were concerned about the child's injury. Mother immediately stated that she did it. As the children had been giving her a lot of hassle, with X having a tantrum in the street. She took him back to the house and put him to bed. He continued with the tantrum and mother threw a toy gun at him, thinking he would duck, knowing X he stood there and took it in the face. Mother said she immediately cuddled him and said she would not do it again'.

'Mother said she was afraid to send him to school and told her mother that she could be in serious trouble'. Further extracts - same case - Regarding injury to child's eye - Mother was surprised to hear that X had given different versions of how he had come by the injury and said that she had not told him not to mention her name.

It was explained very fully to mother that X had worked so hard to protect her in all the stories. Her name was not mentioned once. At this point X returned from school. He appears surprised to see two people there and launched into conversation saying to his mother "remember when the big boy hit me with the stick". Mother's response was dramatic - she pointed at the child and said "I didn't tell you to say that - you know it was me who hit you".

Further investigations resulted in child being taken into care. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1984:231)

The unwillingness of the 'RSSPCC' children to reveal abuse by their parents can be seen with the context of a much wider debate about the powerlessness of children within society (Iwaniec, 1996; Daniel, Wassell and Gilligan, 1999; Parton and Wattam, 1999). These extracts illustrate the expectation that children should not sustain injuries inflicted by their parents. The records reflected the debates about the degree of that injury and the changing recognition of what constitutes reasonable chastisement of children. The RSSPCC when it was founded sought to influence what was considered to be the appropriate treatment of children.

.... The object of the Society must be fully attained, and that justice and protection be brought within the reach of every suffering child throughout the country, and by which every child will have its legal and moral rights guarded and respected.
(SNSPCC Annual Report, 1894)

This tradition continued, as discussed in Chapter 1, reflecting changing discourses of childhood, and a hundred years later the Society shared a platform with EPOCH and pledged to work to end all violence, however minor, to children in Scotland.

The expectation that children may have emotional problems was implicit throughout the period of this study. As discussed in Chapter 5, from its earliest days the public statements of the Society made links between neglect and personal problems.² However these problems are not specifically addressed within the case records. The next section on intervention in the lives of children develops three categories, which illustrate patterns of work with children.

² The Marquis of Tweeddale, in his role as president of the RSSPCC made an important speech in 1896. One aspect of his speech was the distinction between cruelty to animals and children, the latter he noted were emotionally affected by abuse - an extract from his speech is quoted in Chapter 9.

8.3. Intervention in the lives of children.

The first form of intervention, interaction with children for the purposes of gaining evidence, spans the decades of this study and had a central role in the history of the Society. The second, interaction with children as an element in a pattern of intervention with their parents, emerged from basic fact finding in the 1960s. The third and final category, direct work with children, separate from the need to gain evidence, is glimpsed mainly in the 1980's records and debated by staff in accounts of their work. The development and fortunes of these categories of intervention are linked intimately with the 'discovery' of child sexual abuse and the ultimate role of the RSSPCC.

8.3.a Interaction with children for evidential purposes.

Interaction with children for the purposes of gathering evidence began with the foundation of the RSSPCC and continued for 109 years. The prosecution records of the 1960s revealed detailed witness statements. The majority of prosecutions were for neglect and '*failure to provide*'. Children, boys and girls, featured in prosecutions both as witnesses and victims. In cases of failure to provide, older girls aged over 13 featured as witnesses supporting their mothers in evidencing their father's failure to support the family. Teenage boys were on occasions sent to the police station to get help in cases of drunkenness and violence by their fathers. Prosecutions of physical abuse were usually substantiated by the RSSPCC staff and medical evidence of injury. Accounts by children were included as witness statements. A minority (less than 2%) of prosecutions were for incest and whilst the girls statements were included, the records indicated that the male abusers (usually relatives) plead guilty. Because of the difficulty of securing a conviction for this offence it is probable that only guilty pleas were prosecuted successfully.

The prosecution records were factual. The case records which could be linked to

prosecutions did not comment on the possible impact on the child as witness. This was explored in interviews with RSSPCC staff. The majority of staff who worked at that time agreed that there was little recognition of the impact upon the children.

It's about how we saw our job. Children needed protection - they had a right to it - we were there to support that right and to alleviate long-term suffering. Considering what the children had gone through a few hours in the Court - not all of them had to go a lot of fathers plead guilty - was not always that upsetting. I can clearly remember some who were delighted. Children have a strong sense of justice and we have not to deny them that'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

Another former inspector expressed a similar view.

'We are in danger nowadays of tying ourselves up in knots. Children know the difference between right and wrong and that applies just as much when it's done to them. Giving evidence when they had been wronged was understandable. If we make too many issues about children giving evidence fewer people will be prosecuted and the children will lose out in the long run'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

Another felt they did offer the children support.

'The (new) social workers think they are the only ones who can think of anything. We understood they (children) were scared of their parents and lied to cover up for them. If they (children) did have to come to Court we supported them as best we could. Most parents knew - and we made sure they did - that Sheriffs took a very dim view of defendants who didn't plead guilty. Fathers who made their children come to Court often got a longer sentence'. (RSSPCC staff, 1995)

As prosecutions by the RSSPCC declined in the 1970s the role of child witnesses became the responsibility of the procurators fiscal. Through their specialist projects the RSSPCC retained a role in supporting child witnesses in cases of sexual abuse.

Investigation of child sexual abuse has been the subject of controversy and changing practice (e.g. Gough, 1993; Furniss, 1995). The RSSPCC was developing practice in this area of work, through the Overnewton Centre and the staff in their fieldwork teams.

The records of the late 1980s give accounts of work with families where abuse was suspected and children are interviewed to try to establish if abuse has occurred. One record dated 1984 describes a series of sensitive encounters between a female worker and a teenage girl who is repeatedly running away from home. There are clear suspicions about mother's cohabite.

'I saw X on five occasions after she was returned from her aunt's in where she had run away to. X was responsible and co-operative in interviews and I tried hard to give her 'space' to tell me how she was feeling. She clearly resented Z (mother's cohabite) and linked his presence to her running away to her aunt's'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1984:23)

Other records indicated an increasing awareness of sexual abuse. Interviews with staff revealed concerns about the stress involved in working in this area. *'The management don't really understand what it's like listening to the families, you can't help taking it home with you'. (RSSPCC staff, 1993)* The early 1990s saw an increasing professional recognition of the effects on staff of working with children and families where sexual abuse had been part of their lives.

In 1979, the focus of attention in the field of child abuse continued to be on the problem of non accidental injury to children...Social Work Departments were beginning to grapple with the effective provision of investigative Child Abuse services in keeping with their recently acquired responsibility under the Children Act 1975. At the end of the decade child abuse had become for many child sexual abuse and as had happened with non-accidental injury to children the issue was highlighted by concerns about the level of incidence and the availability of resources in the light of limited knowledge and experience. A further dimension was given to the problem when Esther Rantzen through the BBC project 'Child Watch' brought the problem of child abuse, and sex abuse in particular, into millions of living rooms and opened up a subject which for many years had been almost a taboo as far as the press and the public were concerned. Partly as a result of this many adults who had formerly been victims of sexual abuse, came forward revealing a further need for support and counselling while at the same time providing valuable information and insight. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1989)

The records of the Society from 1985 gave glimpses of concern for children as providers of evidence. A record in 1986 gives an account of suspected sexual abuse of a child with a learning disability.

'Child X was very distressed and confused. He talked about staying with his uncle and sleeping in the same bedroom. He said his uncle played games in the early morning. Later he said he could not remember the games ... very upset. X would never cope as a witness'. Glasgow (1986)

In interviews staff discussed the value of supporting children as witnesses.

'Giving evidence is traumatic for children ... they are expected to behave like adults in the Court setting. The prosecution try to catch them out' (RSSPCC staff, 1993)

The wider recognition of the difficulties for children in giving evidence in a Court setting constructed by and for adults has led to attempts to adapt the environment. The Criminal Justice Act 1991 extended the use of live television links for children and young people. Therefore in England and Wales children can give their evidence on video recorded at the time of the investigation into the offence, (Piggott, 1991; Department of Health, 1995b). Scotland has been more cautious and in some Courts, e.g. Glasgow Sheriff Court, a child can give their evidence through a video link to the courtroom. The Policy Research Unit of the RSSPCC sought to influence areas important to children at legal and policy levels.

... The implications of a variety of new legislation and proposals had to be addressed ... the use of live Video Link for Children giving evidence in Court. The Child Support Act and Video Recording of Child Witnesses for Criminal Proceedings (currently applicable in England only). (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992: 5)

The more sympathetic environment for child witnesses was short lived. The Orkney and Ayrshire inquiries both involved criticisms of the ways in which social workers field (Orkney) and residential (Ayrshire, Inquiry by Sheriff Millar, 1994) obtained accounts from children.

The term disclosure work was censured in the Orkney Inquiry (Clyde 1992). A member of the RSSPCC staff had claimed to undertake this work with a number of the children. The notion that there was something to disclose was said to lead to the pre-judging of events. Furthermore this work with children was alleged to have involved workers in 'leading' and suggesting ideas to children. Since the publication of the Clyde Report, 1992 it has become common practice for defence lawyers to ask child witnesses if they have been told what to say in evidence by their social workers.

A further challenge to the veracity of child witnesses has come from 'False Memory Syndrome'. False memory originated in the early 1990s in Philadelphia (Corby, 2000). A group of men, who maintained that they had been falsely accused of sexually abusing their daughters began to promote the view that therapists had planted false memories. Beliefs about sexual abuse have always been a contested and political area.

The Annual Report for 1992 noted that:

In principle we accept the main criticisms of the Report of the Orkney Inquiry in so far as they apply to the RSSPCC. We have also, as Lord Clyde suggested, studied the Report in depth and are ensuring that it will influence our future planning. The remaining tragedy of the whole costly affair is that the crucial question of whether the children involved were or were not at risk was never fully tested, an outcome not brought about by any of the agencies who were operationally involved. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992:1)

In the concluding comments Chairman of the RSSPCC noted that:

As has happened many times before, childcare is reaching a period of important change and challenge. New legislation is in the pipeline, as are changes in practices and procedures arising out of the Orkney and Fife Reports and other reviews. The problems thrown up by the abuse of children remain as difficult and complex as ever and so much depends on the effectiveness and skill of social workers ... There is a long way to go before the signing and ratification of the Convention of the Rights of the Child are matched by its implementation throughout Scotland (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992:2)

The day after the publication of the Clyde Report (1992) the RSSPCC announced that they were withdrawing from all investigations involving child abuse. The Chief Executive explained that this was a role which in any event was increasingly being undertaken by local authorities.

8.3.b Interaction with children as an aspect of intervention with parents.

Another long tradition in the work of the Society involved relationships with children within the context of helping their parents. The pattern of interaction in the 1960s was focused primarily on the adults. Interaction with children for the purposes of gaining information was much more prevalent. The climate of the 1960's records suggests that the RSSPCC staff quite naturally consulted neighbours, relatives and children about the whereabouts of family members.

'Visited at 7.10 p.m., windows broken, door unlatched, X aged 11 and Y aged 10 playing in the close. X said mother had not returned from work. Y said she was expected back at 5 p.m. A neighbour had given them soup. Called on neighbour who said mother was often late and that she had the chance of overtime'. Glasgow (1963: 292).

'X aged 14 opened the door, said mother was at the Hospital with Y aged 2 who had fallen and hit his head on the steps'. Glasgow (1964: 417).

'X aged 15 called at the office sent by father who is working. X said that mother had left home with the baby and had gone to her sisters in Paisley. X was questioned about the state of the home and the remaining children'. Glasgow (1961: 170).

21.12.68 - Visited 12.15 a.m.

'Child X aged 9 opened the door, mother went to work at 6 p.m. X said father was in the pub. Waited until 1.15 a.m. when mother returned. Parents refused to come to the office'.

26.12.68

'Called again, family had moved away'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1968:721)

By the 1970s many of the families have been rehoused to the housing schemes on the perimeter of Glasgow. Records of family contact do not indicate that this pattern of

seeking factual information about family affairs continued beyond the mid 1970s. Interaction with children as part of working with families becomes more apparent in the late 1970s. As the pattern of work shifted from core concern with the physical state of the home to wider issues, children began to emerge as the following extracts from the records illustrate:

'Writer visited the family, all the children playing happily with each other. They spoke readily to the writer. Mother advised that they have had to pay for the installation of an immersion heater. Writer gave child X a folder with some writing paper in it to encourage him to practise his writing. Father assured writer that he would encourage X to practise his writing and that it would be shown to the writer on the next visit to the family'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1984: 47)

A similar mix of encouragement and support for parents can be found in the following record:

'Visited home at 4.50 p.m. saw parent and all the children who seemed happy and content. Children accompanied by writer inspected the bedroom: 2 single beds in the children's room, one used by X (girl) mother, Y and Z (boys) sharing. Baby sleeps in a cot. The bedding was adequate if somewhat well used. Again bedroom curtains have been pulled down. Y has been enrolled at the playgroup and told me about his enjoyment in this group. Because the children had peeled some of the paper off the bedroom walls father had partially re-papered it. He had made a fairly good job of it. And he was complemented by the writer. Easter Eggs were left for the children.

Case Review

Since the last review, home standards have once again reached an acceptable level and then slid back to a level which could do with improvement. Y has started attending a day nursery. Enquiries by writer at S... Primary School confirm that X and Y are doing as best as can be expected. However writer would like to continue supervision of the family to try to assist with the improvements of basic home standards, which overall are improving somewhat slowly. Coupled with this the family are always in need of material goods and with the additional child expected, making five children, this will no doubt cause stress in the family.

Visited family home saw father and all children all of whom were adequately clad, healthy, happy and content. Father advised that X had recently started to wet the bed again. No reason given for this. X and Y have started picking wall paper from bedroom wall. Were spoken to by the writer and solemnly promised to stop doing this forthwith.

Home condition showed little or no improvement.

Next Case Review

Since last case review there was an upsurge in tidiness of the home and father had redecorated the bedroom, the hall, children's bedroom and bathroom. However again, conditions have deteriorated. Mother is once again pregnant. Father is being encouraged to try and improve home standards. He has advised the writer he is saving £5 per week unknown to mother for the redecoration of the living room. Children seem to be progressing satisfactorily, although the control over them by parents is somewhat lacking. Children very much left to play by themselves. Suggest supervision is continued in an effort to raise home standards.' (Case Records, Glasgow (1975: 86)

The 1970s saw the introduction of a new assessment schedule, and the focus of work was shifting from the purely practical. The records reflected that children were taken on outings and to Christmas parties and furthermore that these were not purely social events. A case summary from 1979 indicated observations by staff on a trip to the Zoo.

Summary - September 1979

'Parents cohabiting - father awaiting results of divorce proceedings. Mother of the same has been in desertion for 24 years. It was noted at a recent outing to the Zoo that X was displaying emotional problems, he has been referred to Child Guidance and parents are aware of his problems. Parents are co-operating and the situation has improved since last year. Parents are delighted at the prospect of another baby and do not foresee any difficulty in maintaining the stability of this home. I would request further supervision and continued involvement'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1979:251)

And earlier in the decade of the 1970s:

'X and Y attended Christmas party, both enjoyed themselves and were very excitable. They will be invited to the Pantomime, which will be a welcome break for mother'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1978: 61)

These last few words demonstrate a feature of the Society's work with families - that work with children was contingent upon the issues being addressed with their parents. The clear focus of work in the 1960s was fading by this time. Neglect and physical conditions within the home were less significant. The Society was offering a wider

range of services, including holidays, day centres, play schemes, which were enabling children to have contact with an extended range of adults. Some staff who had been with the RSSPCC for over twenty-five years regretted the lack of clarity in their work.

'The extra services we could call on were good for the children and helped the mothers. The Local Authority was taking on more and there was less concern about neglect. I think we weren't so upfront with the mother about home conditions. Training was much more about support - I think we were missing what mattered'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1993)

Newer staff defined the problem another way:

'We wanted to get alongside families especially mothers - criticising them wasn't going to help. A lot of the children were a bit out of control and we backed mothers up, by having a word with them from time to time. We were more like friends of the family'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1993)

Another worker commented:

'Some families were pretty chaotic, but the kids were loved. Our job was to support the parent(s) not to criticise them. There was too much concentration in the past on keeping the place clean and tidy'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1993)

The complexity of defining neglect of children is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Research by the NSSPCC has concluded that from the late 1970s many social workers underestimated the impact of neglect upon children.

... the nature of child neglect ... can be extremely damaging to children. This is in contrast to the views we hear personally from some social workers: that neglect is simply the consequences of material poverty, or a condition that need not arouse the same degree of professional concern as physical or sexual abuse. (Minty and Pattinson, 1994:733)

There were clearly divergent views between groups of RSSPCC staff about the value and focus of work during this period. The records of work demonstrated that the focus remained with the adults. Inter agency work was increasing with liaison with schools becoming more frequent. Interaction with children was often concerned with enquiring about progress at school or out of school activities.

'X was asked about the Christmas play, he said he was an angel but wanted to be a shepherd like his friend, B. Mother reported X was much more settled now and stayed happily for school dinners'. (Case Records, Glasgow 1976:78)

'Y (14) is not attending school. Mother was at a loss as how to get her to attend. Y has had a fall out with her pals. School reports she works well when present. Y was asked about school and shrugged saying it was a waste of time. Writer pointed out teachers spoke well of her work. Y repeated it was a waste of time. Writer explained mother could be in trouble if Y did not attend. Y promised to try to return on Monday'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1977: 86)

There was limited indication of child centred work. The majority of recorded interactions mirror those quoted above, where there was always genuine concern for the child, but the focus of interaction is with or concerning the adult.

The Society's concern, of course, has always been wider than the immediate plight of any individual child. From the start, the founders of the RSSPCC set as one of their objectives the improvements of the environment for children and their families. The changes over the years are self-evident. When we began, one of the Society's earliest Reports described the legal status of the child as follows: 'he is less an object of the law than the child existing in the slave-hunted wilds of Africa...his food and clothing, his vital necessities are not his legal rights. Doctrines, customs and traditions of law are on the side of the enemy'. Today's child in contrast finds himself the focus of the most comprehensive legislation; much of it introduced in the last 20 years. The present condition of child welfare law in Scotland is under some criticism...However the motivation behind the changes has been to try to ensure better protection for the child and to give him an increasingly important status ... (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1983) (Chairman's Statement)

The report ends with a re-statement of the aims of the Society.

In this Centenary Year, however, the RSSPCC must continue to pursue its objectives of seeking to improve the quality of life for those children least able to help themselves and to influence public policy in that direction. (Annual Report, RSSPCC 1983)

Concern for children was paramount in the day to day work and the public face of the Society.

Our new approach and structure may seem far removed from the historic function of the 'Cruelty' in its earliest days, but that is quite simply a reflection of changed circumstances. The Society's principles are rooted as always in the best interest of children and not in maintaining a historic role which, though highly and justifiably appreciated, has fulfilled a need. We can move on to new challenges. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992: 2)

The expression of concern for children is apparent in the records and in interviews with staff.

'I wanted to specialise in working with children and families and I chose the Society because they offered the opportunity to develop my skills and also to work in a team setting, which I thought was important'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1993)

8.3.c Intervention with children

The entire work of the Society could be subsumed under the category of intervention with children. This section is concerned with those aspects of intervention, which involved direct interaction with children. *'11.25 p.m. children taken into care, all delighted except A'.* (Case Records, Glasgow, 1965: 512) In this family there were nine children aged 1 to 13 years. There were allegations of physical abuse, heavy drinking and the children being left alone. Father was in and out of prison. There was intense intervention mainly focused upon mother. However, the records noted the views of the children, particularly on being taken into care. There was no explanation as to why the eldest child A who was 13 was not pleased to be leaving home.

