

Thesis
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The role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Stirling for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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09/05

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself. The thesis has not been accepted in any application for a degree. All the work has been done by myself. All verbatim extracts have been distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of information have been specifically acknowledged.

Signed _____

Date 21st July 2004

Policy analysis, however, is one activity for which there can be no fixed program, for policy analysis is synonymous with creativity, which can be stimulated by theory and sharpened by practice, which can be learned but not taught.

(Wildavsky, 1979 : 3)

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the role of the Church of Scotland's Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland. The thesis deploys a case study methodology and interpretive research methods to generate understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility and its intended purpose as a service-providing voluntary organisation. Links between the Board of Social Responsibility and significant social work policy developments are identified to determine the changing influence of both local authorities and central government upon the scope of voluntary social work service provision. The thesis identifies a process of incremental social work policy development in Scotland that has operated to encourage the contribution of service-providing voluntary organisations. The Board of Social Responsibility is identified as having operated as Scotland's largest voluntary provider of social work services throughout the period under review and to have implemented a changing pattern of social work service provision: first shifting from an innovative to a traditional model of participation, returning to an innovative model, and then, finally, shifting towards a developmental model of participation. The source of this changing pattern of participation is identified as individual agency allied to interpretations of the organisation's faith-based ethos. The significant role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland is established as that of provider of a range of replicative, alternative social work services. This role is related to Scotland's wider voluntary sector to establish that views of social work policy development existing within the Board of Social Responsibility are not indicative of views existing within other voluntary organisations. The Board of Social Responsibility's particular pattern of participation is also recognised to be distinctive. Ultimately the thesis finds that the approving model of governance adopted by the Board of Social Responsibility's higher-order collectives means the Church of Scotland has not exerted a significant influence upon the policy environment that has grown to control and regulate the social work undertaken by service-providing voluntary organisations operating in Scotland between 1948 and 2000.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

In 1971 Lieut. Col. the Rev. Dr. Lewis L. L. Cameron, Secretary and Director of the Committee on Social Service of the Church of Scotland, published his account of the social work carried on by the Church of Scotland 'The Challenge of Need : A History of Social Service by the Church of Scotland 1869–1969' (Cameron, 1971). In 1998 the Church of Scotland's Board of Social Responsibility decided to update this historical account as part of its millennium celebrations (Minutes of the Board of Social Responsibility, 1998~1999). This decision led Mr. Ian Baillie, C.B.E., Director of Social Work, Board of Social Responsibility, 1990~2002, to pursue the matter with Cherry Rowlings, Professor of Social Work, Department of Applied Social Science, University of Stirling, and culminated in the Board and the Department securing, in partnership, a Collaborative Award in Science and Engineering (CASE) from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). The award allowed for the appointment of a doctoral level research student to undertake a research project intended to advance four specific research questions that had been developed by Prof. Rowlings and Dr. Angus Erskine, Senior Lecturer in Social Policy, University of Stirling, with input from Mr. Baillie. The research project was intended to address two objectives, namely to identify and theorise the role of the Board in a thesis suitable for presentation towards the award of a doctoral degree and to provide an account of the work of the Board of Social Responsibility for general publication (see Appendix I).

In the application to the ESRC the research project was entitled 'The role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of policy and professional practice in the delivery of social work services in Scotland'. Under this title four research questions were specified with a view to advancing the objectives of the partner institutions. The research questions were:

1. How has the position of the Board as a provider of welfare provision changed over time and what have been the major factors behind decisions about where and for whom its services should be developed?

2. To what extent can the work of the Board be understood in terms of innovation, replication or complementarity, as meeting a residual demand or in partnership with the state?

3. What has been the contribution of the Board to social policy development at national and local levels and to changes in the professional practice of social workers?

4. How far have the activities of the Board been shaped by its religious ethos, by activity on its own initiative and by external forces such as changing social and economic conditions, demographic change and latterly, the development of the social market, reform of local government and pending devolution?

These specific research questions were formally approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 2000, at which time the Board was formally congratulated on the way it had used the millennium year to draw attention to its work (Board of Social Responsibility, 2000 : 24/3 and 24/26). However, the original project title was subsequently considered to announce unnecessarily two areas of research: the development and implementation of social work policy and the development and implementation of professional social work practice in the context of service delivery. The inclusion of the latter aspect in the title was considered to be redundant because the issue of social work policy development and implementation could not be considered without explicitly considering the issue of service delivery. Accordingly, at a very early stage, and with approval from within the Board, the project was retitled 'The role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland' and question 3 was reworded as 'What has been the contribution of the Board to social work policy development at national and local levels?'. Notwithstanding the Board's desire to celebrate and recognise its work, there are more utilitarian and specific reasons why the role of the Board of Social Responsibility should be studied at an academic level.

Why the Board of Social Responsibility should be studied

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, major works directed towards understanding voluntary action have been qualified by statements regarding the improbability of being definitive about the precise nature or scale of voluntary action within the United Kingdom (see for example, Beveridge, 1948; Brenton, 1985; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Kemp, 1997; Murray, 1969; Roof, 1957; Wolfenden, 1978). The improbability of specifying the scale and nature of voluntary action was voiced by Beveridge who argued that there could be 'no possibility of making a numerical estimate of the total scale of philanthropic action' because philanthropic agencies were not registered (1948 : 121). Consequently Beveridge abandoned any attempt to describe systematically the precise nature of voluntary action within the social services because agencies operating in that arena in particular, were found to be numerous and 'subject to rapid change and development' (1948 : 121). Even less is known about the precise nature of voluntary action in Scotland than in England and Wales, a fact that has only relatively recently come to be recognised (Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Vincent, 1998). Nevertheless, the Board of Social Responsibility has been acknowledged over time to be, by several orders of magnitude, the largest voluntary provider of social work services in Scotland in terms of organisational size and range and scale of activities (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1970; McGillivray, 1996; Social Work Services Group, 1987). Despite its history and size the Board's influence, developmental path and role in shaping social work in Scotland during the post-war period remains unknown.

Turning to the ethos and history of the Board, Beveridge highlighted the key role historically played by religion in producing voluntary action. In particular, he noted that the 'spirit of service is in our people' but only rarely 'is it a driving force which makes them pioneers' (1948 : 152). For Beveridge this qualification was important because 'Voluntary Action depends on its pioneers' (1948 : 152) and he argued that the pioneers of voluntary action 'were moved by a religious motive or came from a home where religion was a reality' (1948 : 155). A further characteristic of the

pioneering spirit identified by Beveridge was that philanthropic individuals tended to be of independent means, had no need to earn a living and, therefore, had the luxury of spending their time as they pleased. These characteristics combined with a third feature of pioneering that 'there must be surpluses of money available for social experiment' (1948 : 155). Beveridge's characterisation of religiously motivated pioneering philanthropy was, by his definition, dependent upon independent individual action, complemented by access to substantial funds and enhanced by religious faith. This representation of pioneering voluntary action is of particular interest because Cameron's (1971) history of the Church of Scotland's social work argues that its activities did not originate in such a person, unlike Dr. Barnardo's, the Salvation Army, Shaftesbury's 'Ragged Schools', the Y.M.C.A. and the N.S.P.C.C., among many others. Plainly this leads one to question what the affects of the distinctive origins of the Church's social work have been upon the nature of the social work services it has subsequently developed.

Beveridge also noted that the social conditions which enabled philanthropic pioneers 'are less present than they were' (1948 : 155). He particularly noted that the social conditions of the twentieth century affected the production of philanthropic voluntary action because wealth and time were redistributed to the extent that less time and money was being held by the idle rich, who therefore had less cause to be idle. Because Cameron (1971) has suggested that the social work of the Church of Scotland did not originate or develop through individual philanthropic effort, the possibility exists that the distinctive and possibly unique developmental path of the Church of Scotland's social work may have continued following establishment of the welfare state.

In 1948 when the welfare state was emerging, Beveridge identified a series of social trends that he believed were likely to affect the development of work undertaken by voluntary organisations in the second half of the twentieth century. Firstly, he

recognised a discernible rise in standards of living but not at a level to abolish want so 'new measures to spread prosperity are needed' (1942, in 1948 : 217). Secondly, he noted that incomes were not only increasing in real terms, but were also being redistributed. As such, not only did he believe that less money was being held, as we have seen, by the idle rich, but also that 'poverty of low wages was replaced largely by poverty through unemployment and other interruptions of earning power' (1948 : 219). Thirdly, Beveridge argued that leisure time was being redistributed through shorter working hours and the 'generalization of holidays with pay' (1948 : 221). He argued that this would affect the future of voluntary action in two ways: how to ensure that good use was being made of new found leisure time, and how to obtain 'from the many the voluntary service which used to come before from the few' (1948 : 222). Fourthly, Beveridge argued that the emergence of the welfare state would establish 'a new relation between the State and the citizen' (1948 : 223). The welfare state would attend to old needs in new ways and this would challenge voluntary organisations 'to keep open the channels of practical experiment' because 'experiment has come in the past through Voluntary Action and is most certain to come that way again' (1948 : 224). Fifthly, he believed it was certain that there would be a diminution of religious influence which would weaken 'one of the springs of voluntary action' (1948 : 225). Finally, Beveridge believed that the establishment of the welfare state would initiate a tendency for the state to do more in the future than it had done in the past. Consequently he believed children would be educated, basic incomes would be provided and health care would be available for all. All of which would remove many historic roles of voluntary action, so 'the future of Voluntary Action must be considered in the light of this conclusion' (1948 : 225). This statement highlights Beveridge's belief in a continuing role for voluntary action. The fact that Scottish voluntary action has recently been acknowledged to be distinctive means the issues and questions identified by Beveridge remain valid in the Scottish context today.

The social trends identified by Beveridge included the mass extension of state activity into areas of social work pioneered and developed by voluntary organisations. Recognising this fact he argued that any future pioneering role for voluntary action would require voluntary organisations to become relatively more specialised to be capable of targeting activities at particular groups of people. Beveridge noted that when 'charity meant giving money or food or coal it needed little training. When voluntary service means running a Citizen's Advice Bureau or a Training College for the Disabled, the best intentions are not enough without skill' (1948 : 314). Societal trends leading to a decline in the production of traditional philanthropic pioneers also led Beveridge to conclude that 'Voluntary Action now needs help from the State' (1948 : 314) and that, in the future, it should be made available in increasing amounts. Accordingly, the trends identified by Beveridge included professionalisation and enhanced reliance on state, as opposed to philanthropic and perhaps therefore religiously motivated, funding.

The research project initiated by the Board of Social Responsibility represents an invitation to investigate and analyse the post-war role of Scotland's largest voluntary provider of social work services in developing its activities concurrently with the development of the welfare state. The research project also represents an opportunity to investigate and analyse the developmental role of a distinctive model of religiously motivated voluntary action with the unequivocal support of the organisation and with unfettered access to confidential archival material. Finally therefore, and perhaps with greatest utility, it is hoped that the questions developed by the partner institutions may allow a distinctive model of participation in the Scottish social work arena to begin to highlight the generalities of the Scottish voluntary sector.

Chapter 2 : The Board of Social Responsibility

The Church of Scotland's role in the development and implementation of what might now be called welfare policy began in 1574 with the implementation of the Scottish Poor Law when, through kirk sessions and parishes, the Church began to administer the relief of poverty through the poor box (Mitchison, 2000). Subsequently the Church went on to play the prominent role in shaping Scottish welfare policy for almost 300 years until the enactment of the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act 1845 (Mitchison, 2000; Levitt, 1988). Throughout much of this 300-year period the Church of Scotland developed welfare policy at the national level and implemented it at the local level independently of the state, which was largely absent at all levels in Scotland and particularly following the Act of Union of Scotland and England of 1707 (Mitchison, 2000). With the passing of the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act 1845 the role of the Church in developing and implementing welfare policy began to decline as the progressively representative Scottish state became increasingly concerned at the 'parochial taint' (Levitt, 1988 : 20) that had come to characterise the inconsistent manner in which the Church's welfare policy had been delivered.

After implementation of the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act 1845 the role of the Church of Scotland in developing and implementing welfare policy declined as local government developed (Levitt, 1988). The Church of Scotland responded to the development of local government in Scotland and initiated a process of reorganisation that saw the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland form various structures to continue the Church's participation in meeting the social needs of the Scottish people by allowing it to develop what we now know as social work policy.

The first structure formed by the Church of Scotland was, in 1869, the Committee on Christian Life and Work which was later joined, in 1904, by the Committee on Social Work (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870; Marshall, 1904). These

two structures amalgamated in 1936 to form the Committee on Christian Life and Social Work (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1936) which was renamed the Committee on Social Service in 1945 (Committee on Social Service, 1945). In 1963 the Committee on Social Service was amalgamated with the Church of Scotland's Committee on Temperance and Morals and the Church of Scotland's Women's Committee on Social and Moral Welfare to be run as one department governed by the Board of Social and Moral Welfare (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964). The Board of Social and Moral Welfare was dissolved in 1970 (Committee on Social Service, 1971) with its work reverting to the auspices of the Committee on Social Service. In 1974 the Committee on Social Service became part of a new Department of Social and Moral Welfare (Department of Social and Moral Welfare, 1974) which became the Department of Social Responsibility in 1977 (Department of Social Responsibility, 1978). In 1984 the Department of Social Responsibility was renamed the Board of Social Responsibility (Board of Social Responsibility, 1984). The constitution of the Board of Social Responsibility requires that it 'assume the responsibilities, functions and interests' of all antecedent bodies (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a : 16). Consequently all subsequent references to the activities of the 'Board' or the 'Board of Social Responsibility' in this thesis should be taken to include the activities of its respective antecedents.

The Board of Social Responsibility is effectively a governing body that is composed of 96 voluntary members who act as a lower level 'higher-order collective', i.e. governing body or board, by legitimating production of the Church's voluntary social work services (Tucker et al, 1992). The term "lower level higher-order collective" distinguishes the Board of Social Responsibility from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and recognises the fact that the practical work of the Board progresses under the scrutiny of two governing bodies, or boards. These two governing bodies operate at different levels and the extent of their influence must be distinguished if the organisation and its responsibilities are to be appreciated and

understood. The Board of Social Responsibility, i.e. the collective of 96 voluntary members noted above, is subordinate to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and governs the day-to-day practical work of the organisation. In 2000, that practical work included 114 social work projects, employing 2,000 staff, involving 834 people as volunteers, maintaining contact with 1,093 church congregations, publishing 48,000 copies of the newspaper 'Circle of Care', providing, or causing to be provided, comment on contemporary issues of moral concern and raising approximately £4,000,000 to supplement the Board's annual revenue budget of approximately £36,000,000 (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a, 1998b and 2000). Notwithstanding the above, and in keeping with the spirit of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions)(Scotland) Act 1990, which dictates that volunteers governing charitable works should formulate rather than execute policy (in Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a), members of the Board have been exhorted to take an 'active interest' (Baillie, 2000), and to represent the Board, in the development of social work policy at the national level.

The status of the Board of Social Responsibility

In 1946 the Board of Social Responsibility was asked to show its legal status with a view to proving eligibility to the allocation of funds from a charitable trust. The Board, in submission to Counsel, outlined its position as 'a standing Committee of the Church of Scotland appointed by the General Assembly, with instruction to undertake a wide variety of Social Service on behalf of the Community' (Minute 503, 1946). The submission asserted that the work of the Board was 'largely residential and is similar to that undertaken by such organisations as the Salvation Army, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, The Orphan Homes, Bridge of Weir' (Minute 503, 1946). Lord Hill Watson K.C., relying on the case of *In re Davis* (1902), established the view that there was no doubt 'the work of the Committee is charitable' and that the Board was 'clearly both a "charitable organisation" and a "charity"' (Minute 503,

1946). The opinion was accepted as proof of legal status. As such, the history of the Board includes the formal comparison of its activities with those of other prominent charities operating in Scotland.

The Church of Scotland is the Established Church in Scotland, a position made inviolable by the Act of Union of Scotland and England of 1707 (Burnett, 1949; Keay and Keay, 1994; McGillivray, 1996; Storrar, 1990). The 1707 Act specifically grants the Church of Scotland the right to self-government free from 'State interference in matters of doctrine, worship, government and discipline' (McGillivray, 1996 : 7). In all these matters the Church of Scotland is the sole determinant of its standards and acts alone in judging and assessing how best to prosecute and maintain its aims and objectives (Burnett, 1949; McGillivray, 1996). Freedom from state control places the Church of Scotland in a unique constitutional position (McFadden, 2001). The unique constitutional position of the Church of Scotland is acknowledged by the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1990, which designates the Church of Scotland as a religious body (McFadden, 2001). This designation entitles the Church of Scotland to tax relief under section 505 of the Income and Corporation Tax Act 1988 while its right to self-government exempts it from four key provisions of the 1990 Act (McFadden, 2001; Vincent, 1998). Specifically, the Lord Advocate's powers to investigate and suspend trustees of charitable organisations do not extend to the Church of Scotland; the Church is exempt from all court powers to take action in cases of misconduct or mismanagement; the Church is exempt from the Sheriff's power to order the provision of information relating to individuals disqualified from serving as a trustee of a charity, and the Church is exempt from all statutory requirements to keep and maintain accounting records (McFadden, 2001). Eligibility for tax relief and exemption from key aspects of charity related law apply to all activities of the Church of Scotland including 'secondary purpose charitable work such as the provision of social care for the disadvantaged' (McFadden, 2001 : 76). Gladstone has

argued that financial privileges such as these are provided solely for the purpose of enabling the Board's charitable role, which is to 'bind up the wounds of society' (1982 : 75).

McFadden (2001) has noted that the United Kingdom Parliament has recognised it has no 'competence to legislate so as to interfere in matters including those relating to the governance of the Church and its right to determine all questions concerning membership and office in the Church' (McFadden, 2001 : 76~77). McFadden (2001) has argued that statutory laws relating to charities do not take precedence over questions relating to the appointment and removal of trustees within structures established by the Church of Scotland. The unique constitutional status of the Board of Social Responsibility as a standing committee of the Established Church in Scotland means it operates with a degree of autonomy unmatched in any other voluntary organisation operating in Scotland. However, while the Board enjoys a degree of autonomy unmatched in any other voluntary organisation, it remains accountable to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The values of the Board of Social Responsibility

Relative to the Board of Social Responsibility, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland acts as upper level higher-order collective by legitimising the Board of Social Responsibility's existence through provision of a constitution and through annual approval of the Board's production of social work activities. To be clear, the term "upper level higher-order collective" is used to recognise the fact that the practical work of the organisation progresses under the scrutiny of two governing bodies and that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is super-ordinate to the Board of Social Responsibility. Indeed, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is the supreme Presbyterian court and the Parliament of the Church of Scotland (Burnett, 1949; Keay and Keay, 1994; McGillivray, 1996). The General

Assembly decides all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters within the Church and is responsible for providing the Church's perspective on contemporary social affairs (Burnett, 1949; Keay and Keay, 1994; McGillivray, 1996).