Bed-wetting was a constant feature of the records; soaking and smelly sheets and mattresses were present in many of the homes visited. It was a problem but accepted as

a way of life. There were no records of interaction with children on the subject. The reference to solutions or remedies and referrals to Health Centres did not become apparent until the late 1970s. The assessment pro forma and guidelines introduced in 1975 were the first indication of links being made between behavioural disturbance in children and bed-wetting.

Behavioural problems of children in the 1960s were not central in intervention and featured rarely in the records. Smacking children was rarely mentioned, the following is an exception: *'Told the mother a smack would do no harm as T could not grasp the danger of the fire'*. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1963:312)

Conversations with children in the 1960s were concerned with either seeking evidence or with gaining essential information. The pattern continued into the 1970s and intervention or work with children in their own right began to emerge in the 1980s.

Practice Development in the RSSPCC is alive and well, and course participants seem to thrive, and develop particularly well through the hard work of the Helping Skills Course. The focus of the Course is child development and the ways in which this knowledge can be used in direct practice with children and families. Changes in direct practice have been noticed by senior managers. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1989: 8)

The majority of records reflected work with adults in the family but on occasions workers spent time with a child to help to understand and change their behaviour. *'S had several sessions where she drew pictures for me. S is unhappy at school and is bullied'*. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1987: 61)

Working with children who had been sexually abused was an aspect of the Society's work. The specialist Overnewton Centre undertook the majority of such work. The centre had initially concentrated on non-accidental injury, but in later years was funded to develop work in child sexual abuse.

The RSSPCC Special Unit is now well into its second year of operation...Unit workers are currently involved with ten very difficult families...Negotiations are at present taking place with the Unit's sponsors - Central Government, Greater Glasgow Health Board and Strathclyde Region - in order to continue the project for a further period when the initial phase comes to an end in December 1980. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1979:9)

Its (The Overnewton Centre) task is to develop and study professional practice in regard to child sexual abuse and to provide a consultation, training and educational service to agencies throughout Scotland...the project begun in 1987 and is about to start its second funding phase. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1990)

The funding of the Centre was not renewed and it closed in 1993. *The Overnewton Centre has played an important part in the development of services throughout Scotland. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1991:5)*

The staff who took part in this study also undertook work with children who had experienced abuse and with their families. Discussion of this work formed part of the interviews with staff. Many staff rejected the view that abuse was the symptom of 'sick families' and adopted a feminist perspective.

'The child can be helped through helping the mother. A feminist approach recognises the power imbalance and how abuse is an abuse of power'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1992)

Evidence of direct work with children was however, relatively rare either in the records or in interviews with staff. The specialist Overnewton Centre offered training for staff in communicating with children and noted:

The remit of the Overnewton Centre is to develop effective ways of working with families where child sexual abuse has occurred. This involves examining what is considered good practice in other areas of work with children and families and deciding how much of this is transferable to working with sexual abuse. (Report of the Overnewton Centre, 1991: 40)

The RSSPCC has a long tradition of working with women in poverty, and in the earlier decades did work directly with men. The later records reflected changing social patterns and the increase of lone parent families; more often the staff were working with women. Some staff argued that the most effective ways of working with children was through their parents. In the case of sexual abuse, working with the non-abusing mother was considered important.

'Child sexual abuse work requires special skills and experience and training. It is not enough to say that because somebody has worked with children and families, often when they didn't see sexual abuse staring them in the face that they are able to make realistic assessments. Management staff need more training before they can allocate our work to us'. (RSSPCC staff, 1993)

In discussing professional service there was clearly a commitment by all staff to a high standard of response to clients, but who these clients should be and how the service should be provided was subject to divergent views.

'Some people in the Society feel that we should only be working with children and adolescents others feel that sexual abuse affects the whole family particularly if the woman has not had a chance to work through her feelings. I think we could work just as successfully with children if we were helping adults'. (RSSPCC staff, 1993)

These comments were typical of several staff who argued that the focus of work should be with adults. Records of work from this later period revealed little of the detail of work. In interviews, staff explained that for reasons of confidentiality they kept minimal records of their work. The requirements by this time were not to provide evidence but to offer support to children and their families. The role of recording within social work discussed in Chapter 7 illustrated that in this area the Society were 'out of step' with the rest of social work. As other agencies were seeking to develop recording practices both in terms of providing evidence and as a tool for partnership work, the RSSPCC were keeping minimal records. This was a contested area within the agency. Staff who had

been with the RSSPCC for 15 years or longer emphasised the decline of basic Agency practices in relation to recording. Staff pointed out that the criticisms in the Clyde Report (1992) of record keeping could never have been made in respect of the early records of the Society.

'We recorded everything in detail, even the time of the visit, as this was important for evidential purposes. We also set out who was in the house and what the position of the house was. We wrote things down straight away and there could be no mistakes in our records'. (RSSPCC Staff, 1992)

Interviews with staff revealed that the biggest division amongst management and staff at fieldwork level was on the issue of child sexual abuse work. Newer staff reflected the view that child sexual abuse work had been pioneered by the Society in the Scottish context and that by integrating the specialist team the Society was losing a valuable range of expertise and way of working. They argued that they had come to the Society to work in a specialist way and were disappointed that they could not use their skills. Staff who had been with the Society for a long time reflected the view that child sexual abuse work was only part of childcare work and should not dominate the work of the Society. Inevitably the Orkney Child Abuse Inquiry influenced some staff; they felt that the claims by some staff to expertise in child sexual abuse work were exaggerated. Others called it a myth and gave the findings of Lord Clyde's Report (1992) as clear evidence that the Society had over-estimated its skills in this complex field of work.

Debates about child sexual abuse work can be found in a much wider context than that of the RSSPCC. The goals of child sexual abuse work are complex and debates have occurred in Britain, New Zealand and the USA as to whether it is wise for staff to specialise exclusively in this area over a long period of time. The need and support for staff working with abused children has been recognised in a number of inquiries.

We recommend that all employees make explicit arrangements for dealing with their staff welfare and that these take into account the effect of stress. (A Child in Trust, 1985:87)

Lord Clyde echoed this view in his summing up of events in Orkney.

Work in cases of Child Sexual Abuse makes particular professional, personal and emotional demands on staff. It is not an area to which all social workers are attracted nor indeed suited. (Clyde Report, 1992:19)

Social work literature too, has increasingly recognised the demands of this area of work.

The professional in the Child Abuse field functions daily within the deepest layers of human disturbance, working with the traumas of others as well as coping with the events that can traumatically alter the professional's own views of human life. (Child Welfare, 1990 V: 16)

Child abuse sometimes seems like the cuckoo in the nest, remorselessly pushing the other chicks out, voraciously consuming their share of resources. (Olive Stevenson, 1992)

In 1992 the RSSPCC staff were disappointed at the aftermath of the Orkney Inquiry and felt that their attempts to establish credible expertise in child sexual abuse work were at an end. They were critical of new directions adopted by the Society's management in Edinburgh.

A proposal was accepted to join EPOCH, thus adding our voice to many other Scottish child care agencies supporting the promotion of alternatives to physical punishment of children. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1992: 5)

'It was a set up, we were expected to agree. The decision had already been made that the Society was going to join EPOCH'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1993)

'Parents could be alienated from us as workers if they thought we supported EPOCH'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1993)

The RSSPCC's public support for EPOCH was a significant area of conflict between management in Edinburgh and staff in the West of Scotland. In 1993 RSSPCC management shared the platform at a conference intended to promote the work of EPOCH. Staff expressed anger that management had not adequately consulted them - they were even angrier at a decision, which they argued, could create barriers between

workers and parents.

'All the speakers at the conference were pro-EPOCH, there was not any question of debate, we were expected to go along with the decision which had already been made'. (RSSPCC staff, Glasgow, 1993)

The majority of staff said they were in favour of EPOCH's views, but they felt that to express them too publicly would distance the Society from its clients. Clients in this instance meant adults. There was no mention of the views of the children. Staff in the policy unit of the RSSPCC felt that fieldwork staff had clearly been consulted about EPOCH. They perhaps took it for granted that staff at fieldwork level would be in support of an organisation which was opposing violence to children. Staff at field work level whilst accepting this in principle felt there were more complex issues about their relationships with clients.

Whilst there were tensions between management and staff at this time which exacerbated disputes within the Society, the objections to joining EPOCH were very real to many of the fieldwork staff. They argued that if they were identified with a 'no-smacking' policy this could lose them the support of the families with whom they worked. Losing the support of the families occurred as a theme much more frequently in the later records. The changing role of the RSSPCC perhaps explains the transition from an agency with statutory powers to one where relationships are negotiated around a voluntary contract. Fear of offending or losing the support of parents can limit the workers' chances of helping the child and concern about EPOCH membership could be recognised within this context.

8.4. Why were the children invisible?

This final section seeks to explain why the presence of children was marginalized in the work of the RSSPCC. The complex relationship between adults who are seeking to

'protect' children is demonstrated in this study. The negotiations were enacted primarily between the adults. The RSSPCC established over a 100 years ago to rescue children was conscious from the outset of the need to encourage parents to provide better care rather than offering substitute care.

The RSSPCC staff have never wavered from their concern for child welfare but in company with many other agencies their practical and professional practice has primarily been with adults.

The skills needed in situations are not specifically related to child sexual abuse. The skills that are needed are essentially those of communicating with children. It is these skills which need to be developed by workers in the context of child sexual abuse. Our consultation and training services show that social workers and others involved with child sexual abuse do not always work in environments which encourage and support the development of communication skills with children. (Report of the work of the Overnewton Centre, 1991: 18)

Why is communicating with children a problematic activity for professionals? The discovery that children are frequently unheard is not peculiar to the work of the RSSPCC. Reports of inquiries and investigations into child abuse, from the Maria Colwell Inquiry onwards, found that professionals tended to identify with and take notice of adults. For example in, *A Child in Trust* (1985), there was criticism of the social worker's focus on Jasmine's mother, to the exclusion of the child who died from extensive injuries sustained over a period of weeks. Fifteen years later following the inquiry into the death of Rikki Neave (Cambridgeshire Social Services, 1998) the Chief Constable of Norfolk commented: *'We must learn to listen to children'*. (BBC TV News, 1998)

Conclusion

Despite the repeated exhortation of the different inquiries to 'listen to children' this chapter confirms that it is an activity which is complex and difficult to achieve. Adult concerns were at the heart of intervention in the lives of families throughout the period 1960 - 1989. The range of material studied eliminates the possibility of these findings being 'accidental' (Goldman, 1968:10). This chapter demonstrates that 'adocentrism' - 'the unswerving allegiance to adult values' (Summit 1984) remained central despite changing social policy, discourse of the family and practice. From the late 1970s onwards the records of the RSSPCC reflect increasing description of interactions between staff and children. However the evidence confirms that throughout the decades of this study the concerns of children were not paramount.

Chapter 9

Reflections

This chapter reflects on the findings of this study and on the way in which they were discovered and analysed. I began with three key questions as a means of teasing out what constituted child protection.¹ Seeking to answer these questions has raised many more. They were:

- Why was there a different construction of child protection for travelling families?
- What was the impact of male workers?
- Why did so many women call upon the RSSPCC for help?
- Why did the RSSPCC never refer to their work with families experiencing religious or racial harassment in annual Reports?
- Why was the extent of material aid to families underestimated in official reports of the Society's work?
- Why did the RSSPCC's role in child protection end in 1992?

This chapter considers these questions, but reviews first the ways in which the data was collected.

9.1. Reflecting on the Data

The case records presented intricate detail of the day to day intervention by the RSSPCC. The 1960's case files and ledgers were recorded meticulously and commented upon and corrected by the supervisor in red ink. One problem for me was the extent of the detail available and the amount of time required to read it. Careful and close reading of the entries was essential, key aspects of practice were tucked away in the middle of a sentence.

¹ What was the form of intervention? Who was the focus of practice? How and why did practice change?

'Woman visitor advised mother on the making of potato soup, large pot provided. She was instructed on the best way to scrub the floor properly....Mother was warned of her responsibility to care for her children'. (Case Records, Glasgow, 1964:402)

A less thorough reading of the records could pick up the instructions and warning but miss the provision of the pot, and the bag of potatoes (the inspector brought a bag with him, noted earlier in the record). The complexity of trying to analyse practice is illustrated by this short extract, which encapsulates a number of themes. A male worker reports on the work of a woman volunteer who was instructing a mother in two tasks. He provides an appropriate utensil and the potatoes and at the same time engaged in an event, by delivering the warning. Foucault's prescription that research should focus on ascending analysis was important for this study. A recent work on the RSSPCC (Abrams,1998) identified only the inquisitorial aspects of the Society's work in the 1960s and overlooked the complexity of the patterns of intervention. Having identified that material aid seemed to be provided in many of the first cases I read, I realised it was possible this was the style of one inspector, or there were other factors which influenced this practice. To draw generalisable conclusions about practice it was necessary to read a wide range of records.

A question of the data collection from the case records has been were so many needed? I recognised that at several stages in the study I was in danger of being overwhelmed by the sheer volume of the data. However having adopted Silverman's (1993) adaptation of a grounded theory approach I had embraced the notion of saturating categories. There were two other reasons for reading such a large sample of case records. The first was the quality of the entries. The case records were never boring, sometimes amusing, often deeply sad. Each one brought a slightly different picture of family life and intervention. The challenge lay in trying to make sense of thousands of entries each of which was unique but which had similarities in terms of patterns of intervention and use of language. The second reason for reading such a mass of data was my search for the children. I scoured the records for any notes or even hints of recorded interactions

between RSSPCC staff and children. Finding so few I kept looking initially on the basis that I might have missed them, later to examine the relevance concept of adocentrism.

Some of the conclusions of this study have a stronger base in the data than others. For example the data on travelling families was represented by one box of 60 case records written between 1960 and 1963. They constituted a small percentage (3.5%) of the total number of cases, (n = 1,500) but nevertheless represented a substantial piece of practice with a specific group of families. The conclusions which can be drawn about the negotiation of the boundaries of child protection with travelling families are tentative. However they can be compared with patterns of intervention and the use of language deployed in case records written at the same time by the same inspectors working with other non-travelling families.

The greatest volume of data in terms of number of cases and findings within the actual records came from the 1960s and early 1970s (n = 1,261 families), the period identified as practical-chauvinist.. Recording practices within the RSSPCC changed after 1975 and the amount of day to day detail was reduced between 1976 to 1989. How much this has affected the conclusions of this study is difficult to determine.

As discussed in Chapter 2 one of the problems for the study was the sudden decision by the RSSPCC to destroy the majority of the case records written after 1975. This created considerable implications for my data collection and reporting of the findings. The data was collected relatively quickly and there was little time to browse through the records. When reading them on to audio tape the areas selected were, perhaps inevitably, based upon themes and categories which I had identified in the 1960's case records. I had wanted to study changing practice and using the 1960s as a baseline was not inappropriate. However I was left with the lingering impression that if I had had a greater opportunity to browse before recording other issues might have been identified.

One example was the recognition of disabled children. I referred earlier in the study to becoming aware when reading the 1960's case records that nearly all the children appeared to be 'able-bodied'. A re-reading of some of the records identified brief references to children who had died as a result of a disabling condition e.g. cerebral palsy or who were institutionalised. Community care for disabled children came later to Scotland than England and Wales, (Murphy, 1992) so even in the 1980s it is probable that many disabled children were still in institutional care. Nevertheless more time to study the later records could have enhanced the opportunity to develop a theme of the construction of child protection for disabled children. The few cases I did locate included comments about the difficulties of believing children with learning disabilities, confirming other much more extensive research in this area for example, Marchant (1992) and Kennedy (1995).

The reporting of the data gained from the later archives was influenced by recognition of the importance of confidentiality for both workers and families. Therefore about 18% (n = 87) of the post 1975 data base case records were included in only a limited way. Data on families were collected and practice was analysed, the latter being reported in a restricted form to ensure the anonymity of the subjects.

Two additional and important considerations in reviewing this study are located around the way in which I became involved and the role of the RSSPCC staff. As discussed at the beginning of the study, the subject of child protection found me. Being invited to engage with the Society at the time of crisis and working closely with the staff team left me with a strong sense of commitment and loyalty to the organisation. As a practitioner I respected the dogged persistence of the 1960's workers, the commitment of the 1970's staff to tackling physical abuse and the concern of the 1980's workers with addressing oppression and discrimination. However adopting Foucault's approach of a history of the present involved me in problematising child protection practice by the RSSPCC not

in judging or evaluating it. Teleology was not part of this study.

The staff of the RSSPCC who took part in the interviews were committed and enthusiastic in discussion of their work. The retired staff with whom I had the opportunity to share and reflect upon my findings made an invaluable contribution to making sense of the mass of data and impressions. They regarded the Society's work as having moved backwards and forwards, backwards in their lessening attention to observing and recording details of family life and the welfare of children, and forwards in terms of the greater recognition of child physical and sexual abuse.

The destruction of part of the RSSPCC archive had some positive aspects for this study in that I was able to discuss and share impressions of the data with the archivists who worked on them. This was both a formal and informal process. It was informal in that sometimes we were all working together in the small room in Glasgow Caledonian University library where the archives were housed. We discussed what we were finding in the data and our observations were remarkably similar. We recognised the pressures and demands upon women as mothers and 'housekeepers'. We were disturbed by the accounts of domestic violence and concrete and oblique references to child abuse. The formal process involved the transfer of data from the archives to a computerised database with the subsequent opportunity to search for fields e.g. the outcome of intervention. By this means I could compare the quantitative aspects of my data with the whole archive. However the University/RSSPCC data basis included only data up to 1975 whereas my study included data (now destroyed) up to 1989. Therefore the two databases were not directly comparable. The prosecution records ceased after 1975 as the role of investigating and prosecution abusing parents was transferred to the Local Authority and the Police.

Other limitations of the study concern the nature of the records which were the

constructions of how the staff perceived the events of the period. Furthermore there was no possible means of 'reaching' the families views or opinions of intervention. The conclusions drawn from the data rest solely on how the staff interpreted and made sense of the families' responses.