Through the medium of the General Assembly, the Church of Scotland has expressed the view that sovereignty lies with the Scottish people and not the state (Church and Nation Committee, 1989). It is the established view of the Church of Scotland that all reality is one under the sovereign Lordship of Christ and His Church is obliged to relate the Word of God to both the secular affairs of the nation and the eternal needs of the individual soul (Storrar, 1990). The view applied by the Board of Social Responsibility is that 'Faith without works is dead' (Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 237). The Board applies this view by acting as a 'Christ-centred organisation focusing on people' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 1). The stated objective of the Board is to operate in Christ's name to 'seek to retain and regain the highest quality of life which each individual is capable of experiencing at any given time' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 2).

The ideals that underpin the Board's activities on behalf of the Church of Scotland are applied to the activities it carries on within the secular social services and are explicitly expressed as furthering individual worth, normalisation, involvement, quality and value (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 2). The term "secular social services" is used here to distinguish and recognise the fact that the provision of social work services in post-war Scotland has been controlled and regulated by various local and national governmental agencies that apply a professional perspective rather than a spiritual one. When providing social work services the Board of Social Responsibility is operating within an environment that is secular, i.e. not grounded in a spiritual belief. In contrast, the Board's activities are grounded in the spiritual belief that, having been created in the image of God, all individuals are of intrinsic worth. Regardless of age, gender, sexual orientation, ability or social

situation, the Board argues that each must be regarded as being of equal value and should be treated with dignity, love and respect (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). These values permeate the Board's activities, its attitudes and its position as an employer. Members of the Board of Social Responsibility believe they operate within an organisation with a spiritual rather than professional perspective.

The spiritual perspective of the Board is emphasised in the policy of employing only individuals who can provide substantive evidence of an active Christian faith (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). The Board believes that the intrinsic worth of each individual is unique and that, as a consequence, its activities must reflect individual needs if they are to enable individual living as full community members. The Board believes the implementation of this concept of normalisation enables individuals to access opportunities and other aspects of daily living available to the wider population (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). The policies and values of the Board are not utilitarian and Storrar has argued that the Church of Scotland's autonomous approach to the needs of society can be characterised as one of 'principled calculation' (1990 : 7).

The emphasis on normalisation by facilitating access to opportunities available to the wider population permeates the representation of social work services put forward in the Board's literature. As such the Board maintains that only through processes of evaluation and change can its activities and services continue to be effective and appropriate in a changing society. The Board's documentation argues that it is committed to the practice of actively seeking the views of those involved in providing, using and purchasing its services to achieve effective and appropriate services at any given time. However, the Board believes its greatest resource to be its staff and argues that it is their personal Christian commitment that endorses the intrinsic value and equality it places in all human life. The Board reflects the value and commitment of its staff through comparatively favourable terms and conditions

of employment and through the provision of internal training, management and support opportunities. The realisation of quality and value in service delivery activities is a stated priority for the Board because it believes that operating according to the principles of best value are a positive indication of good stewardship (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c).

The Board of Social Responsibility believes that it must continually review and evaluate its work in order to identify how it can best serve the people of Scotland. The Board also believes that the contemporary codification of its values supports the message of hope and new life through Christ that has remained unaltered throughout the organisation's history (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c).

The purpose of the Board of Social Responsibility

Like the message of hope and new life through Christ, the aims and objectives of the Board have not materially changed throughout the organisation's history. The purpose of the Board is to make a significant impact on the lives of service users by delivering social work services throughout Scotland on behalf of the Church of Scotland (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a; McGillivray, 1996). The Board's values are considered to support and sustain social work projects that exist at the cutting edge of contemporary standards of provision in terms of client group, style of provision, complexity of needs met or any other combination of these components. The Board believes it can achieve this aim because it relies on Christian staff to deliver services to the highest standards possible (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). Constitutionally, the Board of Social Responsibility has devolved responsibility from the General Assembly to implement and administer the Church of Scotland's affairs as they relate to the secular social services (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a; McGillivray, 1996).

The Committee on Christian Life and Work was 'appointed to inquire as to the progress of Christian work in this country; and further, to consider and report as to the best means of promoting evangelistic efforts' (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870 : 3). The Committee's considerations produced four conclusions that shaped the nature of the Board's early work. First, 'ministers of the Church are unable to overtake all the work that requires to be done' and the 'old parochial machinery has been over tasked and must be supplemented' (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870 : 12). Second, it is 'possible for the Church to regulate and guide for good' (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870 : 15). Third, 'it would be well for the General Assembly to stimulate investigation into the general condition of the Church and country, and to prepare and publish statistics which would bring sound public opinion to bear on cases where amendment is necessary' (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870 : 17). Fourth, there 'is also growing sense of the importance of the Christian ministry for the regular sowing of the good seed of the Word' (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870 : 17). Cameron argued that the early social work of the Church was viewed as a means to an end inasmuch as it was believed that 'spiritual regeneration must be accompanied by social reclamation' (1971 : 11). It is clear from the conclusions that early aims and objectives were related to Protestant Christian values and that the role of the Board was intended to be an active one involving guiding, regulating, investigating and amending the social needs of the Scottish people. In purely practical terms, the early social reclamation began by providing outdoor relief to the poor (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870).

The evangelical emphasis outlined in the above conclusions was intended to supplement the evangelistic efforts of individual clergy and to develop evangelical policy and opinion at the national level under the auspices of the General Assembly. Cameron has noted that in working towards the social reclamation of individuals through spiritual regeneration, the Committee on Christian Life and Work was

viewed within the Church as 'the hands to do Christ's work, the feet to run his errands and the voice to speak for Him' (1971 : 11). Notwithstanding this objective, the General Assembly of 1903 established the Joint-Committee on Social Work to consider 'whether the institution of central agencies such as an Inebriate Home, Labour Colony, and Rescue Home for Women, would support and develop the social work of the Church in the Parishes' (Marshall, 1903 : 326). The Joint-Committee reported that such agencies would support the evangelistic work of the Church and called the General Assembly's attention to the specific work of the Salvation Army and the Church of England's Church Army in providing temporary shelters, labour homes, laundry and rescue homes, lodging homes, inebriate homes, discharged prisoners' aid, labour colonies, employment bureaus, training homes and headquarters (Marshall, 1904). The Joint-Committee noted that many such services existed within the wider Church but without 'the nucleus of a wider social movement' (Marshall, 1904 : 1179). The Joint-Committee argued that it was impossible to regard the organisation of 'a social scheme as a series of isolated facts' and suggested the General Assembly should consider a 'complete proposal, based entirely on what has already been accomplished elsewhere, but remembering the diverse conditions which exist in Scotland' (Marshall, 1904 : 1180).

The proposal to establish the Committee on Social Work, though modelled upon the work of the Salvation Army and Church Army, was adapted and related to the specific doctrines of the Church of Scotland. In particular, the Committee put forward three propositions under which the social work of the Church should proceed, namely

1. The Church's social work is founded on the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. She goes forth in her Master's Name to 'seek' that she may 'save' that which is lost.
2. The special aim of the Church's social work, which includes both spiritual and social amelioration, is to secure these by the personal influence and help

of consecrated men and women.

3. A fundamental law in the Church's social scheme is, that they who will not work will not eat. The destitute, to whom we offer opportunity to work for at least food and shelter, but who refuse the offer, have forfeited all claim to any help.

(Marshall, 1904 : 1181)

These propositions reflected an important shift in emphasis on the part of the General Assembly away 'from the evangelistic to the more practical' (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1969 : 468).

Notwithstanding an awareness of the work carried on by the Salvation Army and the Church Army, the view developed that the Church's social work should be directed towards the substantive areas of inebriate homes, labour homes for men, rescue homes for women and lodging homes for both men and women respectively (Marshall, 1904). It was believed that focusing on these areas would allow the Church to meet large numbers of individuals in need including 'discharged prisoners, the homeless, the out-of-work, and the wrecks and waifs of social life' (Marshall, 1904 : 1180). The Joint-Committee suggested that, in attending to these needs in the future, the Church should not be content with establishing a 'small and wholly inadequate experiment, and letting all hinge on the failure or success of that' (Marshall, 1904 : 1180). Rather, the Church was encouraged to remain mindful of the 'inter-relation of varied social efforts' (Marshall, 1904 : 1180) and to treat the beginning of the Church's social work as 'a first step, to be followed by another and still another' (Marshall, 1904 : 1180).

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has informed members of its Boards and Committees that their principal purpose is to formulate policy on behalf of the General Assembly to which their Board or Committee owes its legal existence (MacDonald in, Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). Furthermore, in keeping with the spirit of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1990,

though largely exempt, members of the Board of Social Responsibility are encouraged not to become involved in the execution of the policies they contribute to developing (MacDonald in, Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). Accordingly the constitution provided for the Board of Social Responsibility by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland requires that governing members of the Board formulate policy to achieve aims and objectives that have been formally stated as follows

As part of the Church's mission, to offer services in Christ's name to people in need.

To provide specialist resources to further the caring work of the Church.

To identify existing and emerging areas of need, and to guide the Church in pioneering new approaches to relevant problems.

To study and present essential Christian judgements on social, moral and ethical issues arising within the area of the Board's concern.

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1988a)

This thesis is concerned solely with the Board's role in developing and implementing social work policy. Accordingly the thesis takes no further cognisance of activities relating to the fourth objective provided by the Board's constitution.

Storrar's reference to, 'principled calculation' (1990 : 7) arguably highlights a degree of divergence between his perspective of the Board's activities and the view put forward through the Board's literature and internal documentation. In relation to the above discussion of the Board's status, values and purpose it is prudent to note that the organisation has been discussed 'as formally described and displayed' (Brown, 1971 : 25). Brown has argued that such a conceptualisation is representative of what he terms 'Manifest Organization' (1971 : 25). Brown (1960 and 1971) has noted that the analysis of organisational activity requires awareness of a series of perspectives that allow decision-making processes and individual roles to be identified and

viewed conceptually. In particular Brown (1971) argues that distinguishing between representations of organisation can generate understanding of organisational activity with a degree of rigour that can help avoid perceptual imprecision. In this context the formal, manifest representation of the Board outlined above may contrast with Brown's related concepts of organisation, i.e. 'Assumed', 'Extant' and 'Requisite Organization', respectively. The concept of assumed organisation is defined as 'organization as it is assumed to be by the person concerned', while extant is 'organization as revealed by systematic exploration and analysis' and requisite organisation as 'organization as it would have to be to accord with the real properties of the field in which it exists' (Brown, 1971 : 25). Brown has argued that these concepts of organisation rarely, if ever, converge in a single organisation. For this reason potential exists for the formal, manifest representation of the Board discussed in this chapter to be differentiable from the 'Extant' Board of Social Responsibility, depending on whose perceptions are being considered. The crucial point is that the manifest values, status and purpose of the Board of Social Responsibility noted in this chapter may not be wholly representative of the activities and range of decision making processes of the Board. Chapter 5 returns to this issue when discussing the notion of understanding the role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland.

Chapter 3 : The post-war development of statutory social work policy and services in Scotland

This chapter continues the case study analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland by attempting to establish key links between the Board of Social Responsibility and the secular environment within which it operates. The purpose of the chapter is to develop understanding of the environment within which the Board of Social Responsibility interacts. This chapter considers therefore significant policy developments that have influenced the shape of statutory social work service provision in Scotland between 1948 and 2000. Consideration of the changing nature of statutory social work service provision is of crucial importance in generating understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's role. This is because, as identified in Chapter 2, the Board operates within an environment that has come to be controlled and regulated by the policies of the statutory social work sector in Scotland. This sector is composed of various local and national governmental agencies and the role of voluntary organisations cannot be fully understood without reference to them (Beveridge, 1948 : 225; Kendall and Knapp, 1996). The chapter begins by outlining how the student has operationalised the words 'development and implementation of social work policy'.

Operationalisation of 'development and implementation of social work policy'

Chapter 1 noted that the Board's position, influence, developmental path and role in shaping social service work in Scotland during the post-war period is largely unknown. Chapter 2 however has generated some understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility through consideration of the organisation's literature and has identified its three key objectives. These objectives require the Board to: offer services in Christ's name to people in need; provide specialist resources to further the Church's caring work, and; seek out areas of social need to guide the Church in pioneering new approaches to relevant problems (Board of Social Responsibility, 1988a).

Brenton (1985) has argued that the role of a pioneering organisation within the social work service arena cannot be understood without first identifying and classifying what the respective organisation actually does. Brenton, somewhat like Murray (1969), suggests that organisations should be classified by function according to one of five 'ideal types' (1985 : 11). Chapter 2 has identified that the Board's work is 'largely residential and is similar to that undertaken by such organisations as the Salvation Army, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, The Orphan Homes, Bridge of Weir' (Minute 503, 1946). Chapter 2 also established that the Board of Social Responsibility's contemporary activities include the provision of 114 social work projects. Brenton's work argues that the direct provision of such services is a typical feature of 'service-providing' (1985 : 11) organisations. Brenton (1985) suggests that 'service-providing' typifies organisations that supply services directly to people, whether in kind or in the form of information, advice or support. Murphy categorised social work service provision in Scotland at the end of the twentieth century and identified that service provision focused on the direct provision of social work services to the: elderly; physically handicapped; mentally handicapped and mentally ill people; families and child protection (1992 : 1). The direct provision of such services classifies the Board of Social Responsibility as a service-providing organisation. (Murphy, 1992 : 1)

Murray has noted that 'no voluntary organisation is an island and all have been considerably affected by the massive changes in statutory social welfare' (1969 : 1). It has already been shown that the Board exists solely for the purpose of administering and furthering the Church of Scotland's social work service provision within the service-providing environment. This is an environment that is composed of many organisations which interact to further the objective of 'social work' which is a term that has been defined as

'... a form of social intervention which encourages social institutions to

respond to individual needs, enabling individuals to use their resources and in turn to contribute to them. It holds that the capacity and dignity of the individual are enhanced by participation in the life of the community. To achieve this end it contributes to adjustments in the distribution of power and resources, and attempts to help people'

(CCETSW, in Osborne, 1988 : 5)

This is how 'social work' is conceptualised within this thesis. In turn, the words 'social work policy' are conceptualised within the thesis as relating to any piece of legislation or plan of action that is intended to provide or regulate any such form of social intervention. Somewhat similarly, the words 'statutory social work sector' are conceptualised within this thesis as the grouping of governmental agencies, both local and national, that have a statutory obligation to develop or implement the form of social intervention that has been conceptualised as 'social work' through 'social work policy'.

Classification as a service-providing organisation enables the Board to be differentiated from other organisations that provide co-ordinating, resourcing, mutual aid or pressure-group functions, i.e. four alternative ideal types of voluntary action identified by Brenton (1985 : 11). In practice, however, classification as a service-providing organisation need not imply that all of the Board's social work activities fall within the boundaries suggested by the classification. This reflects the views of Beveridge (1948), Brenton (1985) and Wolfenden (1978) who argue that the systematic classification of voluntary organisations is all but impossible. Notwithstanding this qualification, it is clear from consideration of the manifest organisation as represented in Chapter 2, that the Board's social work activities do not sit naturally within the alternative ideal types established by Brenton (1985). To make classification of the Board as a service-providing voluntary organisation more concrete, it is interesting to note that Brenton (1985 : 12) cites Barnardo's as a well-known example of a service-providing voluntary organisation, which is of course an organisation that the Board has compared itself to. The key link between the Board,

as a service-providing voluntary organisation, and the social work environment within which it operates is therefore considered to be through the direct provision of social work services to the groups outlined above, as opposed to other activities that Brenton (1985) associates with co-ordinating, resourcing, supporting mutual aid or pressure group functions. Chapter 4 of this thesis conceptualises the words 'voluntary organisation' and 'voluntary sector' respectively. The crucial point to note at this stage however is that Murray's (1969) view supports the suggestion that no voluntary organisation can be fully understood without reference to the statutory sector because voluntary organisations do not exist or operate in isolation.

Classification of the Board as a service-providing voluntary organisation dictates that this thesis consider 'development and implementation of social work policy' to be synonymous with understanding how the Board of Social Responsibility's service provision has contributed to advancing the objectives of social work in Scotland. The interest of this thesis is therefore in identifying the Board of Social Responsibility's contribution to shaping the social work policy that has sought to regulate the provision of this form of social intervention in Scotland between 1948 and 2000 through consideration of its activity as a service-providing voluntary organisation. This interpretation of the words 'development and implementation of social work policy' link the activities of the Board to the intentions of the statutory social work sector because it is the policies developed by that sector which control and regulate social work service provision in Scotland. Classification of the Board of Social Responsibility as a service-providing voluntary organisation also establishes the body of literature in which this thesis is grounded and to which it aspires to contribute, i.e. the developing body of literature that seeks to understand Scotland's distinctive voluntary sector. This chapter now turns to consider the significant social work policy developments that have influenced the shape of social work in Scotland between 1948 and 2000.

The statutory social work sector prior to 1948

During the first half of the twentieth century, social work service provision undertaken by the statutory sector in Scotland was focused strictly on the local relief of poverty according to the terms of the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Acts of 1898 and 1934 (Levitt, 1988). Statutory social work service provision during the period was limited to the provision and regulation of poorhouses, the administration of boarding out schemes for children and the confinement of the physically handicapped and 'refractory' (Levitt, 1988 : 191). The Poor Law Amendment Acts made no requirement to prevent the occurrence of social need, nor did they require any national co-ordination of locally provided social work services. Levitt (1988) has argued that this lack of national co-ordination meant that levels of material and social deprivation in Scotland were subject to geographic variation. There were, in fact, 'glaring inequalities in the poor rates of parishes' and geographical disparities in the levels of prevailing social need (Cmnd 3860, 1930 : 168). This disparity, measured in terms of the levels of assistance available to individuals, led to the end of the 'parish state' (Brown, in Lynch, 1992 : 398) when the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929 abolished the parish councils and made the city, county and large burgh councils the statutory providers of social work services in Scotland. However, the statutory duty placed upon these local authorities by the 1929 Act required only the provision of 'needful sustentation appropriate to individual applicants for Poor Relief having regard to the whole circumstances of the particular case' (Highton quoted in Levitt, 1988 : 138). Prior to 1948, Scotland's city, county and large burgh councils had responsibility for deciding whether any individual should receive statutory social work services and what the precise nature of any social work service provided to an individual would be (Cmnd. 4150, 1969; Levitt, 1988).