9.2. Protecting Children?

The first question I asked of the data focused on what constituted the protection of children by the RSSPCC. This question was not concerned to measure the outcome of intervention. Ferguson (1992) recognised the relevance of an historical perspective in understanding definitions of child protection. To begin to answer this question I return to the early statements of the Society, which suggested that establishing a basic level of parenting was objectively possible. The RSSPCC laid claim to a widely agreed consensus on what was child abuse. The Marquis of Tweedale addressing the Annual General Meeting of the SNSPCC in 1897 expressed the beginnings of the claim as follows:

The success of the Society depends in a great measure on the manner in which you discharge your duty: because when the Society first commenced there was an idea that the officials of the Society were disposed to be severe on parents and others. I believe that notion has been entirely dispelled, and, if that is the case, it has been by your exercising a good judgement and tact in dealing with the matters coming before you....The number of cases has considerably increased. I find that there were 2,280 cases reported involving no fewer than 5,500 children...There is one feature - a very important one - and it is the decrease in the number of violent cases and assaults. This, I think, shows that, wherever the officials of the Society are operating, a wholesome dread has been established but the cases of parents or guardians using violence to their children may be brought before the Courts. But, still there are far too many of such cases. Indeed, it is almost incredible the variety of ways in which parents or guardians are able to do and do ill - treat their children.... (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1897:21)

Later in his speech the Marquis went on to recognise the emotional impact of abuse on children. He did this by pointing out the differences between animals and children and

concluded,

... the important difference being that in the one case (animals), the suffering is merely of a purely physical character, whereas in the other the greatest injury, perhaps, is that which is done to the mind and moral condition of the child, making it a still more helpless victim than in the case of the animal. (Report of the Annual General Meeting of the SNSPCC, 1897)

Two years later, (fifteen years after the Society had been established) specific examples of definitions of abuse were included in the Annual Report for 1899, these were neglect and starvation, ill treatment and neglect and gross neglect. These examples represented a consolidation of the RSSPCC's position of minimum standards of parenting. There was an acknowledgement by the Marquis of Tweeddale that the definition of child abuse was debated but a conclusion that this debate had been resolved quite rapidly. Within the public statements and practice of the RSSPCC the contested nature of child abuse disappeared for 70 years.

The 1960's work of the RSSPCC was rooted in a particular conception of child abuse, namely neglect. The Dartington Social Research Unit (1995) identified the concept of threshold i.e. the point at which certain aspects of family life or circumstances of the child constituted child abuse. The social construction of abuse has been recognised widely in literature on child abuse (e.g. Parton, 1985; Dingwall, 1983 and 1989; Corby, 2000). The construction by the RSSPCC was, for most of its history, based on a notion of children living in a situation below a basic or minimum standard of parenting. For the first half of the period of this study the minimum standards were about cleanliness, basic food, warmth and adequate adult supervision. Toys, play or other childhood activities were rarely mentioned. The emotional well being of the children was assumed to be catered for if parents were not always arguing and there was basic care. There was explicit recognition within public statements and case records that these standards were not ideal but the best which were likely to be achieved.

'The priest called us to the state of the home. On inspection it was not in the condition of many homes which we are accustomed to visiting'.(Case Records, Glasgow, 1968:223)

All the decades of this study were concerned with the extremes of physical abuse and cases of incest. The period of the welfare/chauvinist paradigm witnessed significant amounts of minor physical injury to children. Cruelty was defined as neglect or poor health or physical injury (severe) and or incest. The impact of the intense levels of surveillance imposed upon selected RSSPCC families during this period is difficult to determine. There were many examples of expressions of concern for children's health. RSSPCC staff routinely instructed mothers to take children to the doctor or hospital. Attempts to address basic poverty were prevalent through advocacy with the benefits agencies and material help. The RSSPCC at this time were operating within a framework which has been defined as the Last Resort, *the state only intervening as a last resort or safety net when parenting of children's behaviour and development reach damaging levels.* (Hardiker, Exton & Baker, 1995:13)

The focus of child protection shifted to physical abuse in the 1970s. Baby battering or non-accidental injury was recognised as a social problem and the RSSPCC developed a new assessment form in 1975. This form of assessment heralded what Donzelot (1977) called the psychologisation of the family. The form required staff to record relationships and behaviour of adults and children in a manner unthinkable in the 1960s. The protectionist phase of practice saw an increased identification and concern within physical violence to children, although this constituted a relatively minor part of the Society's work, the central focus of much of their work remained with the general area of neglect. Increasingly, the RSSPCC became part of the systems developed to coordinate responses to abuse. By this time the RSSPCC staff were spending much less time visiting families and much more in discussing families with other professionals. The final paradigm of practice feminist-welfare included the growing recognition of child sexual abuse. Poverty and neglect had been joined by concerns about the

emotional and sexual abuse of children.

There cannot be a conclusion to the question were children protected by the RSSPCC? The Society sought to protect them from what was sayable and visible as child abuse at different times. This study suggests that the constitution of child protection not only changed as different elements became acknowledged but within a specific period was determined in part at least by negotiation between the adults, staff and parents. This is illustrated by seeking to answer the question, why was there a different construction of child protection for travelling families?

9.3. Constructing child protection with travelling families

The staff who were interviewed as part of this study had not worked with travelling families therefore my conclusions are based upon the case records. Historically the RSSPCC had adopted a strong stance on the rights of children of travellers to minimum standards of accommodation and basic education. The RSSPCC put great emphasis on Section 12 of the Children Act 1908. The Annual Report for 1910 called upon Procurators Fiscal to enforce the 'lodging' aspect of Section 12². The same report called also for implementation of Section 118 of the 1908 Act,³ and raised concern that,

School Boards in country districts frequently neglected to enforce the law as the presence of vagrant children is not welcome in schools. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1910:12)

Child protection for these children was constructed around the issues of their parent's lack of stability,

² Section 12 required families to provide a stable home for children i.e. appropriate lodging.

³ Section 118 made it an offence punishable by a fine of 20/- for a parent or guardian to habitually wander from place to place and thus prevent his children from receiving education.

they grow up in ignorance and idleness....No greater cruelty can be inflicted on a Scottish child than to permit it to grow up in such conditions - without ever learning the meaning of self respect, let alone still higher things. It is generally admitted that it is well-nigh hopeless to attempt to reclaim the adult vagrant. The best hope lies in saving the children. (SNSPCC Annual Report, 1912:14)

The child saving (Platt, 1969) mission of the RSSPCC was important with travelling families but what is interesting is that by the 1960s the basic minimum standard of child care was defined in even more basic terms for travelling children. This was evident within the detail of the case records and from the way practice and the issues were described. For example travelling children did not *run away* they *wandered* suggesting a more disorganised and less intentional reaction by the children to adverse circumstances. The term wander also perhaps suggests a more romantic concept of the families' lifestyles.

Another strand in the different construction of child protection was the extent of resistance by the families. Of all the 1960's families the most absolute and sustained resistance to intervention came from travelling families, defined by Bloor and McIntosh (1998) as collective dissent. Every aspect of the RSSPCC's comments about the state of the home and the welfare of the children were subject to intense negotiation and argument by both mothers and fathers. The records indicated modified expectations of what could be achieved with the families. This may have roots in the perceived hopelessness of effecting change within travelling families but suggests also that the construction of what is child protection was the subject of 'day to day' negotiation and definition.

Many studies of child protection have written about these negotiations taking place between women (e.g. Gordon, 1989; Cree, 1995). As Ferguson (1992) noted the burden of keeping children alive and healthy in the twentieth century was placed firmly on the shoulders of women. The burden for many RSSPCC families was placed not by

other women but my male workers.

9.4. Seeking help from the RSSPCC

Gordon's (1989) work in nineteenth century Boston demonstrated that women called in the workers of the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC). Gordon explains how the Societies began with strong moral overtones, but developed to a goal of improving the quality of family life. Gordon (1989) argues, from her study, that;

feminist theory in general and women's history in particular needs a more complex view of social control....The victimisation paradigm that dominated the rebirth of feminist scholarship two decades ago, the pressure to describe and analyse the structures and methods of male domination, must be transcended.
(Gordon, 1989:68)

She recognised that the defence of women against aggression has been paramount and has led to reluctance to acknowledge aggression by women, especially towards children. Gordon was writing ten years ago and the recognition of abuse by women has gained ground in this period (Buchanan, 1998). This study demonstrated a substantial amount of the RSSPCC's work being generated by women, their mothers, neighbours and occasionally their daughters and sons, calling for their help.⁴

Ferguson's work on the NSSPCC and the Irish SPCC indicated that in Ireland there was a much higher proportion of referrals from family members and neighbours than in England and Wales. In Ireland between 1939 and 1969 80% of cases were referred by people who knew the family (Ferguson:1992:11). In England and Wales the figure for the same period was 56% (Creighton, 1984:3). The RSSPCC Annual reports between the 1939 and 1969, identify family members and neighbours as the principal source of

⁴ Table 5.7 in Chapter 5 set out the sources of referrals in full in summary; mothers, fathers and neighbours accounted for - 85% (n = 1089) of all referrals between 1960-1974; 68% (n = 261) of all referrals between 1975-1983; and 81% (n = 150) of all referrals between 1981-1989.

referrals, 78% in 1950, 81% in 1960 and 76% in 1969. Ferguson suggested that the reason for higher proportion of referrals from family members in Ireland was due to, *in most areas, the cruelty men were the sole welfare agencies doing casework on behalf of children, and the public used them accordingly. This trend in referral processes remained constant through to the 1950s.* (Ferguson, 1992:11) His argument has relevance for explaining why the RSSPCC received so many referrals from families. Although there were Children's Departments in Scotland who had a statutory role in protecting children, the RSSPCC in the 1960s and in previous decades provided a comprehensive family service which encompassed welfare of the children, material aid, advice, mediation with landlords and employers.

Throughout its history, the public reports of the RSSPCC referred to this pattern of intervention to reject the claim that they were acting oppressively. Abrams (1998) refers to the RSSPCC patrolling and seeking out abuse. I found no evidence of this trend. Detailed study from 1960 onwards confirms the official view that it was indeed women who initiated about half of all referrals to the Society. This pattern of referrals by family members continued into the 1980s but the numbers of cases were fewer and the statutory role of protecting children had passed to the local authority. Research by Strathclyde Region in 1981 into referral patterns found that 15% were from family members (Strathclyde Region, 1982:16), a similar proportion to studies in England and Wales (Farmer and Owen, 1995; Sharland et al, 1996) which found that mothers made a significant number of referrals to child protection agencies. These later studies in both Scotland and England and Wales demonstrate a sharp decline in referrals of concern about children coming from within the family. Ferguson found a similar trend in Ireland (Ferguson, 1992:18) in the 1970s and 1980s. The expansion of agencies concerned with children is a likely explanation for the changing patterns of referral. However there may have been a growing suspicion by family members about the response of agencies to concerns about children, prompted by the media coverage of high profile child abuse

cases from Maria Colwell (DHSS, 1975). A study by Strathclyde Region in 1995 to the response to the media coverage of the events in Orkney in 1992 found that referrals of suspected child abuse from all sources fell by 400% in 1993. (Strathclyde Region, 1995)

Within the tradition of the RSSPCC, mothers who called in the Society could, as shown in Chapter 7, become the subject of long and intensive scrutiny on everything from the state of the washing on the line to the contents of the kitchen cupboard. Farmer and Boushel (1999) recognise that this pattern is reflected in child protection practice which *has continued to focus mainly on regulating the actions of mothers.* (Farmer and Boushel, 1999:97) They suggest that the reasons lie in an unwillingness to recognise the male abuse of power and the dominance of a discourse of motherhood as protective and caring of children. The understanding of child sexual abuse has been influenced by a feminist analysis to a greater extent than physical abuse (Gordon 1989).

...the (albeit understandable) focus on women, rather than children or men, as the target of support and intervention, has meant that feminist methods of practice that help support and protect women and children within their homes are relatively underdeveloped. (Farmer and Boushel, 1999:97)

The RSSPCC workers of the late 1980s were seeking to develop a feminist approach to these issues. They believed in the importance of listening to the experience of women and children. The case records demonstrated that their practice was directed at these issues, much more specifically than had been the practice previously. The records also suggested that the needs of children were subordinated to those of adults. The prolonged conflict between staff and management of the Society in the early 1990s about membership of EPOCH confirms the view that the primary relationship was between adults. Many women staff argued that the patriarchal attitudes of the RSSPCC were still in evidence, management were still trying to dictate how parents should be bringing up their children. The opposing view within the Society was that the staff were still

trying to protect children.

Platt (1969) has challenged the myths of the child saving movement. Although writing about America this work has relevance for Scotland and the rest of the U.K. Platt argues that the child savers were concerned not so much to support the poor against exploitation but rather to integrate them into society. The three fold reasons given by the founding fathers of the RSSPCC set out in Chapter 1 demonstrate a commitment to integration of the poor and the greater good of Scottish society. A similar emphasis to the RSSPCC on crime prevention can also be found in the Reports of the American Child Savers (1893, reprinted 1971). In addition, Platt (1969) noted; *that the child-saving movement guaranteed new social and professional roles, especially for women.* (Platt, 1969:XV)

Mothers were enlisting the RSSPCC to help them control their husbands primarily on behalf of their children. As Gordon (1989) noted, weaker family members often requested social work interventions. She also notes that a simple explanation of social control;

obscures the many incidents of empathy and honesty between social worker and client, particularly between both as women, that flourish despite bureaucratic, hierarchical, and cultural obstacles. (Gordon, 1989:219)

RSSPCC mothers enlisted men against men. On fewer occasions RSSPCC fathers enlisted a male inspector to ensure that their wives returned to the family. Gordon (1989) noted that in Boston the most frequent outcome of intervention was not prosecution and jail but removal of the children. The MSPCC became known as 'the Cruelty', as did the RSSPCC. However the major difference between the two organisations was the reliance by the RSSPCC on the *warning*. Removing the children was a last resort and enormous efforts were made to ensure that the children remained at home. The case examples in Chapter 6 of the parents being made to clean the house all

night and the almost daily visiting over eighteen months are evidence of the RSSPCC's commitment to trying to sustain the children at home.

The fear by parents of the children being removed from home was evident in the case records. There were instances of mothers threatening to commit suicide, run away with the children, to attack the inspectors (fathers and mothers) and on rare occasions to seek legal advice. Much less explicit fear was suggested by the willingness of parents to comply with just about whatever was suggested by those in authority. Chapter 7 explains how some mothers were able to raise objections to the women visitors. Perhaps because they were women some hostility could be expressed.

The analysis of social control as Gordon (1989) suggested is complex. Her study of the MSPCC revealed that it could be helpful to women despite its strong control elements and that it achieved its best results by giving encouragement and occasionally material aid to victims. Gordon (1989) argued that the Society, although intended to protect children, offered more help to abused women as with assistance they could find a way to leave abusive husbands. But,

Children lacked this potential and could be "saved" from abusive parents only to be transferred to other, sometimes equally abusive, care takers, institutions or foster parents. (Gordon, 1989:221)

The case records and interviews with staff in this study confirm a growing recognition of domestic violence. Even before it was acknowledged as a social problem, the 1960's records illustrated cases of the RSSPCC inspector working with women to ensure that rent books were changed into their names and violent and or drunken husbands excluded from the family. In interviews several long serving members of staff made reference to the value of the Guardianship Act of 1973. This Act gave mothers of legitimate children equal rights in the custody and care of the children.

'We tried to do our best for the mothers, particularly the ones

who were doing their best for the children. If violence was threatened to us, we would go with the police and this frightened the fathers quite often. It was not easy to find ways to protect mothers, the change in 1973 helped them to have more control'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

An analysis of the RSSPCC intervention as oppressive and patriarchal does not encompass the complexity of the roles and relationships. The rigid definitions, especially up to the mid 1970s, of what constituted being a mother and a father were very probably oppressive to both men and women.

Gender expectations were defined traditionally and conscientious employment outside and within the home was expected. The oppression of these expectations is highlighted by recognising their binary nature e.g. in the 1960s mothers were careful/careless fathers were hardworking/lazy. The definitions themselves were not negotiable. Resistance to them was only possible by working towards outwardly conforming to the gendered requirement e.g. mothers were unable to challenge the definition of good motherhood. Fathers could not choose to remain at home and care for their children; they would be *instructed* to seek work or risk prosecution. The evidence of patriarchal authority was very strong up to the late 1970s.

The impact of Scottish culture on the attitudes of RSSPCC staff towards families is difficult to assess; it is possible only to speculate. Kennedy (1980) suggests that the influences of the Women's Movement came later to Scotland compared to England and Wales. Furthermore the religious traditions of Scotland since the Reformation have retained a greater emphasis on heterosexual values and traditional gender roles than in England and Wales. For example the Church of Scotland has still an explicit policy of not employing openly gay and lesbian staff. The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland expressed caution in any relaxation of Section 2(A) the equivalent of Section 28 in England and Wales.

Throughout the decades of this study the discourse of the family was exclusively heterosexual. In interviews with RSSPCC staff all but one of the women staff and half of the men raised the 'male' culture of Glasgow. The following comments were typical:

'Glasgow's a difficult place to work with women and children. Domestic violence is still accepted as 'normal' by a lot of men. Macho 'culture' is about drinking and supporting Celtic or Rangers. The rights and views of women are a bit of a joke really'. (Women member of RSSPCC staff, 1992)

'I couldn't believe it when I first came to work in Glasgow (from Edinburgh), I know there's lots of jokes about the different cities. But it is really different. Women don't count. You get much more harassment in the street. Professional men patronise you; there are hardly any women police officers and almost no sheriffs. I think the RSSPCC in the West reflect this too, the organisation still feels like a man's place'. (Woman member of RSSPCC staff, 1993)

Studies of domestic violence in Glasgow (e.g. Easterhouse Women's Aid 1995) confirmed that it is a widespread problem in the West of Scotland. A recent report by combined Scotland police forces found that 26,000 allegations of domestic abuse in Scotland were investigated in nine months between January 1999 and October 1999 (Scottish Women's Aid, 2000). As much domestic violence goes unreported (Dobash & Dobash, 1989), it is reasonable to assume these figures do not represent the true volume of domestic abuse. However domestic violence is neither a Glasgow nor a Scottish problem but an international one. The West of Scotland may have been slower to accept more flexible definitions of gender roles and expectations, but a recent study by Abbott (2000) argues that

... gender inequalities persist as a significant social division....The ascriptive principle of gender continues systematically to disadvantage women and deny them freedom and equality with men. In other words, structural constraints continue to limit the opportunities available to women in a masculine culture. At the same time, although men benefit from this relationship, the same masculine culture also imposes constraints on men. (Abbott, 2000:57)

Abbott shows clearly by examining education, work and poverty and social exclusion that women are still disadvantaged in British Society. Within this discussion Abbott also notes how there is, *a distinct female life experience that is a reflection of the essential notions of what it is to be male or female* (Abbott, 2000:61).

The expectations of women and men within this study are related essentially to their role as parents, up to the early 1980s. The later records indicated recognition usually by women, of mothers' rights to be people rather than solely mothers. As the 1980's work of the Society is mostly with female lone parents there was limited indication of the expectations of men. Certainly in the earlier records there was very little evidence of recognition of anything but providing and the need for employment. Kimmel & Messner (1995) suggest that the good provider role has become increasingly specialised since the Industrial Revolution. The term provider entered the English language first in 1532. However the role became more specialised in the transition from subsistence to market economies especially money economies. The duty of men was to keep the family in food and material conditions. Oakley (1974) suggested that *men's moral obligations shifted from family activities to work activities and a father's duty shifted to financial support*. (Oakley, 1974:86) The records give virtually no glimpses of leisure pursuits of either parent, they were defined almost exclusively in their roles as providers.

To sum up so far, the focus of child protection was located primarily on the role of mothers. Child protection was constructed at a policy and professional level but also in day to day negotiations. These negotiations were determined by the circumstances e.g. the state of the home and crucially the perception of the parent(s) particularly mothers' demeanour and capacity to engage in dialogue. The basis of this dialogue was formed by concerns identified by adults.

9.5. The changing nature of practice

In the 1960s visits were unannounced; by the end of the 1980s appointments were made. Examination of this variation in practice suggests a five-fold explanation of the causes of this practice development.