The emergence of ameliorative statutory social work services

In 1948 statutory social work services in Scotland were developed and delivered in an ad hoc basis by the city, county and large burgh councils. These local authorities were obliged to develop service provision according to the terms of the Poor Law Amendment Acts of 1898 and 1934. As a result, statutory social work services at the time were provided to individuals in accordance only with locally identified needs. There were no nationally co-ordinated standards of service and provision was palliative in nature, rather than ameliorative, insofar as services were intended only to sustain individuals by relieving the direct effects of impoverishment. Role specialisation, differentiable standards of service and duplication of service provision through lack of co-ordination characterised the delivery of statutory social work services by the range of local authorities involved.

Legislation enacted immediately after the end of World War II at the United Kingdom level is held to have been intended to appease widespread concerns over problems relating to the prevalence of poverty that were considered to be affecting the viability of society (Beveridge, 1948; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Glennerster, 1998; Levitt, 1988; Titmuss, 1958). The National Health Service (Scotland) Act 1947, the National Assistance Act 1948 and the Children Act 1948 are viewed as having exerted the greatest identifiable influence upon the role of the statutory social work sector in Scotland at that time (Murphy, 1992).

The National Health Service (Scotland) Act 1947 extended existing local authority Poor Law responsibilities over maternity and child social work services to include domiciliary social work service provision for mothers, young children, older people and the mentally handicapped (Murphy, 1992; Roof, 1957). The National Assistance Act 1948 allowed local authorities to establish welfare services departments, which have subsequently been argued to have formed a rudimentary foundation for co-ordinating the social work services provided by local authorities (Marshall, 1970; Murphy, 1992). However, and with the benefit of hindsight, the National Assistance

Act 1948 may be viewed as being somewhat inconsistent. Specifically, Part III of the Act placed an obligation upon local authorities to provide residential care services for older people and the physically handicapped, but provided no statutory powers to develop activities that might otherwise enhance the services provided to these groups, other than through provision of grant aid to voluntary organisations (Marshall, 1970; Murphy, 1992). At the same time, the Act provided local authorities with statutory powers to develop activities that would enhance the care and general welfare of the deaf, the blind and the handicapped, but placed no obligation upon Scotland's local authorities to actually deploy the powers (Marshall, 1970). More generally, these two Acts shifted the role of local authorities away from the direct provision of social work services that were intended to relieve poverty, as under the Poor Law Amendment Acts, towards the provision and regulation of ameliorative social work services.

Eyden (1969) has argued that the legislation enacted immediately after World War II supported a broad political consensus to develop social work policy at the national level to achieve consistency in the provision of social work services, this being a characteristic traditionally found absent in services historically provided by service-providing voluntary organisations (Beveridge, 1948; Roof, 1957; Rowntree, 1947; Wolfenden, 1978). The political consensus that existed is held to have represented a 'grand opportunity' (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963 : 78) to adjust the distribution of power over social work policy to secure the benefits of an alternate state of affairs. Indeed Beveridge viewed the end of World War II as a revolutionary moment and noted that a 'revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolution, not for patching' (1942 : 4). As such the shifting balance of power over social work policy away from local authorities through these Acts is believed to have reflected the hope, if not expectation, of those on the political left that the involvement of central government in the social work policy arena would result in the decay of middle and upper class patronage via service-providing voluntary organisations that

deployed utilitarian ethics (Brenton, 1985; Harrison, 1987). However, Kendall and Knapp (1996) have argued that by the early 1960s it was clear that social work policy developed at the national level had eradicated neither social problems nor poverty. Brenton (1985) has found that the immediate post-war period was marked by 'few significant developments in the local welfare services' (1985 : 23). Wolfenden has argued that the shift in the balance of power over social work policy, and the range of activities generated in response by the statutory sector, resulted not in the decay of voluntary social work services but in voluntary organisations 'marking time' for fifteen to twenty years after the end of World War II with there being little apparent change in their roles during that period (1978 : 20). However, Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969) have found that voluntary organisations in Scotland did more than simply mark time during this period and actually expanded their work during the early post-war period. This was because Scotland's local authorities could not meet the obligations they had been given without assistance from voluntary organisations. It should be clear therefore that statutory social work service provision under these Acts remained limited with the provision of social work services of a 'preventative character' (Marshall, 1970 : 135) being provided by the statutory sector indirectly via service-providing voluntary organisations.

Statutory reorganisation and rationalisation

The Children Act 1948 placed a duty upon local authorities to provide childcare services (Burns and Sinclair, 1963; Elliot, 1963). At the time 52 local authority children's departments operated in Scotland, 33 of which employed only one or two field workers and only 12 were responsible for more than 200 children in care (Elliot, 1963 : 17). Elliot (1963) found that local authority children's departments in Scotland tended to be small, geographically isolated, provided with budgets considered incapable of sustaining adequate residential resources and offered few career prospects for staff and the skilled supervision of trainees. Elliot (1963) has

argued that there was an identifiable need for Scottish childcare work to be organised in larger local authority units if obligations placed upon statutory social work services in Scotland were to be discharged directly by statutory agents.

Organisational and structural problems leading to a lack of effective communication between and within specialised statutory childcare agencies, together with identified shortcomings and insufficiencies in the supply of properly trained and qualified childcare workers (see Younghusband, 1951; Cmnd. 1966, 1963; Elliot, 1963) were identified and considered in 'The Report of the Committee on Children and Young Persons, Scotland' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). This Committee had been given the remit to consider 'the provisions of the law in Scotland relating to the treatment of juvenile delinquents and juveniles in need of care or protection or beyond parental control' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 7). Widely known as the Kilbrandon Report (Cmnd. 2306, 1964), the Committee's report provoked changes in the organisation of social work service provision and the structure of local government in Scotland, the Seebohm Report (Cmnd. 3703, 1968) provoked similar change in England. The Kilbrandon Report, as the remit suggests, also considered the minutiae of Scots law as applicable to juveniles, in England this was addressed by the Ingleby Report (Cmnd. 1191, 1960). The Kilbrandon Report concluded that the organisation and structure of existing childcare arrangements in Scotland was unsatisfactory and proposed that juvenile courts and statutory social work service provision should be rationalised. In particular, it was proposed that 'Social Education Departments' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 93) be established to act as executive statutory agents with an obligation to administer and manage the 'social education' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 20) of children and related social work support services.

The Kilbrandon Report was aimed at establishing a series of preventative social work treatments that could be invoked to socially educate children and young people who would previously have appeared before the court. The aim was to treat, rather than

punish, children through 'family case-work' with the child being regarded 'as an individual within a system of family relationships' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 15). Preventative social work treatments were to be directed towards developing co-ordinated and sustained programmes of social action whereas existing arrangements were viewed as processes of 'shuffling from one agency to another' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 21). Kilbrandon recommended the rationalisation and reorganisation of statutory social work service provision in Scotland. In particular it was recommended that domiciliary services should include the formal and informal supervision of children through family casework undertaken directly by statutory social work agencies. The focus on family casework was explicitly advanced to effect the abolishment of the Scottish approved school system that was delivered almost exclusively by voluntary organisations (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 75 and 93). In 1964, 24 approved schools existed in Scotland, 22 of which were managed by voluntary organisations (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). In 1968 the approved school population in Scotland exceeded one per 1,000 of all children less than 18 years living in Scotland (Murphy, 1992 : 101).

Evidence submitted to the Kilbrandon Committee argued that social problems in Scotland were thriving under existing social work arrangements due to the 'lack of a unifying principle within existing services', which was correlated in turn with 'problems (financial and other) affected by the size and number of local authorities' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 69). At that time, statutory social work service provision of residential treatments for children was found to amount to 'a number of small "multi-purpose" children's homes' (Cmnd. 1964 : 70). At the same time, voluntary organisations were found to be providing 'specialised provision for maladjusted and seriously disturbed children in care' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 70) on behalf of the local authorities. This is a good example of how the provision of social work services of a preventative nature was provided by the statutory sector indirectly via service-providing voluntary organisations.

Remand homes and residential schools for maladjusted children were also found to exist in Scotland in the early 1960s. Kilbrandon recommended that the former, exclusively provided by local authorities and considered to fall 'far short' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 83) of desirable standards should be 'abolished' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 78) and converted into residential assessment centres, whereas the latter, provided almost exclusively by voluntary organisations, should be encouraged (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 76). Additional substantive policy recommendations included: the re-appraisal of the functions of children's homes to provide a greater degree of specialisation within each; enhanced provision of separate specialist residential homes and schools for children with serious emotional difficulties, mental defects and physical handicaps; extended provision of short-term residential schools or 'adjustment centres' for maladjusted children; and the redistribution of functions within the existing approved school system to provide for three discrete categories of child, i.e. those under 11, those between 11 and 14, and those over 14 (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). Kilbrandon argued that a perceived shortage of specialist residential social work accommodation for children should be addressed by education authorities rather than left as a residual need to be met indirectly in partnership with voluntary organisations (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). The conclusion of the Kilbrandon Committee was that the time had come when Scottish 'society may be reasonably expected so to organise its affairs as to reduce the arbitrary effects of what is still too often a haphazard detection process' (Cmnd. 2306, 1964 : 98).

Kilbrandon's recommendations were composed in two parts: A New Machinery and the Matching Field Organisation (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). It was recommended that various social structures should be created, and others reorganised, to establish a trend of extending and enhancing the statutory social work sector's role in both providing and regulating social work service provision. The White Paper 'Social Work and the Community' confirmed the political view that the rationalisation and

reorganisation of statutory social work services was necessary because statutory social work services in Scotland had 'developed piecemeal and in response to the identification at different times of certain groups who needed social help' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 3). Osborne (1988) and Seed (1973) support this representation of social work service provision by arguing that social work service provision developed incrementally during the post-war period in Scotland. Significantly, however, the White Paper extended Kilbrandon's recommendations such that statutory social work services should be 'more widely based, catering for families as well as children' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 1).

The development and regulation of social work service provision by the statutory sector in Scotland was intended to erode the historic trends of role specialisation, inconsistent standards and service duplication evident in the services provided directly by the city, county and large burgh councils, and in the services provided indirectly on behalf of these authorities by voluntary organisations. Indeed, the White Paper favoured creation of co-ordinated statutory social work agencies that were capable of providing generic 'community care and support, whether for children, the handicapped, the mentally and physically ill or the aged' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 3). The significant historic contribution of Scottish voluntary organisations in all these service delivery areas was acknowledged by the White Paper and it was made clear that 'the powers of the Secretary of State and of local authorities to give financial assistance to voluntary bodies will be continued' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 2). Nevertheless it should be clear that the rationalisation of statutory social work services was intended to achieve the 'full personal development of the individual' through 'community development' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 5). Fabb and Guthrie (1997) argue that the White Paper sought to create 'one stop shops' for social needs as the statutory social work sector's early post-war focus on providing palliative relief to individuals gave way to their direct provision of ameliorative social treatments that sought to incorporate understanding of the social needs of individuals in the context

of their social situation. Accordingly, the development of an extended community-based role for the statutory social work sector was intended to evolve the sector's existing provision of palliative social work services into the direct statutory provision of ameliorative social work treatments (Cmnd. 3065, 1966).

The Kilbrandon Report (Cmnd. 2306, 1964) and the White Paper (Cmnd. 3065, 1966) led to the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and the amalgamation of uncoordinated, and often role specific, welfare services departments into generic social work departments. Murphy (1992) has demonstrated how, to the point of implementation of the 1968 Act, statutory social work agents had been employed in specialist roles, i.e. as childcare officers, probation officers, welfare officers or mental health officers. After implementation of the 1968 Act, 305 childcare officers, 281 probation officers, 276 welfare officers and 97 mental health officers became 959 generic social workers (Murphy, 1992). More significantly, the 1968 Act provided local authorities with the obligation to regulate the provision of childcare services, child life protection, support of families in difficulties, welfare of the elderly and physically handicapped, services to the mentally ill and mentally handicapped, services for offenders, home help services and residential and day care establishments, regardless of which agency provided them. It is therefore of significance to this thesis that the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 required local authorities to regulate all social work services provided by voluntary organisations.

Section 12 of the 1968 Act required local authorities to 'promote social welfare by making available advice, guidance and assistance on such a scale as may be appropriate for their own area' (Fabb and Guthrie, 1997 : 7). This general duty was not merely one of reacting to known needs. It is noted that a Scottish Office circular explained that local authorities should 'seek out existing needs, which have not been brought to the authority's attention, identify incipient needs and try to influence social and environmental developments in such ways as will not only prevent the

creation of social difficulties, but will positively lead to the creation of good conditions' (in Murphy, 1992 : 166). Fabb and Guthrie (1997) argue that the significant effect of the 1968 Act upon statutory social work service provision was the creation of social work departments within local authorities that operated under the direction of a senior official whose work was overseen by committees established specifically for the purpose. These social work departments co-ordinated the provision of all social work services within local authority areas.

Marshall and Gray (1983) have argued that the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 sought to promote co-ordinated social work service provision through specification of the responsibilities of the city, county and large burgh councils. Nevertheless, the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973, following the Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland's Report (Cmnd. 4150, 1969), dramatically reorganised Scotland's local government system by establishing district and regional authorities with discrete functional zones of responsibility, i.e. 53 district, three island and nine regional councils. The 1973 Act obliged the island and regional councils to discharge all social work related functions and therefore effectively regionalised control over social work service provision in Scotland. More specifically, the Act required the three island and nine regional councils to establish social work departments with responsibility for executing and enforcing all duties under the Nurseries and Child-minders Regulation Act 1948; the Mental Health (Scotland) Act 1960; section 27 of the National Health Service (Scotland) Act 1947; the National Assistance Act 1948; part IV of the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937; the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1958; sections 10 to 12 of the Matrimonial Proceedings (Children) Act 1958; Part I of the Children Act 1948; the Adoption Act 1958 and section 101(1) of the Housing Act 1964 (Marshall and Gray, 1983).

Fabb and Guthrie (1997) emphasise the symbiotic relationship of social work and

local government Acts in Scotland. In particular, Fabb and Guthrie note that 'were it not for the Local Government (Scotland) Acts local authorities would not exist and would have no powers. Were it not, for example, for the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 they [the local authorities] would have no duty to provide reports for courts' (1997 : 7). Taken together, the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973 encouraged the provision of social work services by voluntary organisations in Scotland. First, the social work departments created by the 1968 Act became obliged to directly provide ameliorative social work services, services traditionally provided by voluntary organisations. This adjustment to the distribution of power over social work service provision might therefore be seen to have encouraged the potential contribution of voluntary organisations to extending and improving overall levels of social work service provision. Second, rationalisation of Scotland's local government system by the 1973 Act was intended to reduce geographic variation, in terms of standards of social work service provision, by establishing fewer areas (Cmnd. 4150, 1969). However, the island and regional social work departments are argued to have remained incapable of fulfilling their obligations without the continuing assistance of voluntary organisations. This adjustment to the distribution of power over social work service provision might therefore be seen to have encouraged the contribution of voluntary organisations to extending and improving the overall level of social work service provision.

Statutory social work service provision in Scotland, after 1968, was shaped by legislation that has promoted national policy objectives via the provision of social work services that attempted to identify and intervene in social problems at the community level (Fabb and Guthrie, 1997). The development of such services encouraged partnership working with voluntary organisations to ensure that the obligations placed upon the statutory social work sector were met. Voluntary organisations were therefore used to extend and supplement the overall level of statutory social work service provision. This situation developed because the 1968

Act initiated a programme of ameliorative statutory social work service provision that could only be delivered with the assistance of voluntary organisations. Osborne (1988) has confirmed that it was not until the late 1960s that statutory social work policy shifted away from the direct provision of palliative social work services towards the development of ameliorative social treatments that incorporated understanding of the social context within which social problems arose in partnership with voluntary organisations. This supports the work of Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969) who are noted as having found that voluntary organisations in Scotland did more than simply mark time during the period and actually expanded their work during the early post-war period.

The development of competition

In 1988, Griffiths reviewed 'the way in which public funds are used to support community care policy' and advised 'on the options for action that would improve the use of these funds as a contribution to more effective community care' (Cmnd. 849, 1988 : iii). The Health and Social Services and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 had transferred control over the funding of residential social work service provision away from Scotland's local authorities to the Department of Health and Social Security. Indeed the Act made it illegal for local authorities to supplement any payment to a voluntary organisation for residential care unless the primary issue of care was directly related to the mental health of the individual concerned. In effect the Act adjusted the distribution of power over social work service provision by eroding the power of statutory social work agencies to control the contribution of voluntary organisations to meeting the social needs of communities via provision of residential social work services. The Act achieved this adjustment by removing the requirement that an agent of the social work department assess the financial and social needs of all applicants for residential care. Ham has argued that this Act was 'a classic example of incremental policy development' (1985 : 74).

The consequence of the 1983 Act confronted by Griffiths related principally to the provision of residential care for older people. As a direct result of the adjustment made to the distribution of power over the use of financial resources, expenditure on residential care grew exponentially, ultimately coming to take an undue proportion of overall resources, to the detriment of domiciliary alternatives that might have allowed individuals to remain longer in their communities (Cmnd. 849, 1988). Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) argued that an enhanced strategic approach to the funding of residential social work services was essential and one that would again require statutory social work agencies to assess all applications for residential care. Griffiths suggested that the strategic approach should 'preserve entitlements whilst putting the social services authority in a position of neutrality in deciding what form of care would be in the best interests of the individual' (Cmnd. 849, 1988 : v). Griffiths saw it as imperative that Scotland's social work departments should see themselves cast as the arrangers and purchasers of caring services rather than 'monopolistic providers' (Cmnd. 849, 1988 : 5). Indeed he noted that his proposals were directed towards stimulating and developing a 'mixed economy of care'. The overall tenet of his 'Agenda for Action' (Cmnd. 849, 1988) was the encouragement of user choice and it is argued that this change in ethos broke continuities with the past (Glennerster, 1998; Hill, 1993; Lowe, 1993).

James (1994) has argued that before Thatcher came to power in 1979, there was something of a political consensus that social work services intended for the public were best provided by the statutory sector but that this was patently not the case at the end of the 1980s. Jones (1996) has argued that the final decades of the twentieth century saw changes occur which restructured the statutory social work sector as the early post-war concentration on developing ameliorative social work services incrementally gave way to considerations of user choice, performance and value for money. The changing nature of social work service provision, and the shift in focus

towards user choice, were made manifest in revised local authority funding mechanisms that allowed central government to exercise an element of control over the social work policies of local authorities (Jones, 1996). Wistow et al (1994) have argued that the change in focus during the 1980s and 1990s offered opportunities for voluntary organisations to expand and increase their share of the social work service market by providing users with choice. Jones (1996) has argued that the consequence of this shift of focus altered the nature of existing relationships between the statutory and voluntary sectors.

Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) confrontation with the repercussions of the Health and Social Services and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 culminated in the National Health Service and Community Care Act (1990). Wistow et al (1996) argue that the 1990 Act initiated the most far-reaching changes to the provision and regulation of social work services since the establishment of the welfare state immediately after World War II. The assessment of needs, management of care, demarcation of responsibility, care in the home and an emphasis on securing better value for money encapsulated the objectives provided to the statutory social work sector as local authority social work departments became the intended facilitators of social work services rather than the providers. Evandrou and Falkingham (1998) have argued that the National Health Service and Community Care Act (1990) resulted in a growth in the range of work undertaken by non-statutory organisations. The 1990 Act reversed the funding situation created by the Health and Social Services and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 and returned control over the funding of residential social work services to the statutory social work sector, i.e. local authority social work departments. The Act therefore placed an obligation upon local authorities to assess all applications for the funding of residential social work services. At this time local authority social work departments unambiguously became responsible for all issues of policy and practice in relation to the provision and regulation of residential social work services. As Wolfenden had earlier noted, not

only could he who paid the piper now call the tune, but he could 'also determine what the piper is to wear, the tempo of the playing, how hard he works his assistant, and so on' (1978 : 149). Accordingly the 1990 Act is argued to have altered the environment within which service-providing voluntary organisations could contribute to the provision of social work service in Scotland by redistributing power and resources to secure the benefits of an alternate state of affairs where money was used more effectively to help people.

Jones (1996) has argued that the range of potential relationships existing between local authorities and voluntary organisations, after implementation of the 1990 Act, expanded to include those of: purchasing, as local authorities purchased services from voluntary organisations; regulation, as local authorities regulated the provision of voluntary services through inspection procedures; collaboration, as local authorities worked with voluntary organisations in complementary fashion to ensure adequate coverage of service provision; commissioning, as local authorities began to strategically plan the provision of social services and to commission specific services provision from voluntary organisations; agenda-setting, as voluntary organisations developed new and innovatory services which were then added to the purchasing agendas of the statutory sector; resource-creating, resource-stimulating, and resource-supporting, as local authorities funded development agencies to encourage voluntary action in an effort to contribute to the overall level of resources available in a given community, and advocacy, as voluntary organisations attempted to influence the range and deployment of available resources. These relationships characterise the potential roles that the Board of Social Responsibility may have played in contributing to the development of the environment within which it interacts.

Subsequent to the 1990 Act, Sutherland (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) has found that geographic variations in social work policy have again come to create disparities in

standards of service provision and have created structural inequalities that detract from the capacity of voluntary organisations to compete effectively against local authorities to provide social work services within the mixed economy of welfare. Sutherland (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) has argued that local authority control over the provision, regulation and funding of social work services has led to a diminution of user choice. This view argues that there is an apparent failure of social work departments to implement 'Best Value', which is argued to be incompatible with the broad aims of community care and the promotion of user choice. The position adopted by local authorities after 1990 may therefore have provided voluntary organisations with the role of 'reactive vessels for the perpetuation of existing ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996 : 1).

Linking religion to the development of social work policy

The purpose of the chapter was given earlier as being that of developing understanding of the environment within which the Board of Social Responsibility interacts. Related to this objective was the desire to establish key links between the Board of Social Responsibility and the environment within which it operates. It is therefore appropriate to consider the basis upon which the Board's religious ethos might be linked with to the development and implementation of social work policy. Chapter 2 has noted that the established view of the Church of Scotland is that all reality is one under the sovereign Lordship of Christ and His Church is obliged to relate the Word of God to both the secular affairs of the nation and the eternal needs of the individual soul (Storrar, 1990). This obligation placed upon the Board implies an active role for the organisation within the environment within which it operates. It was also noted that the view applied by the Board of Social Responsibility is that 'Faith without works is dead' (Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 237). As such the Board considers itself to act as a 'Christ-centred organisation focusing on people' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 1) with the stated objective being to operate

in Christ's name to 'seek to retain and regain the highest quality of life which each individual is capable of experiencing at any given time' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 2).

Wood (2002) has demonstrated that the religious motivation of faith-based organisations can be observed in the dynamic interplay between organisations and their environment, as they attempt to identify and define the issues that have potential to improve the position of those deemed to have social needs. In particular Wood (2002) has argued that processes of identifying and defining social issues establishes an ethical high ground that enables religious or faith-based organisations to project their views into the policy environment. Wood has suggested that a faith-based organising structure provides 'leaders with the tools they need in order to influence city priorities and reshape their own neighbourhoods, while allowing leaders to interpret this civic engagement in terms of their own traditions and biographies' (2002 : 71). As such, religiously motivated social work service provision is considered to be an attempt to define social issues that are perceived to be important and provides an opportunity for individuals to adopt a moral, rather than professional, stance.

This chapter's consideration of the significant developments that have shaped social work service provision in Scotland has shown that interaction between voluntary organisations and local authorities takes many forms. Jones (1996) in particular is noted as having identified a range of potential relationships existing between local authorities and voluntary organisations including: purchasing, regulation, collaboration, commissioning, agenda-setting, resource-creating, resource-stimulating, and resource-supporting, and advocacy. This framework of relationships characterises voluntary organisations as participants in defining the issues and developing the policies that establish and regulate the provision of social work services. Such a view is supported by the empirical work of Mullins and

Riseborough (2001) who have observed voluntary organisations operating as active agents within their policy environment. The particular organisations observed by Mullins and Riseborough (2001) demonstrated the ability to scan their policy environment and to select policy themes that they developed to influence the shape of their environment through individual and collective action. The empirical work of Jones (1996) and Mullins and Riseborough (2001) suggests that voluntary organisations do interact with their environment to further their objectives. However it is prudent to note that roles like those noted above contrast with the passive 'agent' role of voluntary organisations that Hughes (1994) has theorised, a role that is not altogether dis-similar from the notion of reactive vessel proposed by Kendall and Knapp (1996). Plainly a number of theoretical perspectives are available to explain the role of a voluntary organisation. In regard to the Board and its religious motivation, it is interesting to re-consider Storrar's view that the Church of Scotland's autonomous approach to the needs of society should be characterised as one of 'principled calculation' (1990 : 7). This characterisation implies that the Board's faith-based social work service provision is an attempt to define the social issues that are perceived to be important and does reflect a moral stance.

Incremental social work policy development

While reviewing the significant developments in social work policy that have contributed to shaping social work service provision in Scotland it has been noted that central government has viewed social work service provision as having developed 'piecemeal and in response to the identification at different times of certain groups who needed social help' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 3). Ham (1985), Jones (1996), Osborne (1988) and Seed (1973) are noted as considering social work service provision to have developed in an incremental manner throughout the post-war period. The specific views of these authors are arguably reflective of a broader consensus, which, in turn, holds that the social work policies of the state have

evolved in an incremental manner throughout the second half of the twentieth century (Brenton, 1985; Ham, 1985; Gabe, Calnan and Bury, 1991; Osborne, 1988; Seed, 1973). This chapter has shown that it would be remiss to ignore the empirical work of others and to consider that social work services in Scotland have not evolved incrementally during the post-war period. However, it would also, perhaps, be remiss to accept such views without developing an understanding of incrementalism that can be deployed to highlight the generalities of the voluntary sector in Scotland through consideration of the role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy.

Dahl and Lindblom have advanced the view that the piecemeal development of social policies should be considered as 'incrementalism' (1953 : 82). Incrementalism is their theorisation of the processes of individual and collective interaction that lead to the development of social policies. More specifically perhaps, incrementalism seeks to explain calculated policymaking as an interactive process that results in policies being developed as a direct consequence of social actors defining the issues associated with alternative realities that they perceive. As such, policy is developed as organisations effect relatively small adjustments to their existing reality in an attempt to cause change consistent with achieving the benefits they associate with the alternative reality that they perceive. Dahl and Lindblom argue that all processes of policy change in politically pluralistic societies tend to be incremental in nature and that the 'codes and norms of operating organisations defy attempts at abrupt transformation into a brave new world that exists only in the blueprints of the utopian engineers' (1953 : 86).

Lindblom has specifically argued that the development of social policy never takes the form of 'revolution, nor drastic policy change, nor even carefully planned big steps' (1979 : 517). This observation is not inconsistent with Popper's opinion that the development of social policy should be viewed as 'piecemeal social engineering'

(1945 : 139). Braybrooke and Lindblom have argued that the development of social policy in particular, takes the form of a process whereby 'direct preferences among various possible states of affairs in society' (1963 : 13) are expressed. Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963) have argued that the decision-making that leads to the development of social policy typically focuses on processes, as opposed to inputs or outcomes, and that this distinguishes the pattern of policy development. This is argued to distinguish the incremental development of social policies because they typically incorporate no explicit formulation or specification of end results because such specification would 'awaken controversy about which ends to formulate' (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963 : 13). Accordingly Braybrooke and Lindblom have argued that incrementalism may develop social policies where ends are left 'unformulated; so may any or all of the features of alternative social states that attract attention – and so, for that matter, may the *raison d'être* of the rule that gives the social ordering of possible states of affairs in society' (1963 : 14). The formulation of social policy, viewed from this perspective, can result in the development of policies that omit to specify end results, that may fail to define the precise manner in which policies should be implemented, and which may also fail to specify the individuals or groups to be targeted (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963).

Incrementalism conceptualises therefore the theory that the perpetual development of social policy arises as a direct consequence of the calculated political interactions of individuals and groups. It should be clear that this conceptualisation of policy development processes links social action to decision-making. Nevertheless it should also be made clear that this thesis considers incrementalism as one theoretical explanation of policy development processes rather than the only theoretical explanation of policy development processes. The conceptualisation of incremental policy development outlined above is considered to be consistent with the conceptualisation of social work and social work policy adopted within this thesis. Specifically, the conceptualisation of 'social work' as a form of social intervention

that encourages social institutions to respond to individual needs, and the conceptualisation of 'social work policy' as any piece of legislation or plan of action that is intended to provide or regulate such forms of social intervention, appears to have some symmetry with Dahl and Lindblom's (1953) conceptualisation of the piecemeal development of social policies. For this reason, the conflict-ridden economic determinism of Marx (see for example Held, 1987), Turner's (1983) materialist theory of religion, Berger and Luckmann's (1969) 'plausibility' structures, Tylor's (1970) 'animism', the functionalist perspectives of Durkheim (1961), Parson's (1965) and Malinowski (1954), the group dynamic theories of Festinger (1954), Jahoda (1993), Tajfel (1978) and Moscovici (1980), and the theological theory of casuistry, among others, have been rejected by the student in favour of incrementalism as a theoretical contribution to the analytical framework established to explicate the social work policy development and implementation role of the Board of Social Responsibility.

Chapter 4 builds on this conceptualisation of incremental policy development to extend understanding of how voluntary organisations in Scotland respond to individual needs and how they contribute to the regulation and provision of forms of social intervention. Ultimately, such understanding will contribute to the identification of the relationships that the Board of Social Responsibility has had with the statutory social work sector and, in turn, to differentiating the extant organisation.

Chapter 4 : The voluntary sector in Scotland

The second half of the twentieth century is identified as a period of substantial change for voluntary organisations operating in the social work arena (Gladstone, 1995; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Wolfenden, 1978). Chief among the changes affecting such voluntary organisations was the emergence of the statutory sector into this arena at the national level, at the end of World War II, followed by the incremental development of social work policy and services at the local level (Brenton, 1985; Ham, 1985; Gabe, Calnan and Bury, 1991; Osborne, 1988; Seed, 1973). The post-war period is typically characterised as an era in which the voluntary sector has found itself obliged to adjust and adapt to a range of exogenous forces that have evolved a pluralistic system of social work service provision (Johnson, 1987; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Wolfenden, 1978). The purpose of the chapter is to develop understanding of the voluntary sector in Scotland: a sector of which it is acknowledged that relatively little is known (Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Vincent, 1998). More particularly, this chapter considers the 'rapid change and development' (Beveridge, 1948 : 121) that may have influenced the social work policies and services of voluntary organisations in Scotland between 1948 and 2000. Consideration of the social work of the voluntary sector is important in generating understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy. This is because, as identified in Chapter 3, the Board's operates within an environment that has come to be controlled and regulated by the policies of the statutory sector in Scotland. Such understanding will therefore contribute to revealing the extant Board of Social Responsibility and will bring added value to this thesis by, as Chapter 1 suggested, highlighting the generalities of the Scottish voluntary sector. This chapter considers therefore the post-war voluntary sector in Scotland and begins by outlining how the student has conceptualised the words 'voluntary sector' and 'voluntary organisation'.

Some preliminary qualifications

Unconditionally classifying the attributes of the voluntary sector is impracticable. Historically, voluntary organisations have not been required to register their work or interests and in Scotland there was no organisation 'responsible for knowing about them' (Beveridge, 1948 : 213). Chapter 1 has noted how Beveridge (1948) abandoned all attempts at establishing a uniform description of the voluntary sector. Roof, similarly, has argued that one 'cannot distinguish a clearly defined voluntary or statutory sphere of action' though 'it may be possible to point to certain features of voluntary action which have been dominant in the past' (1957 : 276). Wolfenden has likened the voluntary sector to a 'living thing' (1978 : 13) and has noted how 'organisations are formed to meet newly-discerned needs. Others die. Yet others change their emphasis or venture into fresh fields' (1978 : 13). Kendall and Knapp have argued that the scale of voluntary action 'can be measured in terms of numbers of organisations or establishments, expenditure, income, paid employment, volunteers deployed, or through activity or output indicators' though 'no one has devised a sensible outcome measure for application across the sector as a whole' (1996 : 107). Kendall and Knapp represent the voluntary sector as 'a "loose and baggy monster"', characterised by a multitude of structures, activities and orientations' (1996 : 133). Osborne has argued that the notion of a voluntary sector is a descriptive rather than analytic tool inasmuch as the notion characterises an 'aggregation' of objectives and ideals (1998 : 18).

Conjoining the above views one can conclude, first, that the precise size and shape of the voluntary sector in Scotland at the end of World War II is unknown. Second, that the precise size and shape of the sector at the end of the twentieth century is unknown though it may be possible to make a 'guestimate' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996 : 107), subject to qualification, depending on the specific measure(s) used. Third, that between 1948 and 2000 the voluntary sector has been in a state of flux, inasmuch as the differentiated organisations that compose the sector may have been prone to modification, possibly even transformation to the extent that definitive

boundaries surrounding voluntary action itself cannot be distinguished. Accordingly, there would appear to be limited merit in attempting to classify the precise characteristics of an entire voluntary sector because the attributes of organisations composing it are either unknown or subject to qualification relating to the criteria of measurement deployed. The advantage to be gained in attempting to relate affective influences to specific changes in the characteristics of the entire voluntary sector would also appear to be limited, again because the precise attributes of the sector are either unknown or dependent upon chosen measurement criteria. These limitations mean that any conceptualisation of a voluntary sector cannot, probably inherently, be of a categorical nature. Compounding this limitation is a scarcity of empirical literature on the work undertaken by significant voluntary organisations in Scotland like the Board of Social Responsibility.

In light of the above it is prudent to make explicit three qualifications applicable to the conceptualisation of the voluntary sector adopted within this thesis. First, Rooff's (1957) view that it may be possible to base an argument on certain features of the sector that have dominated the past has been embraced. Second, Kendall and Knapp's (1996) approach has also been embraced and the view developed that certain aspects of the voluntary sector are measurable. As such, the following conceptualisation of the voluntary sector does not pretend to rely on consistent criteria of measurement because the measurement of the various aspects of the sector, if they have been measured at all, has not been systematic during the second half of the twentieth century (Osborne, 1998). Nevertheless it is accepted that some attempt at identifying the dimensions of the voluntary sector under consideration must be undertaken if the conceptualisation is to avoid being hopelessly general in character. Thus, thirdly, the taxonomy developed by Brenton (1985) and noted in Chapter 3 has been deployed to establish some parameters and to restrict the scope of the consideration to that part of the voluntary sector that is engaged in the direct provision of social work services.

Conceptualising voluntary organisations and the voluntary sector

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, consideration of the words 'voluntary organisation' and 'voluntary sector' requires differentiation of three concepts: voluntarism, volunteerism and voluntarism. Voluntarism encapsulates the notion that liberal democratic societies are dependent on an inherent lack of centralised control over individual behaviour and the formation of relationships. Voluntarism conceptualises the integrative relationship which exists between individuals and their state in a manner consistent with the minimal 'reliance on force and money as organizing principles' (Schultz, 1972 : 25). It is therefore a prerequisite of voluntarism that society is organised in such a manner as to enable autonomous individual action and free choice. The ability to act autonomously is believed to lead to free action and the practice of volunteerism. In the context of social work service provision, free action or volunteerism is believed to model the ability of individuals to engage in, and sustain 'unpretentious neighbourliness' (Wilson in Wolfenden, 1978 : 20). The ability of individuals to practice volunteering has resulted in the development of an informal caring sector that has been labelled, probably pejoratively, as the unpaid work of women who are 'better educated, and probably better off, than the average citizen' (Aves Committee, 1969 : 20). Less pejoratively, Titmuss (1970 : 239) has argued that volunteering is the manifestation of altruistic social action for the benefit of others. Inasmuch as volunteering represents the tradition of unpaid social action, the historical and cultural impact of volunteering in Scotland, particularly among women, should not be underestimated. It has been found that 300,000 Scots work regularly as volunteers and that 60% of them are women (SCVO, 2000).

The concept of voluntarism however requires a shift of attention away from volunteering towards social structures and collective unpaid social action.

Specifically, while it is true that voluntarism by definition relies on the discretionary action of volunteers, it is the organisation of discretionary action that the concept of voluntarism seeks to explain. Indeed, it is the method and manner of governance through which discretionary unpaid social action is exercised that defines the words 'voluntary organisation'.

Sills' (1968) has argued that voluntary organisations are typically defined through reference to their aims, purpose and constitution. In his view, to qualify as a voluntary organisation the aims and purpose of the organisation must be directed towards furthering the interest(s) of a group of people. Secondly, the organisation must be governed solely by volunteers. Finally, the organisation must exist independently of the state. According to the terms of discretionary social action and volunteerism, it can be seen that Sills' (1968) second element implies that governing members of voluntary organisations must not derive financial or other tangible benefit from their volunteering efforts. To make these requirements explicit, the words 'voluntary organisation' are conceptualised within this thesis as being representative of any organisation that exists independently of the state and which is concerned with furthering the interests of a group of people through some form of co-ordinated effort from which those concerned derive no financial benefit. This conceptualisation of a voluntary organisation converges with the manifest representation of the Board of Social Responsibility outlined in Chapter 2. Indeed, as Chapter 3 has alluded, these characteristics complement the classification of the Board of Social Responsibility as a service-providing organisation and enable the Board of Social Responsibility to be confirmed as a voluntary organisation. It should immediately be noted that the conceptualisation of a voluntary organisation adopted in this thesis in no way precludes the volunteers involved in governing the organisation from retaining a paid workforce.

The above discussion allows the defining characteristics of the 'voluntary sector' to be distilled.

Table 1. A Taxonomy of Voluntary Effort.