- Changing family circumstances
- Lessening reliance upon neighbours
- The influence of training
- Increased interagency working
- The changing role of the Society

By the 1980s many women were working officially. The proportion of *RSSPCC mothers* who worked outwith the home changed very little in the decades of this study. What did change was the acceptance and legitimacy of that work. Therefore random calling could be a waste of time if mother was at work. Furthermore the geographical area of the Society's work had changed. The maps of Glasgow (Appendix 1) show how the city has spread out. In the 1960s the Society's staff could walk to their destinations. For example the streets most frequently visited in Govan covered an area of about four square miles, whilst Easterhouse and Castlemilk are about 10 miles distant from the city centre.

When the *RSSPCC* staff visited in the 1960s and found no one at home, the neighbours were the next port of call. By the mid 1970s this practice had ceased. There is no explanation within the records. Interviews with staff on the topic revealed sharp divisions. Long serving staff saw their work within the community.

'The neighbours knew us, and we knew them. They were part of the set up, they cared about the children. Yes, some were nosy but I don't suppose the children who were being mistreated minded too much. I think I remember reading about the Child

Abuse Inquiries down South that social workers ignored the neighbours to the peril of the 'weans'. (RSSPCC staff, 1995)

This member of staff may have been referring to both the Lucy Gates (1982) and Heidi Koseda Inquiries, (1986). *Lucy Gates' neighbours, were viewed as malicious and not responded to yet their information was extensive.* (Department of Health, 1995:66) In the case of Heidi Koseda, neighbours expressed concern that she was always hungry and appeared to have bruises. *Reports were made to the NSPCC and not investigated.* (Department of Health, 1995a:66)

Newer RSSPCC staff stressed respect for parents and the need to work in partnership.

'Good childcare work is about respecting parents and building up relationships with them. Only in exceptional circumstances should we call without an appointment. We are not there to catch them out'. (RSSPCC staff, 1994)

A second member of staff indicated the importance of training in approaching families.

'We were trained to respect families and to talk things over with them. When I was on my course, I dropped in on a family when I was passing and my supervisor pulled me up. She said I should visit by appointment'. (RSSPCC staff, 1993)

By the 1980s the majority of the staff had been on qualifying training courses in social work and were seeking to reflect the values acquired in their practice. The earlier methods of the Society by this time were no longer acceptable i.e. the instructions on cleaning, visiting unannounced and contacting neighbours and other family members without the consent of the parents. The new methods were felt by some staff to result in good outcomes for the children as parents worked in partnership to improve their own and their children's lives.

The tension between these opposing views of the Society's work may have been rooted in the widening definition of child abuse to include any factors which could have an adverse affect on the child's development (Dingwall, 1989). Jordan in Parton (1997) notes that,

professional practice in the field of child care requires workers to exercise moral judgement about parental behaviour which is seldom related to serious physical harm to children..... (Jordan in Parton, 1997:214)

The earlier work of the RSSPCC was practised at a time when neglect was the most important day to day issue with families. The combined recognition of 'baby battering' and increased staff training led to a more sophisticated programme of assessment. With the changing approach to child abuse came a shift away from consulting neighbours towards liaising with other professionals.

The RSSPCC always relied on others to encourage basic parenting. The 1960's records were replete with examples of co-operation with factors, landlords, employers, the NAB, and the police. The link with the latter was particularly close. As discussed earlier, most of these agencies sought to control the behaviour of the fathers. Getting fathers to pay the rent and pass on at least some of their wages to their wives was a key aspect of practice at this time. Liaison at this stage was largely in the public sphere of men's lives. The inter-agency work of the late 1970s and the 1980s was much more concerned with the private sphere of the home, addressing the mother and to a lesser extent the children.

Throughout this study an unchanging feature was that all forms of enforcement were focused upon the home. Fathers were, on occasions, called to the office. Mothers were always seen at home. Although this pattern enabled workers to view the state of the home and the children, it also implicitly if not explicitly, confirmed mothers' position within the private sphere of family life. This discourse of the family appears to have

been reflected in the public representation of the RSSPCC's work..

9.6. Under-representation of aspects of the RSSPCC's work

The Society's own image as represented through Annual Reports, histories and publicity material strikes a balance between the judicial and the ability to exert influence over poor families through advice and liaison with others important in their lives. The under representation of the amount of material help can be understood as an attempt to sustain this image. Staff who worked during this period had the least clear recollection of recording practices which concerned material help. However a close study of the 1960's records revealed glimpses of extensive assistance in kind. As recognised throughout this study the preservation of gender roles could account also for the minimisation of this aspect. Firstly fathers were meant to provide. Too much discussion of bags of coal or clothes for the children could undermine this image. Secondly this caring framework may well not have coincided with a patriarchal discourse.

Cornwall and Lindisfarne, (1994) suggest that it is rare for any given social act to be interpreted as solely masculine or feminine. Whilst this may be correct, some social acts are much more frequently associated with women. As discussed earlier, Abbott (2000) identified that some tasks are associated much more closely with women than men. The caring, listening, nurturing roles of a range of occupations, including social work, are associated with women. Limited amounts of literature could be located on the roles of men as social work practitioners; there is more about them as managers. Williams (1995) wrote about the glass escalator the hidden advantages to men of working in a female occupational environment. However the male RSSPCC Inspectors were working in a male organisational environment, but some of the tasks they performed were uncharacteristic of the patriarchal discourse of the RSSPCC.

What is interesting about this under representation is that it is reflected also in the two

histories of the RSSPCC Ashley, (1985) and Abrams, (1998). Ashley (1985) refers to a wide range of the RSSPCC's work, apart from practical help in terms of providing essential goods to families. A more recent account of the RSSPCC's work (Abrams, 1998) focuses on the inquisitorial role of the Society and did not address the complexity of the services offered to families.

Staff interviewed took for granted the provision of material help as a core element of their work particularly in the 1960s. In interviews with them there was some appreciation that this was not publicised. The argument that help was minimised, to try and prevent too many families asking for it, is improbable for two reasons. One was that due to the close proximity of housing other families would know that material help was being provided. The second, as discussed earlier, concerns the image of RSSPCC families in their respective communities. Many families were likely to be perceived as rough (Finch, 1986) and respectable families would not wish to be seen accepting help from the RSSPCC.

One of the staff interviewed stressed the importance of family responsibility. *'Our task was to warn and encourage families to become responsible for their children. The Society always stressed this part of our work'*. (RSSPCC staff, 1994) The public image of the RSSPCC was always concerned to state its purpose of encouraging moral responsibility among parents. The development of the Society can be seen within the context of Donzelot's (1977) description of the growing power of the State over families. He identified that *a procedure of tutelage was established by joining sanitary and educative objectives with methods of economic and moral surveillance.* (Donzelot, 1977:89) The State as represented by the RSSPCC was clearly not wishing to be seen as supporting families in their indigence.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the extent of material help declined and changed in the

1970s. The new Social Work Departments had a statutory capacity under Section 12 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 to provide material help to families. The RSSPCC liaised and advocated on behalf of families to the new Departments. The change in material help from the RSSPCC was established in the case records by the late 1970s. Holidays, outings and trips to the Pantomime for children had replaced bags of coal and firewood. The Society extended its services in the 1970s to offer respite to parents and a wider range of activities for children.

The other RSSPCC projects continue to flourish and develop. The Buchan Playgroup has completed five years of activity; the various Mothers' Groups continue in different ways....and the two RSSPCC caravans in Central and Grampian Regions provided much needed and welcome holidays for families. (RSSPCC Annual Report, 1975:11)

By this time the Society was willing to publicise holidays for families as a relevant and important form of assistance.

The role of the RSSPCC with families suffering religious discrimination was evident in all the decades of this study. Racial discrimination emerged in the 1980s. I could not find acknowledgement of this work in any of the public documents by or about the Society. As noted in Chapter 5, helping families who were in fear of their neighbours can be found in about 17% of cases within the sample of 1,500. Racial discrimination was in evidence in about 10% of 1980's cases, (n =150). The absence of references to helping families suffering religious discrimination is puzzling. It is possible that there were political reasons; for funding purposes the Society would want to be neutral. There was a suggestion by one member of staff that the Society management based in Edinburgh did not understand the issues.

'We took it (sectarianism) for granted, anyone who grew up in Glasgow does - there's always been Celtic and Rangers and a lot more besides. The management of the RSSPCC were, still

are, based in Edinburgh. Sectarianism was not such a problem in the East and they may not even have understood it'. (RSSPCC staff, 1995)

As this was only one person's view a firm conclusion cannot be drawn. Several factors could have contributed to the absence of acknowledgement of this help for families. Another possibility was the patriarchal discourse of the Society. Helping families who were being harassed by their neighbours on grounds of religion could be regarded as *feminine*, an act of caring and concern rather than of encouraging responsibility. In the 1960s and 1970s most of the RSSPCC families were two parent families and perhaps intervention on their behalf was interpreted as undermining the father's task to ensure the security of the family.

Another possible explanation for the absence of official reports of religious discrimination was that it had never really been recognised widely as a social problem within Scottish Society. My conclusion on the absence of discussion of racial discrimination is perhaps less complex. In the later 1980s the day to day work of staff was subject to less scrutiny and it is probable that the work with families experiencing racial discrimination was unknown to the management of the Society in Edinburgh.

9.7. The end of investigation

That the management of the RSSPCC did not know exactly what their staff were doing at the end of the 1980s illuminates the question of why did the Society lose completely its role in investigating child abuse? A number of factors contributed, including the assumption by Local Authorities of the role under the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. The final straw was understandably Lord Clyde's demolition of the work undertaken by the Society's staff with children from Orkney. For reasons of confidentiality I have not dwelt upon the RSSPCC's work with sexually abused children but there was a sense in which their work in this area 'took off' without adequate management and supervision.

However it is important to remember that criticism of the Society after the events in Orkney was the last piece in a jigsaw of the picture of why the Society's role in child protection changed so radically in a thirty-year period.

The conclusion of this study revisits six core themes concerned with the changing patterns of the families' lives, RSSPCC intervention and the paradoxical ways in which children appeared in the case records.

Conclusion

*'I think the Society has forgotten it's supposed to be the Royal Scottish Society for the Protection of Children not parents'.
(RSSPCC staff, 1994)*

This concluding comment suggests, at least in the views of one member of RSSPCC staff, there was a time when the needs of children were paramount in the work of the Society. Retired staff were concerned that the 1980's workers had become too preoccupied with the needs of parents, or more specifically mothers, to the detriment of the children. These themes are re-examined in the conclusion to this study, which falls into six areas.

- The RSSPCC as an agency of child welfare
- The data which informed the study
- The theoretical perspectives
- The circumstances of the families
- The changing patterns of intervention
- The invisibility of the children

In keeping with Foucault's approach the study does not seek to identify or reflect a sense of progress. It is neither a history of the RSSPCC nor an evaluation of their practice. I set out to try to understand how child protection was constructed by the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland during three decades.

1. The RSSPCC as an agency of child welfare

For most of the twentieth century the RSSPCC had a powerful role in child welfare in Scotland, both in terms of influencing policy and legislation on children and their families and in investigation. The power of the Society to investigate and intervene in the lives of poor families was established by Royal Charter early in the century and continued unchallenged up to the mid 1970s. No other agency in Scotland had such all-encompassing access to the family home. The 'cruelty man' was a feature of Glasgow's crowded tenements, wearing

uniform and frequently carrying food or clothes for families, the inspectors were called in to help many families. Women in particular asked for help with debts and their errant husbands who drank or gambled their earnings. Once called to the family the RSSPCC inspectors, assisted by the Women Visitors, intervened in many areas of family life, the physical welfare of the children being their paramount concern. Attention was paid to the state of the home, the washing on the line and the quality of the soup in the pot.

The decades of this study witnessed the decline of the Society as a major force in child protection as local authorities assumed their role under the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968. The Society diversified into various services for children and their families including family centres, family mediation, play schemes, help lines and child sexual abuse work. This last area of work was developed in the late 1980s and some of the workers who had experience in child abuse work were seconded to assist in the Orkney child abuse investigation. The Society was criticised heavily by Lord Clyde's inquiry and withdrew from investigation throughout Scotland on the day the report was published. A unique chapter in Scotland's care of poor children closed that day. It is unlikely in the foreseeable future that an organisation, which had the capacity to address, so many practical areas of family life with such dominion would be constituted again in the context of child welfare.

2. The data which informed the study

The RSSPCC worked with large numbers of families in Glasgow up to the end of the 1960s. From the end of the Second World War to 1970, the Glasgow office received over 2000 referrals a year. Some were dealt with rapidly; others involved a complex pattern of visiting and liaison with other agencies. This study had a substantial database of 1500 case records of families with whom the RSSPCC worked. Some were short term cases, but the majority, over 65%, gave graphic and detailed accounts of the conditions of the home, the food in the cupboard, money in mother's purse and the advice and instruction provided. The quality and

detail of the recording provided quantitative and qualitative material in abundance from which to review and consider the style and range of intervention in family life. The Prosecution records provided immensely detailed statements and accounts of the process of collecting evidence and prosecuting parents for neglect and child cruelty.

In addition to the case records the study was informed by RSSPCC Annual Reports from the late nineteenth century to 1992 and other policy and discussion papers recounting the work of the Society.

RSSPCC staff at all levels in the Society contributed their ideas and views on the past and current work of the agency. Fifty-five interviews were conducted with individual members of staff. The preliminary findings of the study were shared and discussed with a small group of retired RSSPCC staff who were able to illuminate some of the puzzles and paradoxes of the themes identified from the data.

3. The theoretical perspectives

Chapter 3 set out the range of theoretical perspectives employed to make sense of the puzzles and paradoxes of the study. Three key problems of the data had a significant influence on the selection of perspectives, namely, the exercise of power and resistance, the position of women in the family and the invisibility of the children. No one theory could adequately help to shed light on all these elements and therefore a coherent but eclectic framework was developed. The notion of roots and rootlets was adapted from the work of Deleuze to explain how some theories (feminist, Foucault's later approach to power and conceptions of childhood) were central to the framework, whilst others such as Bourdieu's work on language and symbolic capital, organisations and paradigms informed the development of my framework. Summit's concept of adocentrism began as a theoretical root in that I looked to it to illuminate the invisibility of the children in the case records. Adocentrism as discussed in

Chapter 3 is limited by its inclusiveness and ability to shed light on the complexity of adult and children's values. It is discussed further in the final section of this conclusion.

The perspectives contributed to the development of my three-fold conception of paradigms of practice; practical/chauvinist, protectionist and feminist welfare and five-fold continuum of family responses to RSSPCC intervention in their lives. These concepts of practice, and responses to it, sought to encompass the dynamic nature of what happened between policy and practice and practitioners and families.

4. The circumstances of the families

The families described in this study were characteristic of other families who have been studied in the child protection context¹. They were larger than average, with parenthood starting at an earlier than average age. Most of the RSSPCC families lived in poverty and poor housing; they and their children suffered from health problems. In the later years of this study a higher than average proportion of lone parents headed RSSPCC families. Many families experienced problems of alcohol misuse; this finding is less frequent in studies conducted in England and Wales, but is similar to other Scottish studies, *a reflection of one of Scotland's most serious social problems*. (Strathclyde Region Research Department, 1982)

Many of the studies of child protection found that the families had moved house frequently; it is less easy to compare this aspect of the lives of the RSSPCC because of the impact of Glasgow's extensive re-housing policies. However the records did reveal a number of

¹ E.g. Strathclyde Region, 1982; Creighton, 1984; Cleaver and Freeman, 1992; Farmer and Owen, 1995.

families² who disappeared during the process of intervention.

The RSSPCC families for the most part lived under duress. In addition to the problems noted above, about a fifth of them suffered also from harassment on grounds of their religion. I found equal amounts of anti-catholic and anti-protestant fervour. Despite the work of Gallagher (1989), which suggests that sectarianism is part of the male culture of the West of Scotland and does not seriously impact on neighbourliness, this study suggests that religious intolerance was a daily occurrence for many families enacted between women as well as men. The impact of this added stress upon the families is not known, but what is interesting is the finding that families regarded the RSSPCC throughout all the decades of the study as a source of assistance in this matter. The 1980's records found the RSSPCC intervening on behalf of a small number (15) of minority ethnic community families in respect of racism. The records reveal graphic accounts of graffiti, broken windows and daily persecution of parents and children. Although based on a small number, the conclusion that minority ethnic community families in Glasgow's perimeter housing schemes experienced vicious racism is in keeping with other studies of racism in the West of Scotland.

The 1960's data on the living conditions of the families was specific and graphic. However what was not recorded was equally absorbing. For example, I was intrigued by the absence in the records of the reference to the smell in the homes. Given the extent of the accounts of damp walls, wet beds, discarded waste and untrained dogs the stench in some of the homes must have been breathtaking. That it was rarely mentioned confirms the accounts by staff that the records were intended to be evidential and that they did not reflect all the patterns

² During the period of the study an average of 14% of the families disappeared i.e. the RSSPCC closed the case because the families' whereabouts were unknown. Some were traced through the NSPCC but many were not found.

of interaction or circumstances of the families.

5. Changing patterns of intervention

This study suggests that the construction of child protection not only changed as different elements became acknowledged, what Dingwall (1989) called diagnostic inflation, but within each specific period was determined in part, at least, by negotiation between the adults, staff and parents. Child protection was constructed at a policy and professional level but also in day to day negotiations. These negotiations were determined by the circumstances e.g. the state of the home and crucially the perception of the parents' (particularly mothers') demeanour and capacity to engage in dialogue. The basis of this dialogue I have identified as three paradigms of practice, welfare/ chauvinist, protectionist and feminist/ welfare.

I have not followed Donzelot (1977) in attempting to classify families as my study of the records found that, whilst there were patterns identifiable with 'unstructured families,' the processes of intervention and negotiation resulted in families changing their positions along a continuum from flight to conscientious cooperation. Bloor and McIntosh's (1998) five forms of resistance, whilst being valuable to understanding the therapeutic gaze, suggest a more static construction of relationships than I found. The willingness with which families, mothers in particular called in the RSSPCC appeared to be on a greater scale than that found in other studies of child protection. The reasons for this can only be speculated upon. One may be the range of ways in which the RSSPCC were willing to become engaged; they intervened in just about every area of family life. Finance, food, cleanliness, housing, debts, aggressive neighbours, leaking roofs, husbands who would not seek work and children's

physical welfare were all encompassed within the field of intervention. The provision of material aid was very extensive and appears to have been offered to encourage rather than reward, resulting in just about every family getting clothes, coal, cooking pots or cabbages at some point. In later years, the nature of material aid reflected changing social conditions and family outings and caravan holidays took over from coal and cooking pots. The definition of the social work task reflected in later studies of child protection e.g. Farmer and Owen (1995) meant that many of the core tasks undertaken by the RSSPCC were outwith the remit of the social workers.³ They concluded that narrow concentration on the child's protection to the exclusion of parents' needs limited the extent to which child welfare could be enhanced, an argument put forward by the Marquis of Tweeddale speaking in 1898 (quoted in Chapter 9) and 65 years later by the McBoyle Committee of 1963⁴.

The retired inspectors with whom I discussed my findings suggested the second possible reason for mothers' willingness to call in the RSSPCC particularly in the first two decades of the study. They suggested that women felt more comfortable calling upon men to help. This is a controversial suggestion but one which is worthy of consideration. Domestic violence, bullying by neighbours, alcohol misuse were aspects of many women's lives and, together with what has been described as the male culture of Glasgow, they may well have seen male workers as having some authority over their errant men folk. Furthermore at another level of analysis, in a patriarchal society the added value of male intervention could

³ Farmer and Owen, 1995:285 noted that the material needs of carers, better housing or material help were outside the province of the social worker even though their effects in terms of stress were recognised. Likewise problems of health and day to day childcare were left to the medical services.

⁴ The McBoyle Committee, 1963 referred to in Chapter 1 recommended a comprehensive family welfare system not unlike that offered by the RSSPCC.

have been an incentive to seek help to protect themselves and their children.

This may also explain another of my conclusions, the unassailable certainty with which the RSSPCC inspectors approached their work. As discussed earlier, the RSSPCC to some extent lost its way towards the middle of the 1980s but for most of this study they operated with a moral certainty which probably had roots in a patriarchal and Calvinist discourse of the family. There was recognition from the beginning of the Society's work in the nineteenth century that less could be expected of RSSPCC families, but nevertheless certain basic minimum standards of financial and practical housekeeping and moral rectitude were required of parents. More was expected of mothers and the gendered expectations were found throughout this study. The moral certainty of the RSSPCC resulted in their belief in the rightness of invasion, inspection and direction of mothers in the tasks of homemaking. Professional training, together with the influence of the rights movements for women and children, and the employment of women staff with an interest in feminist social work, modified the approaches to families and resulted in increased consultation and partnership styles of working. These partnerships were however formed primarily between adults not between workers and children.

6. Why were the children invisible?

Were the children invisible in the same ways throughout the period 1960 to 1990? The paradox of the presence and absence of the children in the reporting of the work of the RSSPCC runs throughout this study, which covers a period of significant changes in the roles, rights and expectations of children. The starting point, 1960, saw an overwhelming preoccupation with juvenile delinquency. The period ended with the United Nations signing of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. I suggest that RSSPCC children

were invisible in particular ways at different periods.

The 1960's records reflected children between the ages of two and fifteen as 'children', frequently not as boys and girls or the older ones as teenagers. During this period, the RSSPCC began to extend its range of activities as the professional understanding of child neglect and abuse developed. The extended activities included working with families, holidays for children and later whole families, family resource centres and the Woman Visitors Service. The extension of these activities was associated with changes in social attitudes, which occurred during the 1960's, and more specifically the findings of the McBoyle Report (1963) and the Kilbrandon Report (1965). The change in approaches to dealing with problems of child abuse and neglect recommended by both reports, together with the widespread shift in social attitudes and the development of social sciences, led to a greater emphasis on the need to help and support the entire family (Clarke, 1993). Child neglect and abuse began to be viewed as a product of a complex pattern of socio-economic and psychological factors at play in families at risk, and not as the consequence of pathological behaviour on the part of one or both parents.

The work of the Society in this period appears largely to have been untouched by the post war growth of what has been described as the 'psychologization of casework'. It does not reflect in this decade, the discourse of child development, which regarded the mother's role as an all encompassing one.

Child rearing became a difficult and problematic full time job, involving day-to-day responsibility for the child's thoughts and feelings as well as for his or her physical health. (Clarke 1993:231).

Using Donzelot's perspective, the 1960's were in many respects a seedbed for the changes in the family and in related agencies, which came in the next two decades. The discourse of the family evident in the records of the RSSPCC in the sixties reflects Donzelot's accounts

of families who were subject to state intervention. However the effects of the influence of psychoanalysis, the professionalisation of social work and the intensification of family life remain to be developed in the seventies and eighties. The family as *an avid consumer of everything that might help it to 'realise itself,'* (Donzelot 1979) came later in Glasgow.

The decline in prosecutions as a means of intervention in the sixties can be seen in the context of an increasing emphasis on keeping the family together. As the Report of the Committee of the Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care, Prevention of Neglect of Children (HMSO 1966) noted;

To keep the family together should therefore be the first aim, and local authorities should in seeking to achieve it, use their own services and any help they can get from voluntary agencies. An increasing part of their work now consists in helping, either through their own efforts or in co-operation with other statutory services and with voluntary agencies to keep the family together in order to ensure that the children will be properly looked after and need not be received into care. (1966:2)

The change in approach to dealing with child abuse and neglect, which began during the 1960s, was associated with major changes in legislation affecting childcare and protection. The Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 and the Children Act of 1975, placed statutory responsibility for the care and protection of children on local authority social work departments. In particular, responsibility for the investigation of reported incidents of child neglect and abuse became a responsibility of social work departments. Children in the RSSPCC records of the 1970s became visible in terms of their injuries. As noted in Chapters 5 and 6 only a small proportion of children were recorded as being injured; the remainder became even less visible as recording practices became more restricted to summaries of work.

Following the reorganisation of Scottish local government in 1975 it took some social work departments many years to establish fully functioning child care services, given the other

major problems with which they were required to deal. During the period from 1975 until relatively recently the RSSPCC continued to carry out investigative work on behalf of social work departments as those departments built up and developed their services.

The emergence of sexual abuse created circumstances leading to greater recognition of gender roles. The understanding of sexual abuse at the end of the 1980s, demonstrated in the records, suggests that abusers were men and girls were abused. This reflected much of the literature at that time (e.g. Furniss, 1991; Saraga, 1988). The records of the 1980s reflect a concentration on work with women and girls. Gender expectations by staff became much more apparent; there were discussions with girls about their patterns of running away or conflicts at home. There were few records of work with teenage boys, who like their fathers, were largely absent in the records by this time. Work with younger boys tended to focus on bedwetting and behavioural issues within the home, for example tearing the wallpaper or jumping on the beds. The recognition of abuse of boys by men and the abuse of girls and boys by women came in the years after the decades of this study (Buchanan, 1998).

The presence of the children in the work of the RSSPCC mirrored, in many respects, the roles of children within wider society at different periods. Their injuries in the 1960s were noted but, unless serious were not acted upon. If a child approached an inspector this indicated very grave concerns about what was happening in the family. Play was largely a matter for the children themselves, with the RSSPCC playing a supporting role in the provision of balls, bats and hoops. In the 1970s there was action in response to visible physical injuries, and the provision of play schemes and holidays recognised greater expectations of leisure pursuits. These expectations continued into the 1980s but the focus on children by the RSSPCC shifted to concern about the sexual abuse of girls and domestic violence towards their mothers. Boys were almost invisible by this time.

Summit's notion of adult values suggests that there is something identifiable as children's

values. Bourdieu (1997) recognised that children are at least to some extent socialised into seeing the world through the eyes of their parents. The extent of the development of their views of the world will depend on a range of factors, which result in the recognition of children's values as a problematic exercise. Access to children's values and views has been addressed in some studies of child protection e.g. summarised by Gough (1995) and most have concluded that children views are rarely taken seriously. From inquiries into the deaths of Maria Colwell (1973/4) to Rikki Neave (1999), professionals have been exhorted to 'listen to children'. This study found very little evidence of interaction between staff and children. The retired inspectors recognised that they did not regard talking to children as very important to their task. They saw child protection as inspecting everything, including the children, and that asking them questions, apart from in an evidential context, was a waste of time, as the children would support their parents regardless. The case example in Chapter 8, of the boy who lied to protect his mother, to some extent supports their view that children were inculcated with adult values to the exclusion of all others.

As child abuse was subsumed by child protection and dropped off the agenda (Parton et al 1997) the constituency of child protection involved less focus on the body or welfare of the child and much more on the wider circumstances of the child within the family. However this shifting focus has not necessarily made children's values any easier to identify. Many studies of child sexual abuse (e.g. Prior, et al 1994; McLeod, 1996; Parton & Wattam, 1999) found that abused children were very concerned for their families and in some respects appeared to adopt adult values. Summit's concept of adocentrism makes a relevant contribution in this study to understanding why children's voices were so rarely heard. However to be a useful working hypothesis the term needs to be able to recognise the

complexity of adult values. Adult values encompass gender, power, symbolic capital and language, tutelage and discourses of the family which privilege the public sphere.

The criticisms made by Lord Clyde of the work with the children from Orkney were not dissimilar to those of Lord Justice Butler Sloss at the Cleveland Inquiry (1988); children she reminded everyone were not to be objects of concern.

Many of the inquiries in the 1970s and 1980s concluded that the workers had become over identified with the adults in the families to the detriment of the children. Child care legislation in England and Wales and Scotland has sought to emphasise that the needs of the child should be paramount. This study pre-dates this legislation but nevertheless makes a contribution to trying to understand the factors, which come into play when formal attempts are made to protect children.

The concept of adocentrism is valuable as an 'alerting concept' rather than an analytic one. In thinking about the way child protection is framed the concept sheds a critical light on whether what is being proposed is really in the interests of children. Although conducted in the name of children, much of the intervention was concerned to address children's needs through their parents. The 1960s workers had no problem with this notion and were clear that this was their task. The model of practice, which I developed, welfare/chauvinist sought to encapsulate the basis of this practice. The RSSPCC retired staff argued that, although perhaps by the standards of today it was dictatorial and judgmental of parents, their central concern was improving the day to day lives of the children. They made no attempt to be friends or partners with the parents, but they did support them in a wide range of ways. Coercion through prosecution was imposed on the minority of families who would

or could not co-operate at a minimum level.

The value of this study which spans three decades of practice lies in its identification of the way in which child protection was constructed in response to different social circumstances and equally crucially in the interaction between parents and workers. The shifting patterns of the invisibility of children suggest the enormous difficulty for family workers in holding in mind the needs of all family members at any one time. This study reflects the professional preoccupations with adult agendas. There is no indication that at any period of this study the wishes or views of the children determined the focus of work. Their views were always filtered and interpreted by the workers.

This study ends by suggesting that a construction of child protection can be understood in neither abstract nor absolute terms. It is a product of legal, social policy, medical and social work practice and crucially of the day to day negotiations between professionals and adult family members.

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- 1993 RSSPCC Management Report - Coopers and Lybrand - Confidential RSSPCC, Edinburgh
- 1994 Team Change - The West of Scotland Review - Robinson, C. - Confidential RSSPCC, Edinburgh
- 1960 - 1975 RSSPCC - West of Scotland, Prosecution Records
- 1960 - 1979 Incident Book RSSPCC, West of Scotland
- 1950 - 1979 Action Book RSSPCC, West of Scotland
- 1951 - 1989 Case Records RSSPCC, West of Scotland

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SNSPCC AND THE RSSPCC

The following Annual Reports have been quoted in this study:

1895-6	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1897	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1906	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1908	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1909	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1910	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1912	SNSPCC Annual Report	SNSPCC, Edinburgh
1922	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1928	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1932	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1955	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1960	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1962	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1965	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
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1985	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
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1991	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1992	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh
1993	RSSPCC Annual Report	RSSPCC, Edinburgh

Cathedral View,
Doune Road,
Dunblane,
FK15 9AR.

Mr. A. M. M. Wood,
Chief Executive,
RSSPCC.,
Melville House,
41, Polwarth Terrace,
Edinburgh, EH11 1NU.

12th April, 1994.

Dear Mr. Wood,

RSSPCC GLASGOW ARCHIVES:

The Report into Team Change in the Glasgow team is complete and will be with you shortly. I have enjoyed working in the team and hope the process has been helpful.

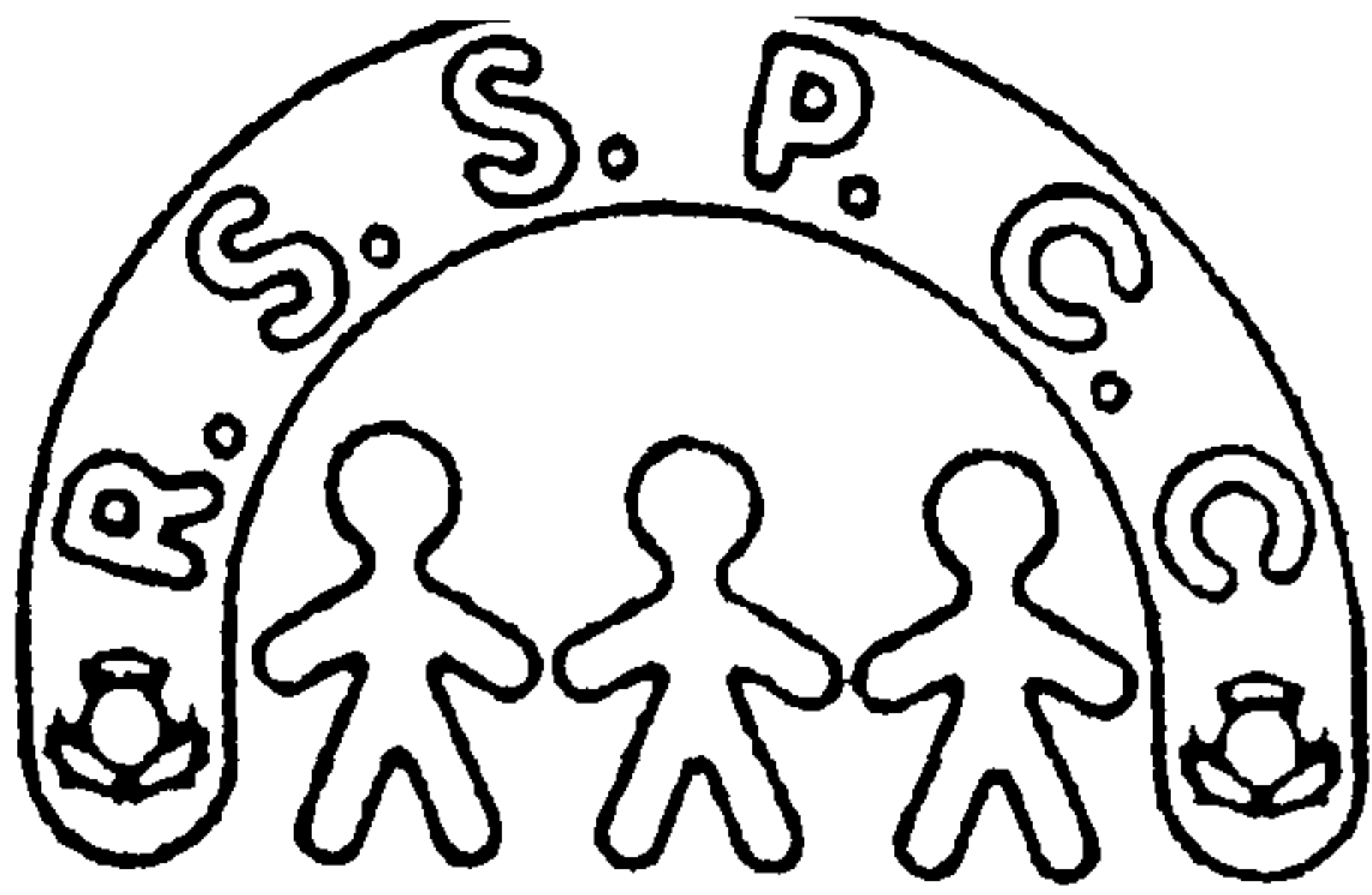
I am registered for a PHD at Stirling University and am currently defining my proposal; having seen some of the RSSPCC Archives in Glasgow, I would be interested in using them as a basis to examine changing attitudes and policies towards work with children from 1950's onwards.

Would you be agreeable to this proposal? Confidentiality would be carefully preserved, the issues being about trends and patterns rather than individual cases.

I could supply further details of the proposal if required.

Yours sincerely,

Chris Robinson



Appendix 3

Melville House
41 Polwarth Terrace
Edinburgh EH11 1NU

Telephone 031-337 8539
Fax 031-346 8284

Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children

AMMW\gfh

20 April 1994

Ms. Chris Robinson
Cathedral View
Doune Road
Dunblane FK15 9AF.

Dear Ms. Robinson,

RSSPCC Glasgow Archives

Thank you for your letter of 12 April.

We would be pleased to support your PHD Studies and I confirm that, in principle, there would be no objection to you having access to the RSSPCC Archives.

You have already mentioned the aspect of confidentiality and I would just confirm that we would wish the contents of the records to be treated in such a way that individual children or adults could not be identified.

Taking into account the theme of your proposal I think we would like to know whether it is possible for us to see in advance of the completion of your project any comments or views which you might be including which could be construed as critical of the work of the RSSPCC at the time.

Yours sincerely,

A.M.M. WOOD
Chief Executive



CALEDONIAN
UNIVERSITY

CHRS

(Provisional) Meeting Date - Thurs
Dec. 2.

Time 2 or 2.30 pm.

CONVENOR
DR WILKIE THOMPSON

VENUE - MY ROOM

FACULTY OF HEALTH

DIVISION OF SOCIAL WORK

INTERNAL
MEMORANDUM

To: PROFESSORS JOHN PHILLIPS, DAVE WALSH.

cc: IAN BRODIE

From: MIKE STONE

Date: 16th November 1993

Subject: ROYAL SCOTTISH SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO
CHILDREN (RSSPCC) GLASGOW OFFICE PAPERS

The University will benefit from the establishment of archives for study and research purposes. Once a start is made the University will become known among potential benefactors as a suitable destination for archival material.

An important opportunity is available for acquiring archival material. The RSSPCC (Glasgow Office) is offering the University on a permanent loan basis a significant batch of case records, petition and prosecution documents, registers and account books for the period late 1940's - early 1980's. The material is available at no cost (except those of transfer) to the University. In principle agreement to the transfer (subject to committee approval) has been obtained from the RSSPCC's H.Q. The records will chiefly be of interest to staff and research students of the Department of Social Science.

Recommendations: That the University accepts the generous offer of RSSPCC records. That the Department of Social Sciences initiates a small project team with the remit of overseeing the transfer, agreeing the terms of the loan, arranging formal access criteria and organising an appropriate handover event.

Suggested membership

HOD Social Science (or Nominee)
Chief Librarian (or nominee)
Representative, Division of Social Work
Co-options as needed by the Project Team.

Record of meeting to discuss the availability of RSSPCC Papers for permanent loan to Glasgow Caledonian University. 11th November 1993 - RSSPCC Offices, Bathgate Street, Glasgow.

Present: Dr Ann Stafford (RSSPCC), Jean Stevenson (RSSPCC), John Harrison (RSSPCC), Mike Stone (GCU).

Dr Stafford informed the meeting that much of the RSSPCC's papers and documents from H.Q. and a 10% sample of case records from Branch offices is lodged with the Scottish Records Office. The RSSPCC's current policy is to retain all records for ten years. Apart from the above requirements the society's records are available for archive creation by a reputable and suitable institution. A transfer of records is likely to be done on a permanent loan basis with actual ownership being retained by the RSSPCC.

The quantity of case records, petitions, prosecutions, ledgers and registers at the office in Annfield Place amounted to approximately 6 standard filing cabinets in bulk. Much of the material is indexed and cross-referenced. There would be no charge for the material but the transfer of the material must not involve any cost to the RSSPCC.

Some of the records contain important information to persons who are very much alive - e.g. individuals have discovered and traced lost relatives from case record information. Sensitive material will need to be treated as highly confidential and access to it restricted to bona fide research students, academics, officers of the RSSPCC etc. An access agreement will need to be drawn up. A formal agreement on the terms of the permanent loan is also required.

All the RSSPCC members agreed that in principle the transfer should occur (subject to committee approval). Mike Stone confirmed the University's "in principle" interest in receiving the document.

Next Steps

- RSSPCC:
- i. Dr Stafford to secure committee approval.
 - ii. Check out any legal status differences in social work records from other forms of records
 - iii. Obtain details of current access arrangements used by RSSPCC with Scottish Records Office.