Concept	Area of Concern	Enabled by	Proponents
<i>Voluntaryism</i>	Relationship of individual and society	Free society	The State
<i>Volunteerism</i>	Individual action in society	Voluntary society	The informal sector
<i>Voluntarism</i>	Organised action in society	Plural society	The organised voluntary sector

(Adapted from Osborne, 1998)

Table 1 outlines the respective forms of voluntary effort discussed above and supports the conceptualisation of 'voluntary organisation' as being representative of any organisation concerned with furthering the interests of a group of people through co-ordinated effort existing independently of the state. Table 1 also makes it clear that the voluntary sector is a proponent of voluntarism enabled by a pluralistic society. It is also clear from Table 1 that the voluntary sector represents the conglomeration of voluntary organisations that enables voluntary action at the collective level, i.e. beyond individual volunteering. This is how the words 'voluntary sector' are conceptualised within this thesis. This conceptualisation of the voluntary sector as the conglomeration of voluntary organisations that enable collective voluntary action is significant because it links the Board of Social Responsibility to literature surrounding collective unpaid social action and to research highlighting considerable activity involving the production of social work services in Scotland.

The Scottish Council of Voluntary Organisations (SCVO, 1998 and SCVO, 2000) has found that the primary activity of 46% of all voluntary organisations operating in

Scotland is the production of social work services. Accordingly the conceptualisations of voluntary organisation and voluntary sector adopted within this thesis are representative of 46% of all voluntary organisations identified by the Scottish Council of Voluntary Organisations (SCVO, 1998 and SCVO, 2000). This percentage value equates to approximately 20,240 different voluntary organisations (SCVO, 1998 and SCVO, 2000). Moreover, the combined annual income of the entire voluntary sector, i.e. 100% of voluntary organisations operating in Scotland, stands at approximately £1.8 billion (SCVO, 2000), of which the largest 1% of organisations, i.e. those with annual turnovers in excess of £1 million, receive 67% of the total sector income (SCVO, 1998). Therefore, while some voluntary organisations are relatively large and operate at a national level, the contemporary voluntary sector in Scotland is overwhelmingly populated by small organisations operating at the local level. Indeed research suggests that 86% of voluntary organisations in Scotland operate only at the local level, i.e. within a town, city, or one local authority area (SCVO, 1998). It is clear from Chapter 2 that the Board of Social Responsibility is among the largest 1% of voluntary organisations operating in Scotland, because it has an annual budget of approximately £40 million, and that it is also among the 14% of voluntary organisations that operate at the national level. These measures support the claim noted in Chapter 1 that the Board of Social Responsibility is, by several orders of magnitude, the largest voluntary provider of social work services in Scotland in terms of organisational size and range and scale of activities.

Chapter 3 has suggested that identifying the substantive role played by a voluntary organisation in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland requires consideration of the extent to which voluntary organisations have been provided with the role of 'reactive vessels for the perpetuation of existing ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996 : 1). To discount such a role for the Board of Social Responsibility it is necessary to identify the position of the

Board within the voluntary sector, the occasions when the Board has acted in an innovative manner, and the occasions when the Board has replicated the activities of other organisations to address residual needs left unmet by the state. Chapter 5 outlines the methodology that has been developed to address these issues and Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 discuss in detail the data gathered as a result. However, it is worth noting here that if the meeting of residual needs are shown to be predominant features of the Board's work, Kendall and Knapp's view would tend to be reflective of the role developed by the Board. An innovative role, on the other hand, if shown to be the predominant feature of the Board's work, would tend to suggest that the Board has maintained autonomous ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies that it perpetuates. Literature produced by the Board of Social Responsibility claims that 'since being set up in 1869 the Board has played a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998b : Intro.). In addition to linking the Board 's service provision with the key terms conceptualised within this thesis, this claim characterises the Board of Social Responsibility as an innovative service-providing organisation and one that has lead the way in developing and implementing social work policy through its social work service provision in Scotland.

Innovation and the voluntary sector

Chapter 1 has noted Beveridge's (1948) emphasis on the pioneering role of voluntary organisations. In the context of this thesis and of literature surrounding social work generally, pioneering is synonymous with innovation. However, Brenton (1985) and Osborne (1994) have taken issue with the notion that voluntary organisations *per se* are innovative. In fact Osborne (1994) has argued that voluntary organisations are assumed to act innovatively without there being any empirical evidence to support the assumption (1994 : 5). This argument is important because, as Chapter 1 has

noted, the Board of Social Responsibility has chosen to represent itself as an innovative organisation.

Osborne (1994) has established an empirical view of innovation which he defines as

‘The introduction of a new element into an organisation, by the application (and sometimes discovery) of new knowledge. This introduction brings about a change or discontinuity, in terms of the organisation itself (such as by the creation of a new service) and / or in terms of its ‘market’ of clients / service users (such as by meeting the needs of a new client group, for that organisation).’

Osborne, 1994 : 7

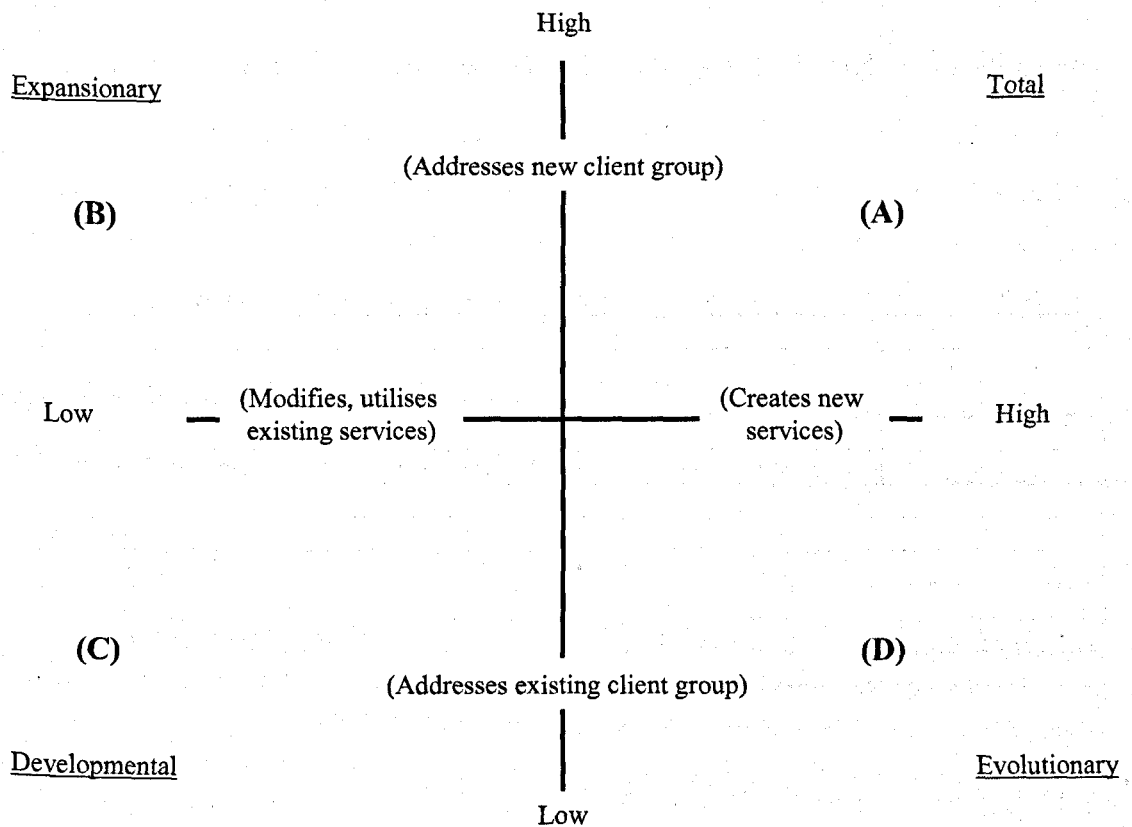
Table 2 highlights the relationship between organisational processes and service provision that Osborne considers as ‘Total innovation’ (1994 : 9).

Table 2. Organisational modes of innovation (from Osborne, 1994)

	Organisational Service / Products	
	Unchanged	Innovative
Unchanged	Modification of existing services	New services using existing skills
Innovative	New ways in which to produce an existing service (efficiency gain)	New services produced using new skills for the organisation

From Table 2 it can be seen that innovation, in keeping with Osborne’s (1994) definition, requires new features to be apparent in the services provided by an organisation. Moreover, when new features are apparent in both an organisations services and in the processes implemented to produce them one can also expect to observe new skills developed within that organisation. Fig. 1 presents this understanding of relationships between innovative services and innovative organisational processes in a graphical form.

Fig. 1. Classifications of innovation (Adapted from Osborne, 1994)



'x' axis – Impact of innovation on the production of social welfare services.

'y' axis – Impact of innovation on the meeting of social needs.

From Fig. 1 it can be seen that innovative organisational behaviours can be differentiated according to four sub-types. Arguably only 'Type A' behaviour unequivocally meets Osborne's (1994) definition of innovation and this corresponds to the development of new services for new client groups using new skills. Fig. 1 shows how Osborne identifies such behaviour as 'Total innovation' (1994 : 9). In this view total innovation occurs when new social work services are provided to new client groups. Where existing styles of service delivery are provided to existing client groups the extension of an organisation's social work service provision is considered to be 'Developmental' (Osborne, 1994 : 9), i.e. 'Type C'. 'Type B' and 'Type D' behaviour, as Fig. 1 shows, correspond to 'Expansionary' and 'Evolutionary' respectively.

Osborne (1994) has found that only 14.8% of voluntary organisations are involved in the production of services that conform with his definition of total innovation (1994 : 10). Indeed Osborne (1994) has identified the features that tend to differentiate innovative and non-innovative voluntary organisations. Table 3 highlights these characteristics in tabular form.

Table 3. Characteristics of innovative and non-innovative organisations (Osborne, 1994).

	Innovative	Non-innovative
Organisations under 6 years old.	Yes	No
Organisations over 6 years old.	No	Yes
Organisations with paid staff.	Yes	No
Organisations with volunteer staff.	No	Yes
Service delivery organisations.	Yes	No
Mutual aid organisations	No	Yes
Receives governmental funding.	Yes	No
Relies on voluntary contributions.	No	Yes
Management involves 'Hero-innovators'.	Yes	Yes

From Table 3 it can be seen that Osborne (1994) has found a tendency for organisations over six years old to operate in ways he considers as non-innovative. Indeed Osborne (1994) found that 61% of a sample of voluntary organisations involved in the production of services that this thesis considers as social work services did not operate in an innovative manner. Table 3 highlights other features that are considered by Osborne (1994) to be associated with the production of innovative social work services. These include the retention of a paid rather than volunteer work force, delivery of services, receipt of governmental funds and the involvement of so-called 'hero-innovators' (Osborne, 1994 : 17) at a managerial level. Elsewhere such hero-innovators have been called 'Zeus' characters, i.e. 'those with a habit of direct interventions' (Handy, 1988 : 86). Osborne (1994) found that 69% of organisations with a paid staff, 60% of service delivery organisations and 74% of organisations in receipt of governmental funding acted in an innovative manner.

The Board of Social Responsibility, as noted above, has chosen to represent itself as an innovative organisation. Indeed this thesis has already noted how the organisation describes itself as having 'played a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998b : Intro.). However, in linking this manifest characterisation of the Board to the work of Brenton (1985) and, in particular, to Osborne (1994), the view emerges that the Board of Social Responsibility is unlikely to have operated in ways that conform with Osborne's (1994) definition of total innovation.

The role of the Scottish voluntary social work sector prior to 1948

The post-war voluntary sector has evolved from the pioneering efforts of middle and upper class philanthropists and has historically operated as a range of unco-ordinated voluntary organisations producing a similarly unco-ordinated range of locally based services (Johnson, 1987; Levitt, 1988; Thane, 1992; Wolfenden, 1978). During the first half of the twentieth century, as noted in Chapter 3, statutory control over Scottish social work policy and service provision was initially restricted to the local relief of poverty under the terms of the Poor Law (Scotland) Acts of 1898 and 1934. No attempt was made to prevent social need and no attempt was made to co-ordinate social work policy or service provision at the national level. Thus, the level of material and social deprivation varied within Scotland between areas. For example, in 1921, the level of financial assistance a destitute family with three children could expect to receive in Dundee was 33 shillings per week, while in Edinburgh it was 40 shillings and in Glasgow 27 shillings 6 pence (Levitt, 1988 : 116). This is an example of the geographical variation that led to the parish councils being abolished by the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 in an attempt to reduce inequality. By the mid 1930s, social work policy, developed through city, burgh and county councils, continued to fail in Scotland to the extent that poverty was found to exist at twice the level found in England (Department of Health, 1943).

Beveridge (1948) and Wolfenden (1978) have argued that it was the failure of the state to ameliorate poverty that allowed voluntary organisations to become established and to pioneer specialist social work services for incipient social needs. Rowntree has found that, prior to 1948, voluntary organisations provided specialised homes for older people in eight of Scotland's 33 counties, almshouses in 10 and both of these services in five counties (1947 : 124). Nevertheless approximately 50% of the Scottish population remained out of reach of the voluntary sector's specialised residential services for older people at a time when there was a paucity of similar statutory provision (Rowntree, 1947). Rowntree (1947) has noted that, prior to 1948, statutory sector provision of residential services centred on local authority Public Assistance Institutions, governed according to the Poor Law (Scotland) Act 1845. Rowntree concluded that the impact of statutory institutional provision in Scotland was relatively modest and noted that the 'Scottish relief-system has always been predominantly an outdoor-relief system' (1947 : 67). In fact, whereas the ratio of outdoor-relief to indoor-relief in England was less than 1.5 : 1, in Scotland it was approximately 5.5 : 1 (Rowntree, 1947 : 67). This fact suggests that the historic roles of voluntary organisations in Scotland may be similarly distinctive.

In 1948 Beveridge found that services for the mentally ill and handicapped in the United Kingdom were 'unsatisfactory' (1948 : 244) despite £5 million, equivalent to over £140 million in 2000, having been spent annually on mental health for a number of years. Roof (1957) has found that the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 and the Mental Health Act 1930 provided Scotland's local authorities with powers to contribute towards the work of those voluntary organisations that provided caring services to the mentally ill and handicapped. These Acts empowered local authorities to provide funds to any voluntary organisation contributing to the prevention and treatment of mental illness. At the United Kingdom level, Roof has noted how the Board of Control 'responsible to Parliament for the administration of Lunacy and

Mental Deficiency Acts' (1957 : 140), specifically urged local authorities to use voluntary organisations to provide after-care services for these client groups. Indeed Younghusband (1951) has demonstrated that local authorities did delegate their responsibilities under the Mental Deficiency Acts to voluntary organisations. Rooff (1957) has explicated the nature of the relationship that existed between the two sectors at this time. She (Rooff, 1957) has argued that local authorities could act only within the limits of legislation while voluntary organisations were free to extend their work in any promising direction. Again at the United Kingdom level, she concluded that the relationship between the two sectors in the area of social work service provision was one of 'partnership' (Rooff, 1957 : 144). However, there appear to be grounds to question the extent to which such partnership working occurred in Scotland. Clyde (Cmd. 6911, 1946) found that the Board of Control, under Section 2 of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act 1943, maintained the vast majority of people with a mental health problem in certified statutory institutions, e.g. 901 people under the age of 16 were placed in certified statutory institutions while just six were placed in the guardianship of others, including voluntary organisations. Again, this fact tends to suggest that the historic roles of voluntary organisations in Scotland may be distinctive.

The role of the Scottish voluntary social work sector post 1948

Chapter 3 has noted how legislation enacted in the aftermath of World War II was intended to placate widespread concerns over the extent of poverty-related problems affecting society and perceived duplication in the social work roles of statutory and voluntary agencies (Beveridge, 1948; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Titmuss, 1958). The legislation is noted to have shifted the role of local authorities away from the strict relief of poverty towards the provision of ameliorative social work services. It was also noted that the legislation supported political developments in national social policy arising from the political consensus which sought to achieve consistency and

universality in the provision of social work services, characteristics that Rowntree (1947) has confirmed to be uncommon in the services provided at the time by the voluntary sector in Scotland.

At the United Kingdom level, the shift in the distribution of control over social work policy and service provision has been argued to have reflected some hope that enhanced control by the statutory sector would result in the decay of middle and upper class patronage via the social work service provision of voluntary organisations. Chapter 3 has noted how Wolfenden believed that the redistribution in power resulted in the voluntary sector 'marking time' (1978 : 20) for 15 to 20 years after the end of World War II with there being little apparent change evident in the pre-war role of the voluntary sector during that period. Indeed Owen as argued that the legislation enacted after the war reduced the voluntary sector to the role of 'junior partner in the welfare firm' (1964 : 527). However, Chapter 3 has noted how Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969) found that voluntary organisations in Scotland actually expanded their work during the early post-war period. This was because local authorities in Scotland could not meet their new obligations without continuing assistance from voluntary organisations.

In support of Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969), Younghusband (1951) identified a trend towards role specialisation within the statutory sector immediately after the war and found that the level of specialisation began to exert an effect on the social work policies of the statutory sector almost immediately after central government emerged into the social work policy arena in 1947 and 1948. In particular, statutory social work services in Scotland, and the problems they were intended to address, were 'broken up for administrative convenience or on account of historical anomaly amongst disconnected services' (Younghusband, 1951 : 104). Younghusband found that the phenomenon of role specialisation within the statutory sector demanded 'better planning of social work services' to 'cure the disease of over-specialisation'

(1951 : 105). She argued that over-specialisation in both training programmes and in the direct statutory provision of social work services lead to 'unnecessarily poor and superficial casework' (1951 : 105). Wolfenden (1978) found that the voluntary sector's first identifiable response to the early post-war adjustment of control over social work policy was observed in the late 1950s when voluntary organisations began to differentiate their social work services from those provided by the statutory sector. Wolfenden (1978) has argued that it was the trend toward role specialisation within the statutory sector that allowed voluntary organisations to mark time by contributing towards adjustments made to the distribution of power over social work resources in three key ways: through extension, improvement and, by acting as sole or principal provider of social work services, enlargement.

The activities of voluntary organisations, relative to those of the statutory sector, should be understood in terms of complementing, adding to, or providing alternatives to statutory social work service provision (Wolfenden, 1978 : 43). In this view complementary services are 'different in kind from that provided by a statutory agency' but 'cannot be deemed alternatives or additions' because they act principally to reinforce other services (1978 : 43~44). Alternative social work services create an element of choice that result in individuals utilising either a voluntary or a statutory social work service but not both, e.g. residential care homes are alternative services because individuals cannot live in two Homes at once. Additional services offer individuals the opportunity of receiving social work services of the same kind from both the voluntary and statutory sector simultaneously. Wolfenden (1978) argues that the distinction between additional and alternative social work services is largely attributable to the consumer's perspective. Moreover, complementary services provided by voluntary organisations are considered to reinforce services provided by statutory agencies such that individuals may receive complementary social work services from multiple sectors. Alternative social work services will be identifiable as creating a choice such that individuals are unable to receive multiple alternatives.

Additional services are identifiable as those that individuals may be observed to receive from both voluntary and statutory sectors, which in the eyes of the consumer extend or supplement the level of provision received.

Wolfenden (1978) has argued that the voluntary sector enlarges the social work sector whenever voluntary organisations provide social work services in service delivery areas that are considered inappropriate for the direct involvement of the state. At a structural level, as noted above in reference to Roofff (1957), the statutory sector is constrained by legislation and is unable to involve itself in the range of social work services that voluntary organisations are free to address. Wolfenden (1978) has argued that the provision of alternative, additional and complementary social services by voluntary organisations enhances user choice, leads to a general improvement in the provision of social work services and, ultimately, an overall rise in the standard of provision. Such improvement is held to imbue statutory social work services with a user-focused orientation that dilutes the 'monolithic aspects of statutory provision' (Wolfenden, 1978 : 27). Improvement arises when voluntary organisations engage consumerist principles and begin to compete with the social work services provided by the statutory sector. Wolfenden (1978) has shown that the role of the voluntary sector in extending the provision of social work services in the late 1950s could have occurred in a number of ways. Less constrained by legislation, relative to the statutory sector, voluntary organisations were free to experiment and could provide innovative alternative, additional and complementary social work services to existing client groups or established modes of service to new client groups (Wolfenden, 1978). Such services provided by the voluntary sector, regardless of their specific nature, are argued to have extended the 'absolute amount of resources available to the social services [i.e. statutory sector] by attracting people, ideas and material resources that would not have been attracted by statutory organisations' (Wolfenden, 1978 : 27).

The comparative legislative freedom of the voluntary sector identified by Wolfenden (1978) allowed unco-ordinated voluntary organisations to differentiate their service provision from the statutory sector and to attend residual social needs left unmet by the specialised services of the statutory social work sector during the 1950s. Moreover, the trend towards role specialisation within the statutory sector enhanced the potential of voluntary organisations to identify and to address residual and incipient social needs. However, the inherently unco-ordinated and legislatively unconstrained nature of the voluntary sector offered no guarantee that any voluntary organisation could or would meet any incipient or residual social need. Consequently, Wolfenden (1978) identified that the major strength of voluntary organisations, i.e. flexibility through legislative freedom, creates the voluntary sector's major overall weakness, i.e. inconsistency. Wolfenden (1978) also therefore identified a need for enhanced statutory social planning to identify and meet deficiencies in voluntary sector provision.

Younghusband (1951) also found that the early post-war tendency towards role specialisation within the statutory sector created the need for enhanced social planning and the development of genericism in social work policy. Indeed Younghusband identified the need for a shift away from role specialisation within the statutory sector if residual needs created by the state and unattended by voluntary organisations were to be effectively addressed. It was to meet such needs in the short term that the Scottish statutory sector was encouraged to assist and to develop the voluntary sector immediately after the end of World War II (Cmnd. 3065, 1966; Younghusband, 1951). Arguably this is the *raison d'être* of the rule that allowed voluntary organisations in Scotland to maintain the role of extending, improving and enlarging the overall level of social work service provision in Scotland as identified by Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969) rather than simply mark time as Wolfenden (1978) believed.

The role of the Scottish voluntary social work sector post 1968

Between 1947 and 1951, Younghusband (1951) found a new style of partnership working emerging between Scottish local authorities and the voluntary sector. Central government expenditure on social work service provision rose consistently throughout the 1950s (Hill, 1993) and to some extent the rise in expenditure enabled Wolfenden (1978) to substantiate Beveridge's (1948) earlier assertion that the state would come to do more for individuals in the future than it had done in the past. Notwithstanding the statutory sector's attempt to do more, it has been argued that in Scotland at least, the local implementation of nationally developed social work policy resulted in levels of specialisation within the statutory social work sector that left room for service-providing voluntary organisations to engage new social needs and to continue traditional pioneering roles (Cmnd. 3241, 1967; Murray, 1969). For Scotland's voluntary organisations the shift in control over social work policy effected at the end of World War II did not shatter all continuities with the past. Rather, the shift in control offered encouragement to voluntary organisations, as Beveridge (1948) anticipated, to adapt and to apply old pioneering abilities in new directions. This view is supported by Eyden (1969) and Murray (1969) who found that the early post-war development of the statutory social work sector in Scotland increased the range and amount of work done by voluntary organisations.

By the late 1950s, voluntary organisations operating in Scotland provided social work services in 13 service delivery areas in addition to providing 'general social services' (Younghusband, 1959 : 365) on behalf of Scotland's local authorities. More specifically, in 1959, 81% of Scottish local authorities were found to be directly supporting voluntary organisations to contribute to the care of older people, 31% employed voluntary organisations to care for unmarried mothers and provide for their moral welfare, 27% used voluntary organisations to care for the physically handicapped and 11% to provide care to epileptics. In support of the view that there

was no guarantee that voluntary organisations could or would meet any residual need, geographical variation in service provision was also found evident. Younghusband (1959) found that, in the islands and north of Scotland, the voluntary sector was not used to provide mental health, marriage guidance, family planning services or care to epileptics. Meanwhile, in the Scottish industrial belt, there was an observed absence of voluntary organisations providing convalescent and recuperative services (Younghusband, 1959). Eyden's (1969) work confirms that much of the increase in work done by voluntary organisations during the 1950s and 1960s took place within special schools and children's homes when meeting the special needs of those with handicaps, or delinquents, and in other potentially controversial areas, such as family planning counselling, that were considered inappropriate for statutory sector involvement.

Prior to implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973, three types of local authority and two central government agencies controlled the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland (Murphy, 1992). As identified in Chapter 3, the 1968 Act was intended to promote preventative social work treatments that were directed towards developing co-ordinated and sustained programmes of social action (Cmnd. 2306, 1964). The aim was to reduce role specialisation and administrative duplication within the statutory sector in favour of creating generic statutory social work services capable of providing 'services designed to provide community care and support, whether for children, the handicapped, the mentally and physically ill or the aged' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 3). The 1968 Act recognised and reaffirmed the significant contribution and influence of voluntary organisations in all areas of social work service provision. It will also be recalled from Chapter 3 that the reorganisation of Scotland's local government authority system by the 1973 Act was partly intended to achieve the 'full personal development of the individual' through 'community development' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 5).

Notwithstanding the development of ameliorative social work services by the statutory sector, section 10 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 specified that local authorities could continue to provide financial support to voluntary organisations to continue their assistance. Accordingly, post 1968, public funds were used to continue the work of voluntary organisations for the purpose of ensuring that statutory obligations were fulfilled. In practice, the provision of public funds was restricted to the reimbursement of expenses incurred by voluntary organisations engaged in delivering services over which the Secretary of State for Scotland or local authority social work departments held a duty of responsibility (Marshall and Gray, 1983). These terms dictated that to be in receipt of public funds voluntary organisations had to be engaged directly in the business of the state. The social work environment controlled by the social work departments created by the 1968 Act, particularly after 1973, therefore required that voluntary organisations work collaboratively with local authorities (Johnson, 1999; Jones, 1996). The affect of such collaborative working post 1968 was to continue the potential influence of voluntary organisations upon social work policy through the extension, improvement and enlargement of statutory social work service provision.

The negative impact of the direct provision of ameliorative social work services by the statutory social services upon the services provided by the voluntary sector in Scotland post 1968 was comparatively modest. In 1972 the rate per thousand children in the care of Scottish local authorities was 12.1, decreasing marginally to 11.3 by 1977 (CSO, 1979). Similarly, the percentage of children "boarded out" by local authorities declined between 1945 and 1977 in Scotland from 45% to 30%. As such, Scotland's local authority social work departments appear to have moved some way towards the practice of utilising the specialist residential social work services identified in Chapter 3 as being provided predominantly by the voluntary sector. In other service delivery areas the contribution of voluntary organisations in Scotland to

the provision of social work services demonstrably grew following the rationalisation and reorganisation of statutory social work departments. For example, in 1970, voluntary organisations provided residential care for 262 older people per 100,000 of the Scottish population, a figure that had more than doubled to 693 per 100,000 of the population by 1976 (CSO, 1979). In 1970 Scottish voluntary organisations provided residential care for individuals under 65 years at the rate of 14 per 100,000 of the population, a figure that had increased to 25 per 100,000 by 1976 (CSO, 1979). Thus, there is substantive evidence to demonstrate that the reorganisation and rationalisation of statutory social work departments encouraged the contribution of the voluntary sector in Scotland.

At the same time, using the same criteria of measurement, it can be demonstrated that the social work carried out by English voluntary organisations either remained constant or declined. In 1970, English voluntary organisations provided residential care for 388 older people per 100,000 of the population, a figure that had declined to 362 per 100,000 by 1976 (CSO, 1979). In 1970 voluntary sector provision of residential care for individuals under 65 years of age in England occurred at the rate of 12 per 100,000 of the population and this value remained unchanged in 1976 (CSO, 1979). These figures highlight substantive differences in the nature of social work service provision in Scotland and England. These figures suggest that the contribution of the Scottish voluntary sector to the production of social work services was enhanced by the 1968 and 1973 Acts and that the role of the Scottish voluntary sector in extending, improving and enlarging overall levels of social work service provision was comparatively more significant than the role played by the voluntary sector in England. This tends to suggest that the results of the 'rapid change and development' (Beveridge, 1948 : 121) which encouraged the social work service provision of voluntary organisations in Scotland is not satisfactorily explained through reference to the social work service provision of voluntary organisations operating in England (Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Vincent, 1998).

The influence of competition

Chapter 3 has noted how, after 1983, Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) found an undue proportion of social work resources being directed towards residential social work services for older people to the detriment of domiciliary alternatives that might otherwise have allowed individuals to remain longer in their homes and communities. Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) argued for an enhanced strategic approach to social work policy and one in which the statutory sector assessed all applications for residential care. Griffiths argument was aimed at preserving existing entitlements 'whilst putting the social services authority in a position of neutrality in deciding what form of care would be in the best interests of the individual' (Cmnd. 849, 1988 : v). It was seen as imperative that social work authorities should see themselves as facilitators of social work services rather than 'monopolistic providers' (Cmnd. 849, 1988 : 5).

The overall tenet of Griffiths' report was the encouragement of user choice (Glennerster, 1998; Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001; Hill, 1993; Lowe, 1993). James (1994) has argued that the emphasis on user choice dispelled a political consensus that believed social work services for the public was best provided by the public sector and has noted how this was not the case at the end of the 1980s. Jones (1996) has extended this view by arguing that the final decades of the twentieth century saw changes occur in the structure of the statutory social work sector as the post-war consensus on achieving consistency in the provision of social work services gave way to considerations of choice, performance and value for money. The effects of this adjustment to the distribution of power over social work policy and resources are evidenced in revised local authority funding mechanisms that allowed central government to exercise an element of control over the social work agendas of local authorities. Chapter 3 has noted how Wistow et al (1994) believe that the

adjustments made to the distribution in power during the 1980s and 1990s created opportunities for voluntary organisations to expand their share of the social work service market. Chapter 3 has also noted that Jones (1996) has identified increasing complexity in the range of possible relationships linking the statutory and voluntary sectors. In particular Chapter 3 has noted Jones (1996) taxonomy of relationships that includes purchasing, regulation, collaboration, commissioning, agenda-setting, resource-creating, resource-stimulating, resource-supporting and advocacy. Chapter 3 noted that this range of relationships characterise the potential roles that the Board of Social Responsibility may have played in contributing to the development of the social work policy environment within which it operates as a voluntary organisation.

Subsequent to the 1990 Act the assessment of needs, management of care, demarcation of responsibility, care in the home and value for money have encapsulated the policy objectives of Scotland's social work departments. The National Health Service and Community Care Act (1990) is argued to have provoked further growth in the range of work undertaken by voluntary organisations as responsibilities over the funding of residential care provision were adjusted such that local authority social work departments became obliged to assess all applications for care. Subsequent to the National Health Service and Community Care Act (1990) local authority social work departments became responsible for issues of both policy and practice relating to provision of all social work services.

Whereas the centralised funding of social work services had been unrestricted, in terms of gross annual budget, under the Health and Social Services and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983, the funds provided to local authority social work departments for the same purpose by the National Health Service and Community Care Act (1990) were capped. As such, local authority control over the funding of social work service provision had a detrimental affect on the extent to which the voluntary and private sectors could provided residential care provision after 1991.

Indeed, whereas the contribution of the private sector to the provision of residential care for older people in Scotland in 1977 was not even recorded (CSO, 1979), by 1986 9% of the Scottish population over 65 years receiving residential care received it within the private sector while the statutory and voluntary sectors provided residential care to 62% and 29%, respectively (CSO, 1991). By 1989, the percentages living in statutory and voluntary homes had declined to 55% and 26%, while the percentage living in private sector establishments had increased to 19% (CSO, 1991). In 1995, 25% of older people and adults with a physical disability receiving residential care were in private sector establishments, while 48% and 28% people within these client groups received services provided by the statutory and voluntary sectors, respectively (ONS, 1997). By 1999, the percentage of places available to older people and other adults with physical or mental health problems in residential care homes provided by the statutory sector was 33%, 25% within the private sector and 42% within the voluntary sector (ONS, 2000). Interpretation of these statistics is subject to qualification in that they reflect percentage values that have been influenced by changes made to the criteria of measurement and observe varying combinations of client groups, or account for numbers of available places rather than actual occupancy levels within respective sectors. Nevertheless, the trend identified through these statistics would appear to be that of a substantial decline, between 1989 and 1999, in statutory sector provision of residential social work services in favour of, first, voluntary sector provision, as Wistow et al (1994) envisaged, and, second, private sector provision.

However, Sutherland's (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) work argues that such figures do not accurately represent the true nature of the mixed economy of welfare created by the 1990 Act. Indeed Sutherland has demonstrated that local authority control over social work policy, practice, regulation and assessment has created inequalities and an 'anomalous' state of affairs (Cmnd. 4192, 1999 : 4.15). Sutherland argues that under local authority control 'the amount of choice available depends on what is offered

locally and the state of the local authority budget. In some areas domiciliary care is charged for, in some it is not charged at all. Different levels of service are available in different areas' (Cmnd. 4192, 1999 : 4.39). For local authorities there are 'incentives to placements in Local Authorities own homes, which can be more expensive than the private sector equivalent, because of the small marginal cost to the Authority' (Cmnd. 4192, 1999 : 4.43).

For example, in 1998 Dundee City Council purchased 69% of its residential social work services internally, 17% from the private sector and 14% from the voluntary sector. The gross weekly cost to the council was £373 per person per week for its internal provision whereas it could have purchased residential social work services from the voluntary or statutory sectors at a weekly cost of £227 (Dundee City Council and Tayside Health Board, 1999). In 1997, Argyll and Bute Council purchased residential social work services for older people internally at a gross weekly cost of £595 per person per week. At the same time it could have purchased residential social work services for older people within either the voluntary or statutory sectors at the rate of £247 per person per week (Argyll and Bute Council and Argyll and Clyde Health Board, 1998). During 1998, Clackmannanshire Council purchased residential social work services for older people internally at a gross weekly cost of £369 per person per week while paying a maximum of £269 per person per week for provision provided within the voluntary and statutory sectors (Clackmannanshire Council and Forth Valley Health Board, 1997 and 1999). Despite the disparity, in 1999 Clackmannanshire Council purchased just 25% of the places available in the private sector, 82% of places in the voluntary sector and 86% of its own residential provision (Clackmannanshire Council and Forth Valley Health Board, 1997 and 1999). These figures support Sutherland's (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) conclusion that local control over social work policy, practice, regulation and assessment was biased towards local authority provision due to the low net cost to them as the funding agent. These figures justify Sutherland's (Cmnd. 4192, 1999)

overall conclusion which was that local authority control over the facilitation of social work services post 1990 was not consistent with best value.

Local authority control over social work policy, practice, regulation and assessment has regenerated geographic variations and inequalities in social work policy and services because local authorities have created alternate states of affairs that have influenced the nature of the mixed economy of welfare created by the 1990 Act: to the detriment of the private and voluntary sectors. Local control over policy, funding, assessment and regulation through social work policy has meant that user choice has been both controlled and limited. The failure of social work departments to ensure best value post 1990 by facilitating social work services has been incompatible with the objectives of community care. This view does tend to represent the role of voluntary organisations as 'reactive vessels for the perpetuation of existing ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996 : 1).

Links between the voluntary and statutory sector through the array of relationship identified by Jones (1996) has been complicated by an assortment of funding arrangements that have been developed by local authorities to generate and maintain accountability within the post-1990 social work environment. Deakin has argued that shifts in the balance of power over social work policy have 'fundamentally changed the role of the state' to create what some have called 'New Public Management' (2001 : 21). The traditional method of providing voluntary organisations with public money during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was annual grant aid (Leat, 1993). In the mixed economy of welfare developed and refined during the late 1980s and 1990s the assortment of funding arrangements increased to include block purchasing, one-off or spot purchasing, rolling commitments to core funding for various periods of time and fee-based systems, all regulated by service level agreements that were intended to ensure value for money, guarantee performance and probity, whilst creating a competitive social work market in which 'supplier organisations awarded

contracts will be kept in a state of creative insecurity, responsive to the demands of purchasers and users, by the "threat" of new competitors' (Leat, 1993 : 58). Jones (1996) has argued that the creation of a contract culture within the mixed economy of welfare has affected the statutory and voluntary sectors in like manner, noting that the complexity apparent in funding arrangements and inter-organisational relationships was the deliberate creation of neither local authorities nor voluntary organisations. Kemp (1997) and Gaster (1999) argue that some higher-order collectives governing voluntary organisations resent the control exerted upon their work by the statutory sector.

Governance and voluntary organisations

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the complexity of the social work environment within which voluntary organisations have operated has increased. Deakin (2001) has noted that voluntary organisations have not been simple spectators in the processes of public and social policy change because much of the adjustments have taken place at the local level which is, of course, where most voluntary organisations operate. Kirkland's (1996) work confirms that voluntary organisations have responded to meet the challenges inherent in the evolving pluralistic welfare system. She has argued that those voluntary organisations that have survived in the competitive environment created by the 1990 Act have learned to deal effectively with processes of policy change. The surviving organisations, she suggests, are those that can be seen to have responded to change flexibly and learned to accommodate the incremental adjustments that have been made. In the final two decades of the twentieth century the government's perception of inappropriate outcomes relative to central fiscal input lead to many adjustments in control over funding arrangements such that those voluntary organisations producing social work services now routinely contract with central and local government agencies to provide a wide range of services (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). Kirkland believes that the shift towards

contracting and service level agreements, for which the governing members of voluntary organisations are ultimately and personally accountable, has led volunteer members of voluntary organisations to realise that participating in the governance of a voluntary organisation means not 'merely accepting a position of honour, but taking on a position of considerable responsibility' (1996 : 95).