Glasgow Caledonian

- i. Mike Stone will recommend to the University that it accept the records for an archive.
- ii. will recommend anchoring the transfer project in the Social Sciences Department.
- iii. Will recommend that a research librarian's assessment and opinion be obtained on the best method of storage.

Mike Stone
Lecturer in Social Work

MS004.MEM

Appendisc 5

THE RSSPCC ARCHIVE - SUMMARY LIST

1. GLASGOW PAPERS

G1. Referrals.

February 1976 - December 1986
5535 sets

G2. Case records

January 1969 - December 1985
6434 sets

G3. Prosecutions

January 1943 - December 1982 (missing 1946, 47, 57, 79)
2868 sets

G4. Petitions

January 1943 - December 1971 (missing 1967)
846 sets

G5. N.A.B. Intimations of Impending Prosecutions

January 1953 - December 1964 (quantity unknown)

G6. Collectors Notebooks

472 each (unsorted)

G7. Cash Books

January 1906 - January 1968
9 vols.

G8. Diary Paysheets

(A record of work and particulars of expenses)
May 1965 - July 1991
15 vols.

G9. Office Records

February 1945 - January 1956
8 vols.

G10. Reporters' Notebooks

January 1967- December 1981 (incomplete, quantity unknown)

- G11. Message Books**
1982 - 1987 (incomplete, quantity unknown)
- G12. New Case Records**
March 1932 - November 1963
7 vols.
- G13. Investigations Register**
January 1980 - December 1985
2 vols.
- G14. Crookston Home Materials**
Visitors Books 1903 - 1920
Minute Books 1902 - 1921
Admission Rolls
Cash Books
6 vols.
- G15. Fresh Air Fortnight Homes Register of Admittance.**
January 1928 - December 1935
1 vol.
- G16. Finance Files**
January 1966 - December 1972
7 folders
- G17. Legacy Papers**
January 1950 - December 1978
7 folders
- G18. Complaints Ledgers**
January 1953 - December 1965
10 vols.
- G19. Glasgow District Committee Minutes**
February 1895 - December 1963 (Series start at vol. 2.; vol. 1. missing)
6 vols. + 1 box
- G20. Glasgow District Finance Committee Minutes**
January 1903 - December 1971
6 vols. + 1 box
- G21. Theatrical Productions Ledgers**
2 vols.

G22. Warrants Book

1934 - 1970

1 vol.

G23. Prosecution Book

April 1959 - December 1976

1 vol.

G24. Removal and Disposal of Children Registers

June 1964 - March 1976

2 vols.

G25. Miscellaneous Files

4 boxes Glasgow Office correspondence - unsorted.

13 folders projects and fundraising

2. DUNBARTONSHIRE PAPERS

D1. Referrals.

January 1976 - December 1989

1017 sets.

D2. Case Records

January 1972 - November 1978

c650 sets

D3. Prosecutions

44 sets (very scattered coverage)

D4. Petitions

30 sets (very scattered coverage)

D5. Non Accidental Injury Committee Minutes.

January 1976 - December 1981

1 box

3. LANARKSHIRE PAPERS

L1. Case Records.

January 1962 - December 1971

3 boxes (uncounted)

FOR OUR NEXT MEETING

Mike

MEMO

To : Marian Miller
From : John Powles
Subject : RSSPCC Archives
Date : 10th January 1994.

c.c. Mike Stone

1. Introduction.

I have visited the RSSPCC Offices to view the archive and catalogue. I have also briefly surveyed the catalogue. I give below a description of the archive together with notes on the logistics and costs involved in moving the archive to GCU Library.

2. The Archive and Catalogue.

The archive is housed in an attic at the RSSPCC Offices off Duke Street and, although some papers are tied into bundles with string and are housed on shelving or in tin boxes, the collection is in a state of disarray and very poorly organised; access and preservation conditions are far from ideal! The person looking after the archive is very conscientious, but is neither a librarian or an archivist.

The archive consists, in the main, of collections of papers relating to cases, prosecutions, petitions, and referrals; all these items are covered by entries arranged by parent's names in the card catalogue. In multiple cases covering the same parent(s) papers are consolidated. Referrals are usually contained on a single sheet, but case papers, etc. can run to anything up to 20 sheets or more of paper. Also of considerable importance is a collection of minutes of the Finance Committee which includes a monthly synopsis of important cases, discussions, etc; these are uncatalogued. Of subsidiary importance are accumulations of Inspectors' pocketbooks, collectors' books, various ledgers, and 4 boxes of assorted internal memos, letters, etc.; all of these items are unsorted and uncatalogued.

There are 2 card catalogues. One catalogue contains cards for prosecutions and petitions, with the 2 categories being discretely filed. The other catalogue contains an interfiling of cases and referrals. Many of the cards are in a fairly poor physical condition, and the alphabetical filing is somewhat haphazard in places.

By measuring the cards in the catalogues and working on the basis of 90 cards to the inch an approximate total number of cards, and therefore documents, was arrived at. A percentage of cards was then surveyed on a random basis to arrive at a chronological distribution of documents; the results are shown below.

Type of document	Total number	"10 year rule"	"5 year rule"
Petitions	1170	1170	1170
Prosecutions	5940	5940	5940
Cases and Refs.	18428	11942	15943
Grand Totals	25538	19052	23053

N.B.

1. The RSSPCC have said they would like to retain 10 years worth documents, supplying GCU with 12 months worth at the end of each year to add to our collection. Most similar agencies in Strathclyde only retain 5 years worth of papers before they destroy them or commit them to central archives; it might well help the administration of the project and collection management thereafter if a similar period was adopted by the RSSPCC.
2. There are no prosecution or petition papers post mid 70,s; after this date papers were sent to central archives; therefore, what ever rule is adopted, GCU would take all the relevant holdings for these categories.

3. The Project - Two Phases.

I think we should consider splitting the project into 2 phases:

1. The physical movement of the documents and catalogue to GCU Library and the arranging of the documents in correct order within suitable storage facilities. This could be done relatively cheaply using unskilled labour and without too much trouble (provided the problems mentioned below, in 6, could be overcome). Access would still only be by parent's name, but the collection would be properly housed and organised, and would be available for researching.
2. The transfer of the catalogue onto a PC and the provision of subject access to documents. This would require the services of a professional librarian, as well as the purchase of a PC and appropriate software. This phase would obviously involve considerable expense, perhaps over a period of years utilising Library School graduates to perform the work. The advantages of computerisation and subject access are great and obvious; it is envisaged that researchers would be able, for example, to easily list all documents dealing with assault on children by a parent under the influence of drink, or instances of persistent neglect, etc. in much the same way as the subject index can be searched on the Libray's OPAC; chronological patterning, etc, could also be investigated.

A PC, printer and database software, such as Cardbox Plus, would cost in the region of 3 1/2 K. The cost of staff to input and index the material is very difficult to estimate without doing a pilot project, but would certainly run into severa thousand pounds (roughly 7-10K??)

At the moment I intend to deal only with the logistics of Phase 1.

4. Phase One - Logistics.

1. The documents would be packed into crates or boxes for transporting to GCU. This would best be done by the person responsible for organising the materials at GCU. The actual transporting would be quite difficult bearing in mind that the archive is presently housed in an attic at the top of two twisting flights of stairs. I would estimate that the packing up might take 3/4 days, and that the actual removal might take 2 storemen 2 days with a van.
2. The documents would be unpacked at GCU and arranged in chronological order, and within any year by running number; this is the sequence employed at the moment, although as already mentioned the archive is very disorganised. I would recommend that the documents are stored in Gresswell's Mini File System units, and that 4 of these would be required if the 10 year rule is applied, or 5 if the 5 year rule is applied, to

allow for storage of the present archive plus a couple of years expansion. Two bays of shelving would also be required to house ledgers, notebooks, etc.

3. It is envisaged that this work could be undertaken by a shelf-tidier/reshelver type of person on the grounds that no systems based work is required and that the work would entail moving and arranging items into numerically determined sequences, i.e. the sort of work done by our shelf-tidiers at the moment. Such a person would be paid £3.30 per hour as against the £5.20 per hour it would cost the institution to employ a temporary part-time library assistant. The work would probably have to be confined to 20 hours per week to avoid NI, etc. problems, but, given the extremely dusty condition of some of the material and the level of concentration required, this might be no bad thing. The major difficulty is, of course, estimating the amount of time required to carry out the work, but I would estimate that the preparation and filing work should not be in excess of 250 hours.

5. Phase 1 Costs.

Removing archive and catalogues to GCU	Absorbed by GCU?
1 shelf tidier for 250 hrs. @ £3.30/hr.	£825.00
2 Bays shelving	Supplied by Library?
5 Mini File Systems (max. required) @ £210.09	£1050.45
Miscellaneous stationery and expenses	£150.00
TOTAL	£2025.45

ASK FOR £2250.00

6. Problems

1. Accommodation is obviously the main problem, especially as the material has to be located in a secure area with strict access controls. A dedicated room needs to be made available. There is a suitable room within the library area at Park campus but utilisation of this would involve a lot of clearing out of stored materials (old journals and equipment), and would place the archive at some considerable distance from the RSSPCC offices; as has already been stated this is a working collection and would still be accessed by RSSPCC staff. Logistically, therefore, it would probably be better to site the archive at City campus, if accommodation can be found. A room the size of H007, presently used by Computer Services, would be ideal, although the Machine Room (H109) would also probably be suitable if the online equipment could be relocated.

2. Given the fact that, whether the 5 or 10 year rule is applied, some cases and referrals will stay at the RSSPCC offices, a problem arises over catalogue splitting and access.

There seem to be three main alternatives:

- i) Leave all catalogues at the RSSPCC. This would allow staff there to identify case, etc. numbers from names prior to either coming to consult papers or requesting that they be sent to them. It could also be argued that access by name alone is of relatively little use to researchers, and that, until phase 2 is underway, most research will be done by browsing.
- ii) Bring all catalogues to GCU Library. This would keep documents and catalogues together, although RSSPCC staff would have to come here to search catalogues, or telephone with enquiries.
- iii) Sort out last 5, or 10, years worth of cards and leave at RSSPCC. This would, of course, involve a lot of work because the catalogues are arranged by

C-21
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RSSPCC ARCHIVE PROJECT GROUP MEETING 17.1.94

Present: Willie Thompson, Marian Miller, Mike Stone.

Apologies: Chris Robinson.

The main business of the meeting was the consideration of John Powles assessment report on the potential archival material. The report is comprehensive and practical and concludes with a recommendation in support of the archiving proposal. Two major themes emerged:-

1. Accommodation for the archival material.
2. Resourcing the classification and other processing of the material.

Accommodation

Ideally accommodation should be in the library area of City Campus but none was presently available nor was it likely to be until the proposed extensions were built. The group considered the possible availability and suitability of a room in the library at Park Campus as an option, perhaps on a temporary basis. The room was viewed and appears very appropriate in size, light and quietness. Access could be controlled. Presently it is full of discarded material which it is planned to clear. The project team agreed that the initial goal should be to obtain (subject to receipt of a transfer document from RSSPCC) the archive material, transport it to Park Campus and initially store it in the Library room. The next step of processing would be dependant upon the timing and availability of resources and would probably occur in the two stages indicated by John in his report.

Resourcing:

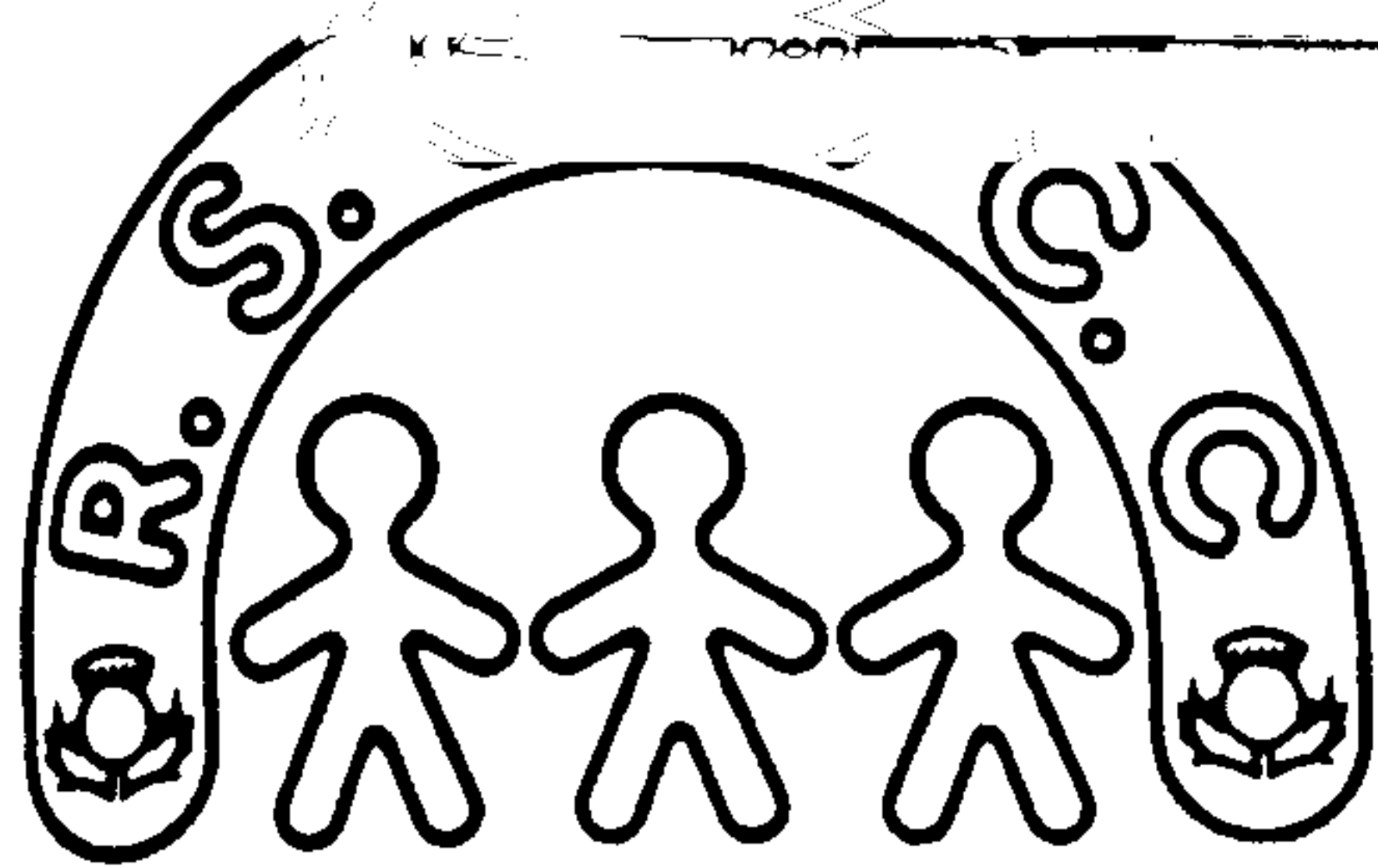
Resourcing the preparation of the material is more problematical. Full development of the archive in terms of access and utility is both long term and relatively expensive. A University policy on archives is required not only for the RSSPCC material but for the University archive and others which may in future be established. A positive pro-archives policy will in turn facilitate and legitimate resourcing. Willie has a meeting with Brian Fraser scheduled to discuss the archiving policy proposal.

- Action - Mike
- To write to RSSPCC (Edinburgh) for transfer document.
 - To check out catalogue position with RSSPCC (Glasgow).
 - Check transport position with George Adams.
 - Book Boardroom.
- Willie - Meet with Brian Fraser re-policy and resourcing.

- Meet with Jo Haythornthwaite re location of University archives.
- Marian - Check and confirm availability of room, Library, Park Campus.
- Convey project group's thanks to John Powles.

Date of next meeting: Park Campus, 2 p.m. 17th February, 1994.

MS1.DOC



Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Melville House
41 Polwarth Terrace
Edinburgh EH11 1NU
Telephone: 031 337 8539
Fax No: 031 346 8284

Mr M Stone
Lecturer in Social Work
Glasgow Caledonian University
Park Campus
Park Drive
Glasgow
G3 6LP

Our Ref: MS.AS/SR
24th January 1994

Dear Mike

Glasgow Archive

I am writing to tell you that the proposal to set up an archive of case papers from Annfield Centre at the University was discussed at the Society's Policy & Staff Committee on 10th January 1994.

The Committee were interested in the proposal and have no objections to its going ahead, pending a suitable agreement between the two organisations ^{being} drawn up. This would also ultimately go to the Committee, for information, as much as anything else. We might also want our lawyer to cast his eye over the final agreement and also our contact at the Scottish Records Office.

I have had a look at the access agreement drafted by you and it is very much along the lines I had imagined. I'm not sure if this is the case in your agreement but I think the RSSPCC would like to be the organisation to approve access even to students and academics. In most cases this would be a formality (if they are recommended by the University) but I think the RSSPCC needs the final veto.

I would be grateful if you would let me know how you would like to proceed from here.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Anne

Anne Stafford
Principal, Social Policy

memorandum

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DIVISION OF SOCIAL WORK

TO:	JOHN POWLES
FROM:	MIKE STONE
DATE:	20TH JUNE 1994
c.c.	Professor John Phillips, Professor David Walsh, Marian Miller, Willie Thompson, Chris Robinson
SUBJECT:	RSSPCC ARCHIVE

Thank you for advising me of the planned date (1st July) for the transfer of the archival material from the RSSPCC Glasgow Office, Annfield Place to the library premises on the University's Park Campus.

Ann Stafford, Principal Policy Officer of the RSSPCC at HQ in Edinburgh phoned me yesterday (16/6) to say that the basis of the transfer is to be "permanent loan."

I have reminded Ann of the need for an agreed access document. She believes that my draft document is broadly satisfactory but I pointed out that the University will require written confirmation of the terms of access and the basis of transfer, Ann has agreed to supply both.

I have verbal agreements with Ann Stafford and the local manager Jean Stevenson that in the meantime there will be no general access to the archive material and that access will be restricted to:

- i) Library personnel necessarily involved in organising and processing the collection.
(I assume this will include yourself, Marian and Eileen McKee)
- ii) Academic staff on the RSSPCC Archive Project Group
- iii) Willie Thompson, (Convenor), Senior Lecturer Social Sciences Department
- iv) Christina Robinson, Lecturer in Social Work, Social Sciences Department,
- v) Mike Stone, Lecturer in Social Work, Social Sciences Department.

Chris Robinson only has an individually negotiated agreement with the RSSPCC for access for research purposes (arising from previous research carried out for the RSSPCC involving the use of the archive material) as far as I am aware no other research permissions have been given and none is desirable until a formal access agreement is in place because of the confidential nature of some of the material.

Any request for access to the material by RSSPCC staff following the transfer on 1st July 1994 and prior to the formal access arrangements being put in place will be authorised by the Principal Child Care Officer at the Glasgow Office, RSSPCC (Jean Stevenson) and individual staff will carry a letter of authorisation from her when carrying out tasks necessitating access. No access should be allowed without the letter of authorization.

MS84.MEM

**RSSPCC ARCHIVE
PROJECT GROUP MEETING 22.8.94**

Present: Marian Miller
John Powles
Chris Robinson
Mike Stone

Apologies: Willie Thompson

Agenda:

1. Progress Reports
2. Access Agreement
3. Loan of Archive Material
4. Photocopying of Archives
5. Launch Ceremony/Publicity
6. AOB

1. **Progress Report:** John reported that phase one of the project is now completed. The RSSPCC archival material has been transferred from Annfield Place to a secure room in the library premises at Park Campus. The room has been equipped for storage and study purposes. The archive material has been sorted on a chronological basis and case papers numbered within particular years. The archive is now usable for research purposes but a number of difficulties remain such as a need for cross-referencing between referrals, prosecutions and case papers. The full development of the archive requires a computer data base for issue or theme search purposes. The next stage will need substantial additional resourcing.

Action: It was agreed that group members would explore potential sources of funding for archives. Marian seek information from the University of Warwick who possess large social data archives and to whom the British Association of Social Workers donated the records of its predecessor organisations (e.g. The Association of Child Care Officers).

Chris will try to ascertain the funding source(s) for the archive being set up for the records of Barnardos.

John had enquired about possible funding by the British Library but the RSSPCC Archive does not meet their criteria on open access.

2. **Access Agreement**

University personnel who were authorised for access to the Archive had now been identified. The academic staff authorised were the three members of the project group and the library staff as listed in John Powles memo of 3rd August 1994.

It was agreed that the successful negotiation of a formal access agreement with the RSSPCC was the next goal to be attained and that this had to be in place before an inaugural ceremony and publicity event could occur.

Mike reported that the RSSPCC had indicated in late June 1994 that they intended to comment upon the draft agreement which he had despatched to them "in the next week or so" but nothing further had occurred.

Action: It was agreed that Mike should write to Arthur Wood (Chief Executive) and to Dr Anne Stafford (Principal Social Policy Officer) and report on the positive work which had been done in establishing the Archive and reiterating the need for an agreement on access arrangements.

3. Loan of Archive Material

It was agreed that no original archive material be loaned to any person or organisation with the exception of the RSSPCC who are the legal owners of the papers and records.

It was thought desirable that the RSSPCC be requested to nominate one or two persons only who would have access to the archive and these persons would conduct the business on behalf of other officers of the RSSPCC.

It was agreed that a record of materials removed for agency purposes by the RSSPCC be kept by the library staff at Park Campus. It was thought desirable that a three month period be established as the 'loan' period whereafter an enquiry may be initiated by the library staff with the RSSPCC.

Action: Mike will progress the matters of nomination and removal of records with the Glasgow office Principal CCO Jean Stevenson.

4. Photocopying of Archive Material

The project group agreed that there should be no photocopying of parts of the archive material. Photocopying breached the principle of confidentiality of the material and could lead to serious deterioration of fragile records through wear and tear. Photocopying undermined the purpose and value of establishing an archive.

Guidelines: Arising out of the discussion on loan and photocopying of the archive material, and related to it, was a need for guidelines for users and staff about accessing the archive. Matters concerning authorisation, procedure and the security of the archive contents would be addressed.

Action: John offered to draft such guidelines for consideration by the group at a later date.

5. **Launch Ceremony/Publicity**

Mike informed the group that the RSSPCC, like the university, were clearly interested in an inaugural event and accompanying publicity. The timing of such an event was linked to the agreement on access. The planning for the event (possibly Spring 1995) will need to be coordinated with the RSSPCC. The group believed that the publicity generated could lead to further offers of related archives from other voluntary social work agencies. The need for a university policy on archives was highlighted by the developments which had already occurred in this field.

6. **AOB**

Heatherbank Social Work Museum

Some discussion occurred concerning the development of closer links with the university and the relatedness of the RSSPCC material and the Heatherbank collections.

Next Meeting

Monday 3rd October at 4.15 p.m. (Social work Division, Park Campus.)

Mike Stone
Lecturer in Social Work

**RSSPCC (GLASGOW) ARCHIVE AT GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY
ACCESS ARRANGEMENTS**

Aim: To ensure maximum accessibility to the archival material commensurate with the need to respect the confidential nature of some of the records.

The archive access arrangements agreed between the RSSPC and the G.C.U. cover the following matters:-

1. Aim
2. Specification of access purposes
3. Categories of persons entitled to access
4. Criteria of access
5. Access process
6. Periods of access
7. Conditions of access
8. Charges for access

Preamble

The goal is to create and establish a permanent and securely stored archive of RSSPCC (Glasgow) documents as they are released to the university under the RSSPCC's retention rules. The archive will form a rich primary resource for present and future generations of social investigators, RSSPCC officers and members of the public with a valid claim to access. The archive contains material of a confidential nature and for that reason, access cannot be open to all.

Specification of Purpose of Access

The agreement envisages three major reasons for access to the archive related to three different publics:-

- i) Access by member of RSSPCC staff for the society's own approved purposes.
- ii) Access by bona fide social researchers, academics and students in pursuit of approved scholarly activities.
- ii) Members of the public seeking to trace relatives or family origins of history.

Access by Members of the Public

Access applications in category 3 will only be accepted through the RSSPCC and will be subject to the Society's screening procedures concerning confidential material. The university will refer any request for access from members of the public to the society's Glasgow office. Consequently access to the archive for purposes related to category 3 requests, will be restricted to RSSPCC officers. The same procedure will apply to bona fide representatives of members of the public (e.g. M.P.s, solicitors, executors).

Categories of Entitled Persons

RSSPCC Officers:

On the society's approved business which may from time to time include enquiries made on behalf of a member of the public or their bona fide representative.

Academics

1. Academic staff of GCU (including librarians).
2. Academic staff of other higher and further education institutions.
3. Research students of GCU and other universities and higher education institutions.
4. Higher degree students of GCU, other universities and H.E. colleges completing a relevant project or dissertation.
5. Other bona fide scholars, social investigators.

Criteria

In each case the reasons for access must relate to:

- 1) Generally acknowledged valid research and scholarly activities.
- 2) Reasons considered valid by the RSSPCC for the purposes of satisfying requests from families (relatives or representatives) who may be named in the records or from other members of the public.

In each case the person requesting access will provide proof of identity and/or a letter of authorisation from an RSSPCC manager or from a university Head of Department, divisional head or supervisor of the specific research project for which the access is necessarily requested.

In all cases those persons granted access are required to sign an appropriate form of undertaking concerning -

- confidentiality
- agreement to conditions
- publication or extracts
- acceptance of legal responsibility for use of archival extracts

Process

Requests from categories 1 and 3 will be made to and processed by the RSSPCC in accord with their internal procedures, categories and criteria and the forgoing purposes. Requests will be made to ---- X ---- and authorised by ---- X ----

Requests from category 3 will be made to the Glasgow Caledonian University and processed in accord with the foregoing purposes, categories and criteria.

Requests will be made to ----- Y ----- and authorised by ----- Y ----

The person(s) nominated under ----- X ----- and ----- Y ----- will be supported by a small advisory group drawn from the RSSPCC, social sciences department and library staff.

Advisory Group

The Advisory Group will have the following remit to provide informed advice and guidance to ----- X ----- and ----- Y ----- in the case of:

- 1) Difficulty concerning any access request.
- 2) To provide advice and guidance in respect of access policy and procedures generally.
- 3) To provide advice and guidance concerning the maintenance and development of the archive over time.
- 4) To inform and advise the Head of Department of Social Science on any matter concerning the archive requiring his (or her) attention.

Membership

- RSSPCC a) One person from the RSSPCC staff.
G.C.U. b) One person from the Social Work Division (Department of Social Science).
 c) One person from another appropriate division of the Department of Social Science.
 d) One person from the library staff.

Periods of Access

The RSSPCC (Glasgow) archive will be stored at -----

Access for approved persons will be on-----days during----- time and 'normal working' hours-----

Conditions of Access

Access is for purposes of investigation, verification or research in situ.

No original document may be removed from-----
For any reasons whatsoever.

Photocopying: ?

Access Changes: ?

Signed on behalf of RSSPCC

Signed on behalf of G.C.U.
ms27.doc

Libraries Review Group

Special Funding of Specialised Research Collections in the Humanities

Referee's Report: you are asked to provide a reference on the research value of the collection named below. The named institution should provide further guidance on the exercise, including the deadlines for this form to be returned to the Council.

Name of Collection..... ROYAL SCOTTISH SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN ARCHIVE

Name of Institution housing Collection..... GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY

Name of Referee..... PROFESSOR M A CROWTHER

Status and Institution..... HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC & SOCIAL HISTORY UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, 4 UNIVERSITY GARDENS, GLASGOW, COUNCIL MEMBER, SCOTTISH RECORDS ADVISORY COUNCIL.

The records of the voluntary sector are preserved most erratically, and much important material has been destroyed because of lack of space or resources. Even where archives exist, there are rarely resources for researchers to consult them satisfactorily. Voluntary bodies have been (and are becoming again) a major source of social support, supplementing the role of the state. Hence the great importance of preserving their records, especially of major societies such as this.

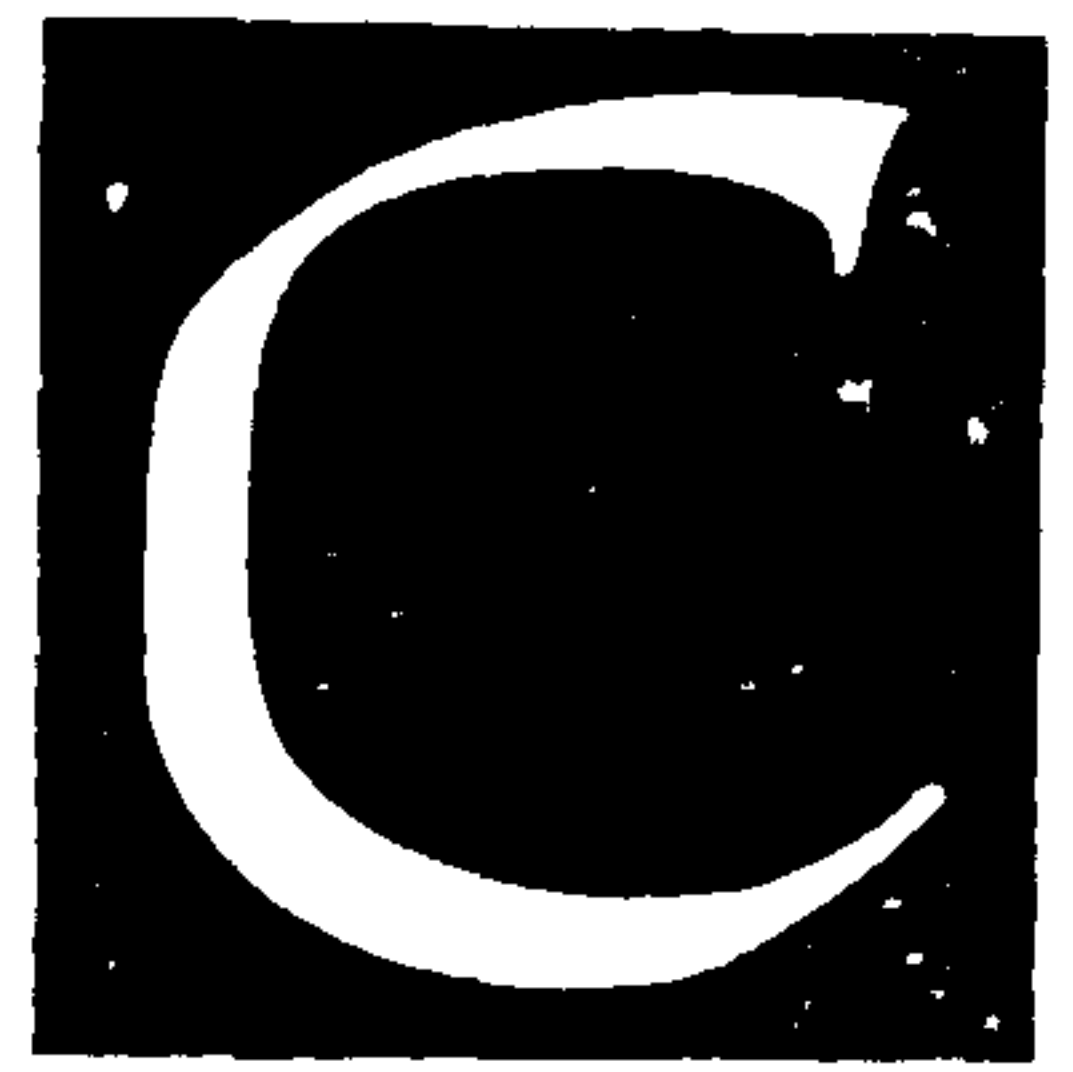
The only comparable archives in Scotland are the central RSSPCC files in the SRO; and many are not on open access. Nor do these give such extensive details of day-to-day activity. The CU archive is a most substantial cache, with voluminous case papers from the 1970s in particular, but with a wide variety of papers from earlier periods. I entirely endorse the applicants' claim that the collection is important not only as a record of the Society's work, but for social history generally, as the case papers contain detailed social records of great interest. The proposed method of collation would allow access to serious researchers, while also providing a most useful research and teaching tool. The sum requested seems appropriate to the scale of the task.

This form should be returned to:

M. A. Crowther

617108 1250222222

GLASGOW



CALEDONIA
UNIVERSITY

8 December 1994

Catherine Dewar
Director
Children and Family Services
Melville House
41 Polwarth Terrace
Edinburgh
EH11 1NU

Professor David Walsh
MA(Hons) MPhil
Head of Department of Social Sciences
Ian Brodie
BA(Hons) MPhil CQSW
Head of Division of Social Work

Dear Catherine,

I was pleased to have had the opportunity of meeting with you and Anne to discuss matters of mutual interest concerning the archiving project. As you saw for yourselves we are taking the development of the archive very seriously. I hope we were able to convince you both that maintaining the confidential nature of the records is a shared concern. Certainly the discussions revived for me a clear awareness of the responsibilities the University has taken on along with the records!

It was helpful to have your views on the draft access agreement and to progress the matter of the arrangements for permissions. The insertion of a clause giving each party a right of veto as a last resort should as we all acknowledged safeguard the interests of both the Society and the University. In practice I think such a device will also give us the confidence to find mutually agreed responses in the majority of cases.

We were agreed I think that following our discussions the next step if for the Society to respond formally to the draft access agreement, taking account of the substance of those discussions. In particular I requested some specification of the procedure which should apply to the access of the Society's officers. We expressed a clear preference for the channelling of access requests through one or two named individuals who would be authorised by the Society. The University project group would I know appreciate an early response as we are anticipating receiving a major grant which is needed to transform a record store into a dynamic resource.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Mike Stone
Lecturer in Social Work

MS011.LTR

Park Campus
Park Drive
Glasgow G3 6LP
Telephone 041 337 4000
Facsimile 041 337 4500
Principal and Vice-Chancellor
Professor J S Mason

RSSPCC ARCHIVE - POSSIBLE FIELDS

(Fields in no particular order)

TABLE 1

- Master ID
- Primary name *(case against)*
- Associated names
- RSSPCC number
- Type of record (Referral, Case, Prosecution, Petition)
- Dates (Range possibly)
- Address
- Number of actions in record
- Childrens' names and ages
- RSSPCC Classification of case

TABLE 2

- Master ID
- Primary name occupation
- Associated name(s) occupation
- Income range (group?) (Change in income through time)
- Housing details (size, type)
- Family size
- Religion (Prot., RC, Other?)
- Nature of wrong
- Allocated subject descriptors
- Action
- Result
- How children dealt with
- ~~Ward~~ *POSTAL CODES*
- Physical description

TABLE 3

- Master ID
- General notes
- Work notes and conservation notes

John Powles 26th January 1995.

Appendix 15.

CHILDREN 1ST

Copy of SH EFC
7/12

ROYAL SCOTTISH SOCIETY FOR
PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

Ref: CAD/h1

19 April 1995

Professor J Hawthornthwaite
Chief Librarian
Glasgow Caledonian University
City Campus
Cowcaddens Road
GLASGOW
G4 0BA

Dear Professor Hawthornthwaite

CHILDREN 1ST ARCHIVE

I write in advance of our meeting on the 25 April, enclosing a draft access arrangement for the CHILDREN 1ST Archive. This document significantly differs from the University's early draft, and the earlier discussion with your colleagues.

As you are aware I have had particular concerns about the basis on which files containing clients' personal information would be accessed, and the need to ensure that appropriate measures are in place to safeguard the interests of clients who have confidentially shared personal information with the Society.

We have now sought advice and opinion from a number of sources in an endeavour to move forward on a basis which recognises our professional undertaking to those individuals to whom we have provided a social work service; and which establishes a historical record of the Society's work for the benefit of research and learning.

This process of consultation and discussion has resulted in some reservation about the decision to locate a part of our records with Glasgow Caledonian University, while the CHILDREN 1ST Archive as a whole is held on our behalf by the Scottish Records Office.

I think it is only fair to share this reservation with you, but also to affirm our intention to maintain our commitment, should the terms for accessing the Glasgow records be acceptable to the University.

Our concern in establishing an Archive collection is primarily to create an historical record. It is also important to establish a consistent approach to access to both the Archive collections held by the Scottish Records Office and Glasgow Caledonian University.

Consequently we would intend that the same rules of closure which apply to our collection at the Scottish Records Office should also apply to the Archive in Glasgow. ie.

(1) 30 years for non-sensitive documents not containing personally identifying information. eg. Committee minutes, Finance files.

(2) 100 years for documents containing information about individuals the disclosure of which would cause either: substantial distress; or endangerment from a third party to persons affected by disclosure, or their descendants.

In respect of requests for Research, privileged access may be granted to closed records.

The decision about who has access to the Archive and for what purpose needs to rest solely with CHILDREN 1ST. Again we feel this should be on the same basis as for similar material held by the Scottish Records Office.

The role of University staff would be to advise and guide us in our decision-making.

For each research request a member of staff from CHILDREN 1ST would require to review the material requested and agree what can be released, with authority to remove or blank out any material not considered to be appropriate. Decisions in relation to this would be dependant on the nature of the research being undertaken, and would take account of the date of the record; the sensitivity of the material; and any third party considerations.

Since our meeting with your colleagues in December 1994 we have reviewed CHILDREN 1ST's Policy in relation to the Retention of Case Records, and brought it into line with practice in the local authority setting. The Policy distinguishes between different types of records and retention periods, relative to the client's need to seek personal information about their past history; and the significance of information concerning matters of child protection. (See attached)

It would be our intention to retain only a sample of personal case files for the Archive, selected by CHILDREN 1ST as "bench-mark" cases. This process would also be applied to personal case records currently retained in the Archive at the University and with Scottish Records Office.

I do appreciate that our decisions in relation to the access arrangements differ significantly from the more open access proposed by the University staff, and that it has taken us some considerable time to establish our position.

I can only sincerely apologise for our short-comings in this respect. The Society did not fully consider the complexity of this undertaking, and there has been very little experience on which to draw in relation to archiving social work records. In fact we know of no other Child Care agency who has developed an archive of this nature.

I am aware that you and your colleagues will wish to consider your position in relation to this proposal, particularly whether the research funding can be utilised in relation to the access arrangements I have outlined.