The traditional guardianship model of governance, in which non-executive members of voluntary organisations were accountable only to wealthy benefactors for safeguarding and applying their resources to achieve the organisation's aims and objectives, is argued to have become progressively less appropriate during the latter half of the twentieth century (Brenton, 1985; Wolfenden, 1978). Indeed, the debate over governance and organisational accountability now encapsulates notions of managerial competence to the extent that the suitability of non-executive committees, operating as higher-order collectives, is questioned as an appropriate model of governance for large voluntary organisations (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). In this regard it is worth noting how Murray (1969) found that the roles of individual non-executive members within the voluntary sector was highly variable and tended to reflect the peculiar developmental processes undergone by individual organisations. Kirkland (1996) has found that higher-order collectives often fail to appraise their role and alter their position on strategic and management issues. Kirkland (1996) argues that the traditional guardianship models of voluntary organisation governance are inappropriate for contemporary service-providing organisations. An alternative view, however, suggests that higher-order collectives may reach a position where they perceive that professional staff are better qualified and better suited to making strategic deliberations and that this justifies adoption of an increasingly symbolic role (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). In the post-1990 social work environment it has been suggested that the role of higher-order collectives 'increasingly looks like that of agent of the funder' (Kirkland, 1996 : 109). Kirkland (1996) argues that a corporatist model of governance, where governmental structures combine volunteer members

and professional staff members would be more appropriate in the competitive contract culture.

Handy (1988) and Kirkland (1996), among others, have developed typologies of voluntary organisation governance. This thesis considers Kirkland's typology to be the most accessible due to Handy's (1988) analogies to Greek mythology. In Kirkland's typology four models of voluntary organisational governance are identified, i.e. approving, leadership, representational and involved (1996 : 100 - 101). In the approving model, the higher-order collective relies upon its professional staff for information and recommendations, seldom rejecting the advice they receive. Kirkland argues that this model is typically observed in large, established organisations advancing stable goals, serviced by qualified, professional staff and where the higher-order collective will act freely only when a new chief executive is to be appointed. This model of governance is argued to achieve stated aims in an effective manner but holds the inherent risk that the higher-order collective will become excessively dependent upon the expertise of staff, leading to the adoption of an inward focus as a direct consequence of losing the potential advantages of the wider perspective held among the collective. In the approving model, the balance of power can be observed to have shifted unambiguously in favour of senior staff and the higher-order collective will have difficulty holding senior staff accountable for their actions. Kirkland argues that a higher-order collective operating according to the leadership model will determine the organisation's aims and objectives and deploy its professional staff to implement the strategies, policies and ideas it has developed. This model of governance is found in emerging organisations and in organisations where individual members of the higher-order collective hold a robust personal commitment to achieving their organisation's aims and objectives. The leadership model is argued to reflect the higher-order collective's interests in discharging members' responsibilities effectively. Kirkland's (1996) representational model of governance is found in membership and umbrella organisations where

members of the higher-order collective act as agents for discrete service providers. Accountability and knowledge of users' needs and requirements in this form of governance are argued to be high but the higher-order collective typically has difficulty agreeing common aims and objectives. The involved model of governance is argued to be most prominent in newly formed organisations where members of the higher-order collective act as volunteer service providers and/or fundraisers, while professional staff are recruited to fill support rather than management roles. Involved collectives are held to have the advantage of possessing highly committed members who are prepared to offer considerable time and energy to fulfilling the stated aims and objectives (Kirkland, 1996). Deakin has noted that the mode of governance within voluntary organisations is influenced by 'history and personalities as well as the general operating style of organisations influence' (2001 : 31). This is reflective of Wood's (2002) emphasis on traditions and biographies.

Kirkland (1996) has argued that the issue of governance highlights legitimate concerns over the historical ineffectiveness of voluntary sector governance, beginning when Nathan (Cmd. 8710, 1952) identified a weakening of voluntary organisation management and leadership as the influence of non-executive members was observed to be decreasing relative to the influence of professional staff. This shift in the balance of power within voluntary organisations has led to claims that the voluntary sector has effectively been professionalised during the latter half of the twentieth century. Kirkland argues that governing members of voluntary organisations are often the 'weaker partners in the leadership team and boards fail to ask for the information necessary to challenge staff decisions' (Kirkland, 1996 : 99).

The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) has argued that too many people govern some voluntary organisations, i.e. that higher-order collectives composed of more than 12 individuals hamper rather than encourage decision-making processes (NCVO, 1992). Research has shown that the average number of

non-executive members composing higher-order collectives governing voluntary organisations with a turnover in excess of £1M is 15 (NCVO, 1992). However, wide variation is apparent and the NCVO has found collectives with over 50 members governing some organisations. The argument is that large numbers of governing members enhance democratic effectiveness, encourage a user-led focus and avoid accusations of oligarchy (Kramer, 1987). However, it is argued that more effective methods of enhancing accountability are available than simply expanding governmental structure. Competent consultation procedures, for example, are believed to increase the likelihood of higher-order collectives hearing the opinions of those affected by the policies they legitimate in a more effective manner than simply relying on the opinion of professional staff (Landry et al, 1985). It will be recalled that the Board of Social Responsibility is composed of 96 members.

Handy (1988) has argued that volunteers play many different roles within different types of voluntary organisations. More particularly perhaps, Handy believes that service-providing voluntary organisations exist solely to meet needs and to provide assistance to those who require it. He reasons that service-providing organisations 'are 'managed' organizations'... They will therefore have within them much of the paraphernalia of bureaucracy: jobs which carry formal definitions, with formal responsibilities and formal accountabilities to other bodies' (Handy, 1988 : 14). Handy (1988), like Deakin (2001), also believes that history and culture play a large part in the design of voluntary organisations. As a result, he argues that many voluntary organizations are troubled with inherited cultures and traditions that are inappropriate to their aims and objectives and troubled with inherited structures and processes that they would not choose to develop if they did not already exist. Indeed, Handy argues that the significance of inappropriate governing structures means that 'Many organizations prefer it seems to stumble backwards in to the future, a posture which allows them to keep their eyes and their longing fixed on the things of the past even when they move away from them' (Handy, 1988 : 83). Perhaps as a

consequence, Houle has argued that 'A good board is a victory not a gift' (in Kirkland, 1996 : 109). However Handy (1988) argues that it makes no sense to attempt to formulate reductionist theories that attempt to explain the governing structures of all voluntary organisations. Rather, researchers should focus on the style and mode of governance to understand the structures which reflect an 'unspoken and implicit assumption about the nature of organizations and how they ought to run' (Handy, 1988 : 12). Handy (1988), therefore accepts that the style and mode of governance adopted by individual voluntary organisations varies and that this variation allows individual voluntary organisations to represent their members' particular aspirations and objectives.

The foregoing suggests that higher-order collectives play a pivotal role in shaping links between service-providing voluntary organisations with the social work environment within which they operate. Indeed the foregoing suggests that the mode and style of governance adopted by higher-order collectives exerts an implicit influence over the organisation's activities. Understanding how higher-order collectives have adjusted the traditional guardianship model of governance to adapt to the competitive environment in which their organisation executes its aims and objectives might further comprehension of the public and social policy processes that lead to the effective governance of voluntary organisations in Scotland. Accordingly, as stated in Chapter 1, this thesis focuses on understanding the mode of governance developed by the Board of Social Responsibility in the hope that such an insight may again highlight the generalities of the Scottish voluntary sector.

The roles of voluntary organisations in developing and implementing social work policy

Gutch (1992) and Kemp (1997) have found that the affects of contracting can have serious, detrimental effects on the voluntary sector. In particular, they have suggested

that the contract culture created by the 1990 Act has resulted in a generalised increase in the voluntary sector's dependence on statutory funding to the extent that effective governance within voluntary organisations and the structural integrity of the voluntary sector have been affected. This tends to confirm Beveridge's (1948) view as noted earlier. The inequities and complexity of contracting processes are argued to have forced small emerging voluntary organisations out of the social work market, which raises concern over the future health of the voluntary sector and its capacity to innovate. Flynn (1996) has argued that the future viability of small voluntary organisations will require an adjustment to be made to the current balance between stability of funding for service providers and flexibility of provision for purchasers and users. More specifically, Flynn (1996) has argued that funding agencies must begin to consider underwriting a certain level of user volume within the voluntary sector while retaining the current element of cost per case funding if voluntary organisations are to maintain their historic innovative role in developing and implementing social work policy. Following the Scotland Act (1998), and devolution of responsibility for social work from the Scottish Parliament to local authorities, social work departments have been in full control of issues of both policy and practice relating to the provision of all social work services. This is the contemporary nature of the social work policy environment in Scotland.

Chapter 3 has noted how significant developments in social work policy have contributed to shaping social work service provision in Scotland and has established the view that social work service provision in Scotland has evolved 'piecemeal and in response to the identification at different times of certain groups who needed social help' (Cmnd. 3065, 1966 : 3). For this reason incrementalism has been identified as an appropriate theoretical perspective from which to explicate Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland. Within this thesis incrementalism is viewed as a theory with potential to explicate links between the political interactions of individuals and groups and public

and social policy processes. The need for such a theory to explain the role of the Board is perhaps reinforced following consideration of Deakin's (2001) view that voluntary organisations are not spectators in processes of public and social policy change. Indeed, Jones (1996) work identifies a typology of activity that voluntary organisations in Scotland may implement to establish and maintain links between decision-making processes within voluntary organisations and processes of policy change within the statutory sector. In governing this range of activity Kirkland's (1996) work identifies four types of governance, i.e. approving, leadership, representational and involved (1996 : 100 - 101). Jones's (1996) typology of activity and Kirkland's (1996) typology of governance contribute to the analytical framework from which understanding of the role that the Board of Social Responsibility may have played in developing the social work policy environment within which it operates can be generated. However, the operating style of voluntary organisations are also recognised as being subject to 'history and personalities' (Deakin, 2001 : 31). To build on this analytical framework, or 'frame of reference' (Reid, 1987 : 22), or 'schemata of interpretation' (Goffman, 1974 : 21), it is useful to consider in greater detail what incremental processes of public and social policy change might look like in practical terms.

Lindblom (1979) has argued that incremental policy development need not, at a practical level, appear as sluggish performance nor necessarily be associated with political conservatism. Rather, incremental policy development can result in rapid change in areas of service delivery as small changes to policy are made in quick succession. Indeed, Lindblom (1979) has argued that incrementalism acts to support and reinforce non-specific rules relating to codes of conduct or normative values operating within society, or the *raison d'être* of the rules that allow voluntary organisations in Scotland to maintain the role of extending, improving and enlarging the level of social work service provision in Scotland. Lindblom (1979) has argued that the incremental development of policy achieves this feat because no specific

policy issue ever becomes large enough to overwhelmingly challenge prevailing set of values. Accordingly, incremental steps in policy development can be made quickly, primarily because they are incremental and 'do not stir up the great antagonisms and paralysing schisms as do proposals for more drastic change' (1979 : 520). Lindblom holds that 'a fast-moving sequence of small changes can more speedily accomplish a drastic alteration of the status quo than can only infrequent major policy change' (Lindblom, 1979 : 520).

Incrementalism, while theoretically capable of achieving speedy adjustments in the development of policy that controls the distribution of power and resources, is also held to have pathological attributes (Lindblom, 1979). To be clear, incrementalism is practised in pluralistic societies where democratic government is enabled which, in turn, relies upon the widespread sharing of basic codes of conduct and normative values. Incrementalism is a process of social policy change that is held to be manifest in the interactions of individuals and collectives as they attempt to secure the probable benefits of the alternate realities that they have identified following comparison of existing reality with some alternate reality that the individuals or collective have either hypothesised or with which they have otherwise become familiar. Incrementalism is a dynamic explanation of social policy change that seeks to include the activities of all sections and groups within society. Lindblom argues that, in this context, incremental processes of policy development 'ordinarily offers the best chance of introducing into the political system those changes and those change-producing intermediate changes that a discontented citizen might desire' (1979 : 521). However, Lindblom (1979) has also argued that incrementalism cannot alter a fundamental consensus over basic values in any abrupt or drastic manner because discontented individuals or collectives will exert their influence upon any such attempt by exercising a 'veto' (Lindblom, 1979 : 520). As a consequence of the checks and balances inherent in incremental processes of social policy development, Dahl and Lindblom (1953) argue that opportunities to adjust the distribution of

power and resources exist only where there is a degree of consensus. Where consensus is absent, the process of incremental development will be strangled through the use of veto powers. Incrementalism is therefore confirmed as a dynamic a dynamic theory of policy development that contributes to the analytical framework which can understand and explain the contribution of voluntary organisations to adjusting the distribution of power and resources within the social work arena in Scotland.

When considering the nature of the role that the Board of Social Responsibility may have had in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland, Lindblom's work argues that the analysis will rely upon turning up evidence to establish the links between the organisations activities and the policies of the statutory agencies that now regulate the social work arena. However, Lindblom has cautioned that the dynamics of any such pattern of interaction must be considered a 'very rough process' (1959 : 86) and cautions that roles are likely to be evidenced 'through the mutual impacts of groups upon each other' (1959 : 85). This view suggests that the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility are likely to have been influenced by a range of exogenous forces, as suggested above, in addition to a range of endogenous forces. These forces will be identifiable through an examination of the Board's observable activities, policies and social interactions.

When considering the notion of groups impacting upon each other, and individual organisations both exerting and being subjected to influence through endogenous and exogenous forces, respectively, it is interesting to consider Rummel's (1981) view that the institutions, laws, and norms of society form structures of expectation that develop gradually from numerous adjustments made to opposing interests and organisational capabilities. These structures of expectation are held to arise from alterations made to distributions of power over resources to form a complex of interlocking and overlapping expectations (Rummel, 1981). Rummel (1981) holds

that this complex is comprised from innumerable unknown interests, each of which operates through unknown forces, perceptions and moralities relating to discrete sets of specific knowledge and from experiences attached to particular circumstances. Rummel's (1981) work argues that the diversity of these forces, perceptions and moralities is incalculable although each can be considered to exert an influence on the process of policy change.

Rummel (1981), like Kendall and Knapp (1996), argues that it is possible to identify and reveal some of the components and processes of policy change. Thus, it would appear to be possible to reveal the extant Board of Social Responsibility through reference to its activities and the analytical framework identified in this chapter. However, a qualification should be acknowledged inasmuch as it must be explicitly recognised that researchers are intrinsically unable to weigh the full significance of influential elements, or unequivocally measure how much 'value outputs or value consequences differ' (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963 : 85). Chapter 5 considers the methodology that has been developed to generate understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in the development and implementation of social work policy relative to the analytical framework outlined above.

Chapter 5 : Methodology

The aims and objectives for this study of the Board of Social Responsibility were established in the original CASE application through specification of the four research questions that are noted in Chapter 1 as having been approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (See Appendix I). These research questions reflected the areas of interest identified by Prof. Rowlings, Dr. Erskine and Mr. Baillie as being of relevance to the objective of understanding the role of the Board of Social Responsibility. For ease of reference, the research questions were

1. How has the position of the Board as a provider of welfare provision changed over time and what have been the major factors behind decisions about where and for whom its services should be developed?
2. To what extent can the work of the Board be understood in terms of innovation, replication or complementarity, as meeting a residual demand or in partnership with the state?
3. What has been the contribution of the Board to social policy development at national and local levels?
4. How far have the activities of the Board been shaped by its religious ethos, by activity on its own initiative and by external forces such as changing social and economic conditions, demographic change and latterly, the development of the social market, reform of local government and pending devolution?

These research questions were advanced by the student through consideration of; the social work activities developed by the Board between 1948 and 2000 and how those activities might be linked to the wider social work policy environment; how the Board's identified social work service provision might be understood relative to the activities of the state in terms of innovation, replication and complementarity; how the organisation's social work activities have contributed to social work policy development in Scotland at the local and national levels, and; the extent to which the development of the Board's activities can be considered to have resulted from either endogenous or exogenous forces (see chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, respectively).

In selecting research methods to advance these considerations, and to link the literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 to the activities of the Board, the student was mindful of the view that the research methods deployed to gather and analyse data should be selected according to both ease of access to the focus of the research and ease of access to research participants.

This chapter has the purpose of describing the methodology that was developed to challenge the formal representation of the Board highlighted in Chapter 2 and to generate the understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility that the four research questions require. It will be recalled that Chapter 2 established the status, values and purpose of the Board of Social Responsibility 'as formally described and displayed' (Brown, 1971 : 25). Chapter 2 noted that such a conceptualisation is representative of what Brown has termed the 'Manifest Organization' (1971 : 25). The objective for the methodology might therefore be described as that of exploring the manifest Board of Social Responsibility to reveal the extant organisation through identification, interpretation, analysis and theorisation of the Board's activities. This chapter therefore considers ontological and epistemological issues in relation to the research project's background, the research approach adopted by the student, including the data collection process, and other practical issues involved in conducting the research. This is followed by an account of the development of theoretical sensitivity and an explanation of the data analysis process including considerations of validity, reliability and generalisability.

Background

Epistemological issues relate to the relationship between a researcher's approach and what might be made known (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 201). Ontological questions relate to the nature and form of reality and attempt to explain how the aims and objectives of social research may be influenced by a researcher's perception of

reality. Social researchers do not operate from a position of neutrality nor can they be disconnected from the data they collect and analyse. As a result, potential exists for social researchers to actively construct knowledge about the world, albeit unintentionally, according to certain principles and using methods derived from the epistemological position they adopt (Mason, 2002: 16). This view emphasises how the construction of knowledge should be considered the product of a social context. The construction of knowledge relates to one of the most fundamental questions about the nature of reality itself, a notion first considered sociologically by Scheler (1925) and now referred to as the social construction of reality, i.e. the notion that social context influences the nature of knowledge and therefore the nature of reality. In this view, individuals are considered to view the world differently through 'cultural spectacles' that influence their ideas, concepts, and the values they perceive to be applied within society at any particular time. Interpretations of reality are therefore based upon assumptions that the truth can be discovered and that interpretivistic views of reality that derive from understanding social processes are predicated upon a view of reality that arises as a function of how people are considered to think and feel. This is the ontological position adopted in this study. As such it is accepted that the student brought perspectives and values to the project that may have influenced the design, conduct and interpretation of the research. Moreover, the student's academic background was in sociology so a sociological approach was adopted to design, conduct and interpret the study of the Board rather than, for example, a theological approach. This is the epistemological position adopted in this study.