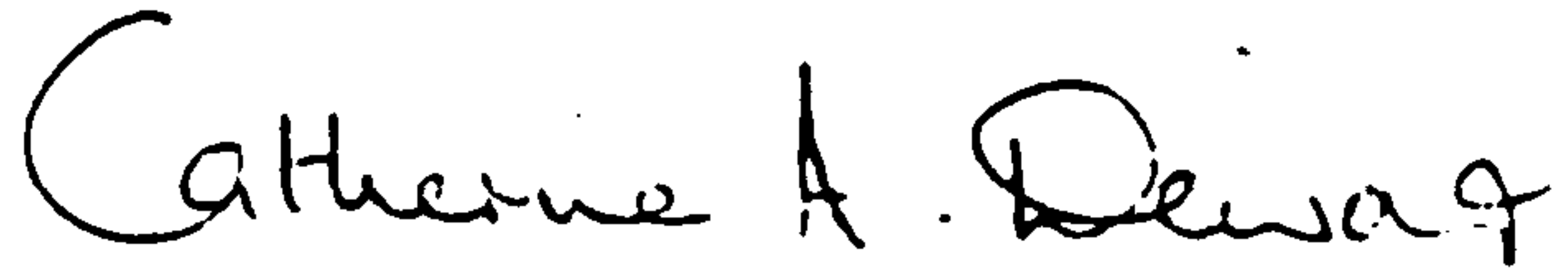
(3)

Professor J Hawthornthwaite

19 April 1995

I trust that we will be able to have a constructive discussion at our meeting on 25 April, and agree the way forward.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Catherine A. Dewar".

Catherine A Dewar
Director
Children and Family Services

cc John Powles

Ref: a:\letters\arc1904.hf

MEMO

To : Jo
 From : John Powles
 Subject : Children 1st Archive
 Date : 2nd June 1995.

c.c Marian

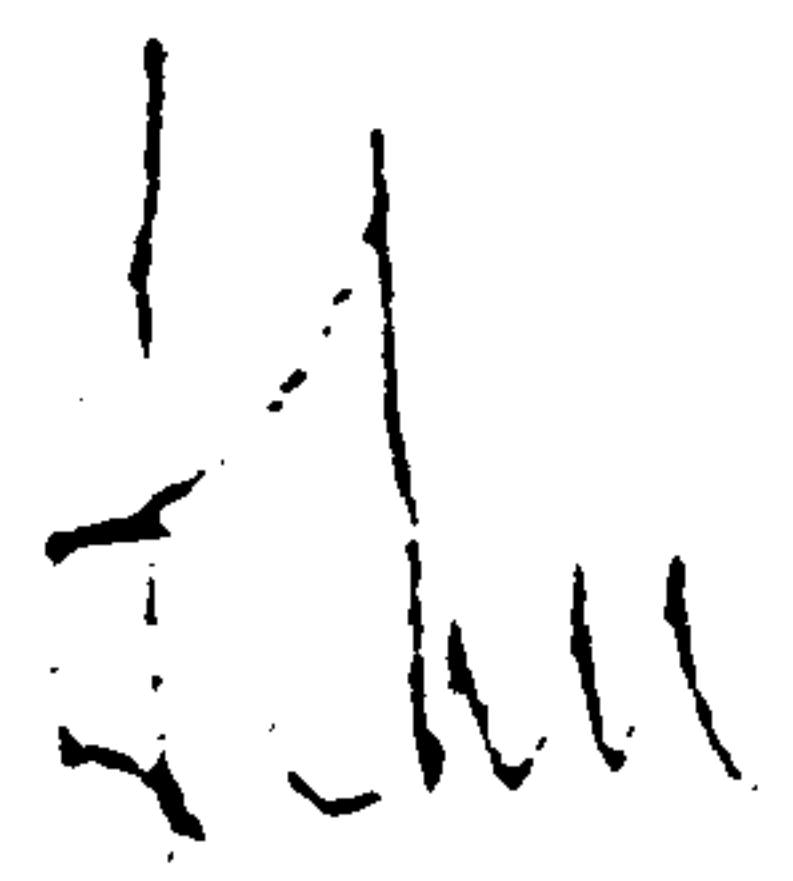
As you know I telephoned Cathy Dewar on Wednesday of this week to find out what had been happening since our meeting at Park with Children 1st on 12th May. Cathy, almost inevitably, was unavailable, so I spoke to Anne Stafford. She told me that the Access Agreement had been amended in line with our discussions at the original meeting with Professor Phillips, and that a decision regarding the processing of the Archive held by us had been reached. Basically the decision is that we can retain all pre January 1976 documentation (provided it is rendered non-identifiable), but only a 10% selection of all 1976 onwards materials; this selection would be made by Children 1st, but Anne was unable to tell me either the criteria that would be used, or the timescale for carrying out the work.

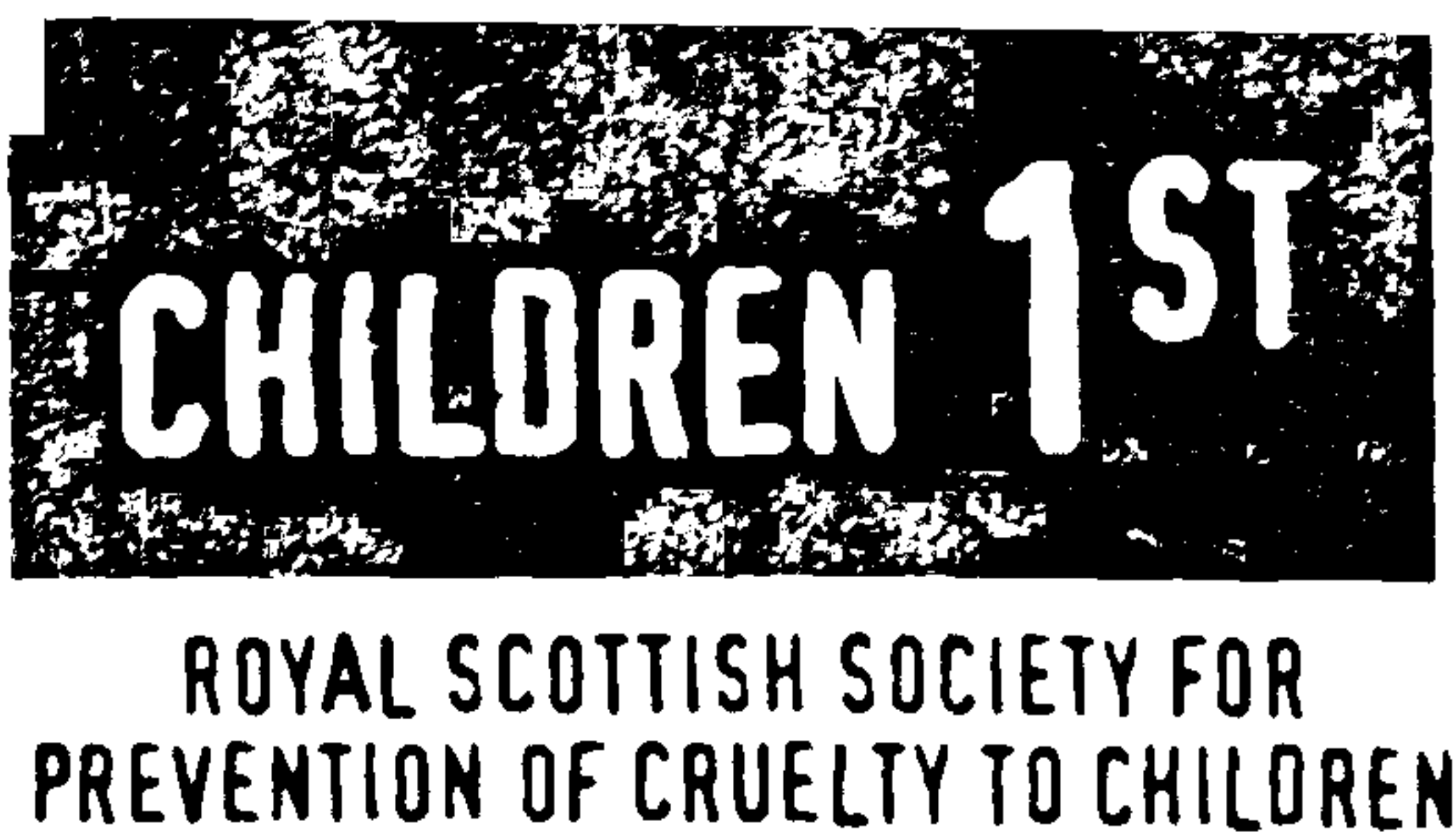
Leaving aside the question of the destruction of archival material of immense value for a whole range of research areas, my immediate concern is for the effect such a policy will have on the SHEFC funded project. I have now analysed the Archive to see how much material we would in fact lose, and the results, which I find quite alarming, are detailed on the attached sheets. **As you can see, in terms of numbers of documents, we would lose 45% of the present holdings; if a more favourable linear footage measure is used (on the basis that the older files are thicker than the more recent ones) we still lose 33% of all materials held.** The core of the whole Archive is the papers relating to the Glasgow Office, here the loss would be a very significant 38% for numbers of documents, and 30% for linear footage.

I did wonder if we could include all the ancillary materials associated with the Archive, such as ledgers, annual reports, etc. in the total linear footage, and I estimate that this would reduce the total loss to about 20% - still a considerable cut. However, in terms of the project, the work on the ancillary materials only accounts for about 5% of the total project time and resourcing; further we also stated the total number of case files, and stressed their importance, in our original bid to SHEFC. I feel, therefore, that we might be on quite dangerous ground to try and twist the figures too much in this way.

Anne Stafford said that we will definitely receive the letter within the next week, and I do not think that we should take any action, be it either contacting SHEFC or continuing discussions with Children 1st, before then; we have, after all, been told one thing by Children 1st over the telephone only to have it contradicted by letter a few

days later before. I do feel that the sort of reduction we are envisaging, even using the most favourable unit of measure, would have to be reported to SHEFC, as would the slight adjusting of the work towards processing for non-identifiability, etc. We probably need to think about an amended proposal to them for consideration. I do know that one university have already amended their original bid, and had the change authorised by SHEFC. The impression I got at the last SUSCAG meeting is that SHEFC are going to keep a very close watch on the progress of projects and their administration. that aside I think we must inform SHEFC if the proposed reduction in the size of the Archive actually happens as I know none of us want to be involved in any duplicity related to obtaining and using funding.





9 July 1996

Chris Robinson
Cathedral View
Doune Road
Dunblane
FK15 9AR

Dear Chris

Re: Glasgow Caledonian University

I am writing to you to pick up on the correspondence we had last year about the research for your Ph.D using the CHILDREN 1ST Archive

As you may or may not know the Access Agreement between CHILDREN 1ST and Glasgow Caledonian University governing academic use of the Archive is now complete and it is obviously important that the research you are undertaking complies as far as possible with conditions and criteria set out in the formal agreement.

For the purposes of keeping things in order this end and also in your interests I think it is important that your access to the Archive is in line with the conditions and criteria set for other researchers.

To determine this, we would greatly appreciate from you a detailed research proposal and note of what kind of access to the Archive you need. If you need to discuss this with someone you can give Anne Stafford a call.

Following this, we can let you have a letter of authorisation granting you access to the Archive and a copy of the Rules and Guidelines for use of the Archive which will be issued to all researchers using the Archive.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes

Yours sincerely

CATHERINE DEWAR
Director of Children & Family Services

APPENDIX 18

Outline and Timetable PhD Studies Children First Archive.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD PROTECTION IN SCOTLAND - RSSPCC - 1960-1990

Introduction

This paper sets out the background to my research and identifies key themes which are emerging and areas which require further development and access to archival material.

Background to the research

In 1992 I was approached by the Principal Officer for the RSSPCC in the West of Scotland to undertake an action research project with the staff team focusing on an evaluation of the Agency's new structure. The evaluation was intended to offer the Agency an independent view of the changes which were taking place. In the course of the evaluation it seemed important to understand the history and development of the RSSPCC. I was told by the Administrative Officer that records of the Society going back many years were stored in the attics and he invited me to view these and read a sample. The intention of the Agency at that time was to destroy much of these records. Discussions were started between the RSSPCC and GCU and in due course the records were moved to the University.

The research potential of the archive was apparent and as I was looking to develop my research into discourses of the family and child protection I approached the Chief Executive of the RSSPCC for permission to research the archives and this was formally granted by letter on 20 April 1994.

The research

The theme of the study was to examine changing patterns of practice relating to families within the context of child abuse/child protection. The period 1960-1989 encompassed significant changes in the work of the Society and social work in general. A further influence during this period was the growth of feminism. The increasing awareness and recognition of child sexual abuse work is charted both in records and interviews with staff.

Nigel Parton's work has been important in identifying the changing relationship between the state and the family. Much of the work in this areas has focused on England and Wales. Whilst clearly there are parallels in terms of state intervention and discourses of the family, the Scottish context has another dimension. The ideological basis of the Kilbrandon Report has had a significant influence on the ways in which services for children and families have developed. The impact upon the RSSPCC becomes particularly apparent post 1975 and further work is required on the records from 1975 onwards to analyse the themes which are emerging. There are also indications of interesting changes in the patterns of practice by the Society, there is a

growing focus on children in the family and a move to working with parents in a more co-operative and less directive way. This is reflected in the use of contracts and in the changing use of language. Further work on the later records is crucial to completing the overall analysis of changing practice.

SUMMARY OF KEY THEMES AND WHERE FURTHER ACCESS TO THE ARCHIVE MATERIAL IS REQUIRED.

THEME	ACCESS TO ARCHIVE
INTERSECTION SOCIAL POLICY/FAMILY	1974-1980 CASE RECORDS
PATTERNS OF PRACTICE	1974-1989 CASE RECORDS
FEMINIST INFLUENCE	1974-1989 CASE RECORDS
SOCIAL WORK (SCOTLAND) IMPLICATIONS	1970-1989 CASE RECORDS
CHILD ABUSE/PROTECTION	1970-1989 CASE RECORDS
POLICY AND PRACTICE	POLICY STATEMENTS ETC.

PROPOSED TIMETABLE

AUTUMN 1996	CONTINUE WORK ON ARCHIVES
JANUARY 1997	COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF PROSECUTIONS
EASTER 1997	COMPLETE WORK ON ARCHIVES
AUTUMN 1997	DRAFT FIRST CHAPTERS
JANUARY 1998	DRAFT FURTHER CHAPTERS
JANUARY 1999	COMPLETE FIRST DRAFT

Chris Robinson
26.07.96

APPENDIX 19

QUESTION AREAS IDENTIFIED BY RSSPCC STAFF

1. The influence and background of the RSSPCC
2. Impact on current practice
3. What had replaced the role of investigation?
4. The role and impact of child sexual abuse work.
5. The impact of Orkney
6. Gender and the role of women workers
7. Relationships with social workers
8. Preparing reports for custody cases
9. The help line
10. The future of the organisation- does it have one
11. The impact of Childline
12. Specialisation
13. The relationships between the East and the West of Scotland
14. Direct work with children
15. Recording work
16. Working with families
17. Supervision and support for staff
18. Funding and finance of RSSPCC
19. EPOCH- should the RSSPCC join?
20. Where will the RSSPCC be in 10 years time?

APPENDIX 20

Questions identified by RSSPCC retired staff and myself.

The following issues were identified for discussion with RSSPCC retired staff.

The relationships which they had with the children in terms of interaction with them.

Did they have different expectations for boys and girls in terms of tasks in the home?

Why did they think prosecutions increased in 1962-63?

The importance of material aid, who decided which families would get it. What sort of goods were given to families. Did they always record the gifts they gave to families?

Was material aid to encourage or reward families?

Why did so many families, particularly women, approach the RSSPCC for help?

Did they remember working with families who were experiencing discrimination on grounds of religion? Why did they think this work was not mentioned in Annual Reports etc?

Did they remember working with families who were experiencing discrimination on grounds of race? Why did they think this work was not mentioned in Annual Reports etc?

Did they ever work with travelling families?

The decline of recording practices within the Agency.

Appendix 21

Staff Team, Annfield Place

Definitions of “OK and not OK” Team Functioning and Structure

OK	Not OK
Working towards the same goals	Underground Hostility
Clear structure and plan	Lack of communication
Respect for other professionals as professionals	Floating
Trust, able to share without threat	Lack of trust, unable to share
Confront appropriately	Floating
Support systems, formal and informal	Lack of consultation
Accountability	Lack of accountability
Atmosphere	Atmosphere
Recognition of limits and individuality	
Compromise	Lack of tolerance
Able to debate openly	Unable to share
Able to look outwards	Too much looking inside other people's heads
Good professional links	“Unequal” poorer service
Appropriate humour	
Appreciate good in the team	De-skilled
Time for the team to gel	Insecure feelings
Shared and agreed goals	Undermined
Acceptable working conditions	

RETURN OF CASES FOR THE YEAR 1969

BRANCH	COMPLAINTS RECEIVED	NUMBER OF PARENTS OR GUARDIANS INVOLVED	CHILDREN AFFECTED	CLASSIFICATION OF CASES										ACTION TAKEN				PROSECUTIONS							DISPOSAL OF CHILDREN					SUPERVISION VISITS	VISITS OF ENQUIRY			
				General Neglect	Ill-treatment and Assault	Abandonment	Exposure	Begging, Singing & Selling	Indecent and Criminal Assault	Immoral Surroundings	Other Wrongs	Warned	Reported for Prosecution without Warning	Otherwise dealt with	Dropped after Investigation	Number of Cases	Imprisoned	Fined	Admonished	Probation	Deferred Sentence	Acquitted	No Action taken	Number of Cases	Number of Persons	Children Concerned	Admission to Places of Safety	To Fit Persons	To Approved Schools			Returned to Guardians	To Homes	Otherwise
Aberdeen and Stonehaven	186	275	550	154	14	2	2					14	108	45	15	3	1															2087	1431	
Angus	99	165	278	49	3	1						48	51	9	3																	1203	927	
Argyll and the Isles	58	104	201	45	3							8	46	5	1																	535	323	
AYF	222	283	746	191	7	4						18	216	5	7																	1415	1019	
Border Counties	64	115	247	50	1							13	89	7	2																	865	470	
Buchan	111	144	312	79	7	1						23	89	22	1																	1907	929	
Cuthbert and North Isles	35	62	112	35								15	35	2																		1128	766	
Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry	169	225	580	125	6	3	2					29	142	24	2																	654	1010	
Dumfries	100	166	404	96								4	96	4																		975	692	
Dumfries and Galloway	746	1183	2181	532	18	8	4					3181	548	176	21																	7143	5287	
East Lothian	161	261	529	152								9	151	9	1																	1862	937	
West Lothian	67	86	230	56	5							61	52	5	1																	913	689	
Edinburgh Midlothian	630	947	2015	523	22	1						81	525	77	28																	4949	4655	
Falkirk	196	257	701	166	5							25	164	25	7																	1713	1019	
Highland	124	163	419	89	9							24	92	5	1																	875	952	
Highland and Central	89	127	322	85	1							81	4	5	1																	1228	1462	
Highland and Kinross	124	163	419	89	9							24	92	5	1																	7910	14498	
Highland and Kinross	124	163	419	89	9							24	92	5	1																	1228	1462	
Glasgow	1630	1912	5674	1316	96	47						1457	11	158	4																	1632	1362	
Greenock	180	225	571	140	6	2						32	146	1	32																	997	1110	
Hamilton	145	183	474	130	7							135	1	9	2																	1364	1200	
Inverclyde	548	722	1722	448	20	6						45	125	45	2																	1364	1200	
Inverclyde	159	229	566	138	5	1						15	125	15	18																	1507	796	
Monklands The Cotbridge and Ardrie	158	205	507	149	3							6	149	6																			2684	549
North Ayrshire	93	152	291	79	2							12	79	12	3																		830	463
North Ayrshire	93	152	291	79	2							12	79	12	3																		830	463
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