In light of the ontological position adopted, it is appropriate that the reader be given the opportunity to know something of the 'concerns, and the experience of the [researcher] as knower and discoverer' (Smith, 1987: 92). It is therefore appropriate for the student to reveal his aims, objectives and overall approach so to appear a 'real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests' (Harding,

1987: 9) so the research process can be properly scrutinized. Similarly, because the aims and objectives of funding bodies exert and influence upon the aims and objectives of social research, it is appropriate that the perceived aims and objectives of funding bodies should also be revealed to enhance transparency surrounding the research.

From the perspective of the student, the objective of this study of the Board of Social Responsibility was to achieve the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This objective exerted an influence upon the design of the research project inasmuch as completion of the study had to be achieved within a finite period of time determined by the Economic and Social Research Council. Moreover, as an academic piece of work contributing to a degree, the student was aware of a contractual expectation that the study would be a discrete piece of work conducted by one person which would ultimately pass examination. In this academic context, the experience of the student was that the Board of Social Responsibility had initiated a research project that the academic partners had little insight into and was required to work without support. In this regard the view of the student was that the success of the research would hinge upon the informal acceptance of the student within the Board as a detached (Elias, 1987) outsider and that this would involve the student operating in a socially acceptable manner within the Board to understand the organisation and to gather the data required to answer the research questions. The work of the Board was perceived by the student to have arisen through furtherance of the Church's religious doctrine. However, the student suspected that, in the modern era at least, the extent to which the Church represented orthodox religious opinion within an increasingly polyethnic and agnostic society was questionable. The student's view was that the Church of Scotland represented a heterodox minority that was struggling with problems of social relevancy while claiming to represent society when attempting to influence social work policy.

Beyond the student's objective, it was anticipated that the research project would contribute something to the empirical research conducted in the area by generating understanding of the diffuseness rather than specificity (Parsons, 1951) of the contribution made by voluntary organisations to social work policy development and implementation in Scotland. In this regard, the student hoped that the research might help policymakers and service providers to understand the policy environment that continues the role of faith-based voluntary organisations within the secular social work environment operating in Scotland.

Returning briefly to the notion of detached outsider, the issue of the extent to which one can be involved or detached is well discussed within qualitative research literature (see for example Dopson, 2003). In relation to this study, the student did not, and does not, subscribe to the religious ethos that pervades the Board of Social Responsibility and as a consequence had no alternative but to adopt the perspective of a detached outsider. It should therefore be clear to readers that this study attempts to highlight observations and account for certain relationships by relating an interpretation of those observations and relationships. This interpretation follows the student establishing the professional role of detached social investigator within the Board, balanced against the personal standpoint of a religious outsider holding different views and opinions. The challenge for the student has of course been to ensure that this thesis reflects the professional role rather than the personal standpoint. The extent to which this has been achieved is plainly a matter for others to decide.

Chapter 1 has noted that the objective of the Board for this research project was to provide an account of the organisation's work for general publication. This objective formed part of the Board's millennium celebrations and reflected a desire within the organisation to update the history of its work produced by Lieut. Col. the Rev. Dr. Lewis L. L. Cameron (Cameron, 1971). Permeating the social sciences is the notion

of respect for the intellectual autonomy of the investigator. Procter (1993) has argued that intellectual autonomy may be restricted when researchers look to outside organisations and agencies to support or sponsor or their work. As such, collaborative social research is viewed as the product of processes of strategic political interaction where outside agencies attempt to exert an influence upon researchers to restrict the scope of work and/or intellectual freedom of the researcher. Arber (1993) has argued that such influences can create practical restrictions that affect the autonomy of social researchers when research sponsors hold preconceived expectations for the research being undertaken. Babbie (1992) argues that the effects of such influences mean the popular characterisation of social researchers acting autonomously to contribute or withhold their talents as they please to be a fallacy.

It is common for social research to be supported and structured through formally contracted relationships where non-academic organisations and agencies supply funds in return for advanced knowledge that is intended to further the latter's specified aims and objectives: the so called 'customer/contractor principle' (Cmnd. 4814, 1971). However, Bulmer (1982) has found it not atypical for commissioning agencies to impose conditions that restrict the nature and scope of the research being conducted. This would appear to provide an empirical foundation for the views of Arber (1993), Babbie (1992) and Procter (1993). Accordingly it is accepted that the autonomy of individual researchers can be restricted where organisational affiliations superimpose conditions upon the scope or conduct of substantive research projects. It therefore follows that 'no *modus procedendi* can be correct which does not attempt to understand those principles and the interactions of the conflicting interests of all participants' (von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1998 : 172).

In terms of background to this study, it will be noted that the language used in the original CASE application is peremptory and that no mechanism for altering the projects aims and objectives, nor the research questions, subsequent to the student's

appointment is specified nor indeed even considered (see Appendix I). This aspect of the study sits at odds with advice provided by the ESRC (Bell and Read, 1998 : 17). In practice, the impact of this limitation meant that the student had to be sensitive to the objectives and religious ethos of the Board of Social Responsibility when developing a methodology to address prescribed aims and objectives. Only in this regard can the Board's aims and objectives, as specified in the four research questions, be considered to have imposed conditions that restricted the nature or scope of the research undertaken. To be absolutely clear, at no time during the study did the Board of Social Responsibility seek to influence or impose findings or expectations upon the student's research.

Case study methodology

The methodology developed by the student to advance the four research questions noted above should be categorised as that of a case study. There is a history, within the social sciences, of researchers focusing upon single organisations to generate, *a posteriori*, understanding of the work and role of social structures (Babbie, 1992; Clegg, 1990; Reid, 1987). The research methods deployed in this case study are associated both epistemologically and ontologically speaking with interpretive sociology. Interpretive research methods have a history of use in revealing the work and roles of social structures. It will be recalled that the student's objective for the methodology was interpreted as that of exploring the manifest organisation to reveal the extant organisation and to allow the Board's activities to be identified, interpreted, analysed and theorised, respectively, relative to the analytical framework established in Chapters 3 and 4. Related to this objective was the student's aim of developing a set of interpretively valid findings that were triangulated to account for time, space and person, i.e. to deploy multiple research methods in a complementary manner to deliver a set of findings that could be interpretively referenced back to the literature. The overall purpose for the methodology was to produce a set of findings

that could be considered valid at the substantive theoretical level (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This issue of generalisability is discussed below. Development of a case study methodology was viewed by the student as being consistent with the objectives of the study.

Interpretive research methods

The selection of interpretive research methods was considered to be consistent with the epistemological and ontological position adopted by the student. The deployment of interpretivistic methods of scientific exploration for the purpose of explicating organisational roles in developing and implementing social policy is not without precedent. Several recent case studies have deployed interpretivistic research methods within a case study methodology to explore and understand the role of faith-based voluntary organisations in developing and/or implementing social policies during the twentieth century (see for example Brennan and McCashin, 2000; Glasby, 1999; Whiting, 2002). To some extent this study follows the general approach adopted by these works. However, it is prudent to note that Babbie (1992) believes individual case studies should be developed to meet the substantive aims and objectives of the study in question. Consequently no 'ideal type' of case study exists because case study methodology should be adapted to address the nature and scope of the case under study. In the context of social research, a significant feature of case study methodology is therefore a lack of uniformity, which is necessary to allow for the selection of appropriate research methods subsequent to the generation of 'theoretical sensitivity' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990 : 41). Reid (1987) expresses the view that development of a case study methodology must demonstrate prior awareness of key issues and assumptions underpinning the objectives of a study if research methods are to be appropriately selected. In developing this case study methodology, the obligation of research method selection, subsequent to the generation of theoretical sensitivity, was placed upon the student in a manner that

was not dis-similar with the experiences of others (e.g. Brennan and McCashin, 2000; Glasby, 1999; Whiting, 2002).

Case study methodology requires a pragmatic approach to the reality of doing social science research. In keeping with this view, researchers are advised to identify the substantive and theoretical problems relating to the focus of their study prior to the selection and deployment of research methods (Bryman, 1988; Burgess, 1984). The history of this research project demonstrates a pragmatic approach that is consistent with this advice and shows that it was considered essential at the earliest stage to develop a case study methodology within which interpretive research methods could be deployed to further understanding of the role of the Board of Social Responsibility (see Appendix II).

Theoretical sensitivity

As noted, it was clear to the student at an early stage that effective interaction with the literature, personnel and members of the Board of Social Responsibility would be required to advance the study aims. It was also clear that the longer-term success of such a pattern of interaction would hinge upon the level of intersubjective knowledge developed at an early stage by the student. Immediately following appointment to the studentship, a review of the limited literature relating to the history, structure, organisation, doctrines and ethos of the Board of Social Responsibility was made a priority (i.e. Burnet, 1949; Cameron, 1965 and 1971; Drane, 1997; Durkheim, 1961; Fairbairn, 1899; Hight, 1960; Keay and Keay, 1994; MacGregor, 1948; McGillivray, 1996; McRoberts D, 1979; Storrar, 1990; Turnbull, 1991; Wallis, 1984).

In November 1999 the student undertook the Board's residential induction course for senior staff. This one-week residential course provided the student an opportunity to

engage informally with Board personnel drawn from units and projects around Scotland. The course enhanced the level of intersubjective knowledge developed by the student from the literature. In February 2000 the student attended and participated in a residential meeting of the Board of Social Responsibility. As noted in Chapter 2, the members of the Board act as lower level higher-order collective in governing the organisation's activities. Meetings of the Board are closed, or private, events and the student's presence throughout the meeting was the first ever occasion that an outsider had observed the Board at work in such a way. The intersubjective knowledge developed from the literature and the induction course prove to be invaluable in enabling informal interaction with the members and senior managerial staff of the Board. Indeed the insight developed previously enabled the student to formally address the Board to announce his presence and to introduce the research project from the perspective of the student in a manner believed to be consistent with the expectations of the Board members. Subsequently, the student attended all residential meetings of the Board of Social Responsibility between February 1999 and June 2002. In May 2000 the student attended the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to observe proceedings at first hand. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is an open, or public, meeting. It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that the General Assembly is super-ordinate to the Board and acts as upper level higher-order collective. Attendance at all of these public and private Church events and meetings allowed the student to engage with the Board in a manner consistent with the project's aims and objectives.

Social interaction within the Board of Social Responsibility allowed the student to identify key informants who could provide information regarding sources of material and evidence pertaining to the work, policies and practices of the Board between 1948 and 2000. Nevertheless, like Cassell (1988) and Whyte (1955), this research project also benefited from a sponsor. In this case Mr. Baillie acted as 'gatekeeper' (Fielding, 1993 : 159) and played a significant role in opening access to the Board by

instructing his staff to allow unfettered access to all archival material and by introducing the student to key individuals at meetings of the Board. On reflection, the theoretical sensitivity developed during interaction with the literature was invaluable in building working relationships within the Board that allowed the student to come to appreciate the strength of the religious ethos that motivates the staff and members of the Board. The experience of the student was that members of the Board and their staff were consistently found supportive, open and helpful.

Selection of research methods

An objective of this research project was to reveal the extant organisation and so the research focused upon constructing an understanding of the role of the Board of Social Responsibility from the views and opinions of individuals involved in some way with the organisation. Interpretive, or qualitative, research methods are the most appropriate methods to examine constructions of reality. Interpretive research methods allow researchers to explore and explain individual perspectives through the words of research participants. The notion of "interpretive research method" subsumes a number of different techniques, including participant observation, content analysis, unstructured qualitative interview, closed question qualitative interview, open-ended qualitative interviews and semi-structured qualitative interviews (Silverman, 1997). The ontological position of the student was that individuals are capable of constructing different versions of reality. This position meant that a key aim of the research was to assemble an understanding of how 'research participants view their social world' (Bryman, 2001: 317). A focus of the research was therefore on understanding research participants' points of view rather than hypotheses testing. In contrast, the use of deductive, or quantitative, research methods in the social sciences typically focuses upon refuting or confirming the extent to which some pre-determined variable has exerted an influence. This was not considered to be an appropriate methodological approach from which to explore the

views and opinions of individuals. Bryman (2001) has argued that interviewing is the most appropriate method to examine and explain others' points of view.

Semi-structured interviews

This research project had a clear focus but was also to some extent exploratory and so attempting to understand the views and opinions of individuals involved with the Board through the exclusive use of either open-ended or closed questions was considered inappropriate. Rather, the research method considered most appropriate for understanding the views of research participants in this case study was semi-structured interviews. This form of interview is semi-structured in the sense that themes identified by the researcher as important are explored consistently but the interviews are also flexible enough to allow research participants to fully express their views and to allow unexpected themes to emerge. In practice this particular research method allows conversations with participants to be focused upon understanding the views and opinions of the interviewee. In essence, a semi-structured interview creates a vehicle through which an interviewee can relate their construction of reality to the researcher. This flexibility during interview means that research participants can express their views and discuss issues that may not otherwise emerge. Semi-structured interviews also promote validity and reliability which are issues considered below.

Notwithstanding the above, interviews can be viewed as accounts of social interactions that have been initiated by an interviewer following which a narrative emerges. In this context Holstein and Gubrium argue that interviews need not necessarily generate knowledge about a social reality because 'meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning, nor simply transported through respondents replies; it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter' (1997: 114). In keeping with this view, the objective of the student while conducting the semi-

structured interviews in this study was to engage with research participants using an informal, conversational style that was intended to elicit their full understanding of the Board's activities and to then relate that understanding objectively. This style was adopted in an attempt to make research participants feel at ease because it was hoped that research participants who felt comfortable during the interview process would be more likely to discuss their views and opinions.

Significant individuals

Research participants were selected on the basis of seniority and experience within the Board or within agencies operating in the wider social work arena in Scotland. Accordingly the sample of research participants subsequently interviewed was neither random nor representative of any population. In fact it was considered inappropriate to deploy a mathematical approach to develop any kind of probability based sample for two key reasons. First, it would have been impracticable to develop a sampling frame that simultaneously accommodated and accounted for both the extended period of time under consideration and the specific objective sociological characteristics of individuals within the population of interest to the research project. Second, it is arguably the case that creation of a random sample of individuals from within the Board and the wider sphere of social work in Scotland would have acted effectively to overlook the majority of individuals considered as significant in the context of the study aims. Moreover it cannot be denied that the selection of research participants forming the sample of interviewees incorporates elements that Hammersley has described as 'unintentional and unprincipled' (1984 : 52). There is a wide body of literature to support the use of non-probability based judgement and purposive samples to enable a focus upon specific activities of certain groups (see for example Babbie, 1992; Becker et al, 1961; Burgess, 1984, Casagrande, 1960; Dopson, 2003; Plant, 1975). The sample of interviewees developed in this case is

best described as a non-probability 'judgement' (Burgess, 1984 : 73) or 'purposive' (Babbie, 1992 : 230) sample developed to attend a specific purpose.

Interviewees within the Board were identified and selected using the intersubjective knowledge and theoretical sensitivity generated while interacting with personnel and members of the Board of Social Responsibility at residential meetings and when operating within the Board's headquarters to review archival material. Seven individuals were asked to participate in the study by agreeing to be interviewed, one of which declined to participate (see Appendix III). Interviewees within the wider social work arena in Scotland were selected following an extensive search for individuals who at one time or another had held a significant role within either the voluntary or statutory sector. An almanac of charitable organisations (Rios, 1998 ~ 2000) was used to compile a list of 43 faith-based and/or historically significant voluntary organisations that appeared to provide social care services at the national level in Scotland (see Appendix VIII). These organisations were approached with a request for information on their aims and objectives, on their history and the scope of their current operations. Valuable information was obtained from 29 organisations and the chief operating officers of six organisations were subsequently asked in writing to participate in the study by agreeing to be interviewed. Eight individuals from these voluntary organisations were interviewed and there were no refusals (see Appendix III). At the same time all 32 unitary councils in Scotland were approached with a request for copies of their Development Plan showing both the range of services provided and how they intended to interface contemporarily with other community services (see Appendix VII). Some 19 statutory social work agencies responded to the request for this information. These 19 responses were used to generate theoretical sensitivity into the policies of statutory social work agencies operating in Scotland. Subsequently a list of the chief social work officers of all 32 unitary councils in Scotland was developed from these 19 responses and from social service almanac entries (Cohen et al, 2000). The background, experience and

qualifications of these 32 individuals were then checked against almanac entries (Carrick Media, 1998 ~ 2000) to compile a shortlist of significant individuals operating within the statutory social work sector. This process unintentionally identified two retired individuals who had historically held significant roles within the statutory social work sector. Ultimately seven individuals from the statutory sector were approached with a written request for an interview in connection with the study of the Board of Social Responsibility. Two individuals declined to participate (see Appendix III). In sum, the methodology identified 22 significant individuals, 19 of whom were subsequently interviewed.

The historical archives

The original CASE application identified the archives of the Church of Scotland, the archives of the Board of Social Responsibility, interviews with past and present members of staff and interviews with significant others as key sources of data (see Appendix I). However, it became clear that no individual knew precisely what form the archival material took, where it was located, nor therefore what exactly was available within the respective headquarters of either the Church of Scotland or the Board of Social Responsibility. Subsequently it became clear that the last person to review the Board's archives was Lt. Col. the Rev. Dr. Lewis Cameron approximately 35 years earlier (see Chapter 1 and Cameron, 1965 and 1971). In December 2000 the student conducted a physical search of the Board of Social Responsibility's headquarters in Joppa, Edinburgh and identified four separate locations containing historical material. First, approximately 60 bound volumes of historical material were found in the Board's library. Second, extensive contemporary and historical documentation was identified in a basement storeroom. This material was ordered and categorised and composed approximately 1,500 unbound case files with each file containing anything between one and several hundred pages of information. Third, approximately 600 bound volumes of historical material dating back to the early 19th

century, many handwritten, were found in a building adjacent to the Board's main headquarters building. Fourth, approximately 20 bound volumes of contemporary material were identified in the outer office of the Director of the Board of Social Responsibility. It was obvious from the physical search that the Board's archives were not only extensive but that a method should be designed to hold and order the material that had been identified prior to initiating any collection of data.

A database was designed and constructed and a timeline designed and established to hold information and notes obtained from the Board's archives. Ultimately this database contained 182 individual records comprising 444 pages of data relating to individuals and specific activities undertaken by the Board between 1869 and 2000. The timeline eventually ran to 212 pages of data relating to the Board's activities between 1948 and 2000. In addition, a spreadsheet was later constructed to order and store financial data relating to the Board's various income streams, expenditures and investments made between 1948 and 2000. The database, timeline and spreadsheet allowed the archival material to be ordered and missing items to be identified. Such missing items represented significant gaps in the archival material held by the Board. Data from archival material that was identified as missing was subsequently gathered during a visit to the private office of the Principal Clerk, chief official of the Church of Scotland, at the headquarters of the Church in Edinburgh.

From the outset the strategic approach adopted to collect data from the Board's archives incorporated a method of establishing the validity of the archival material. Specifically, it is obvious that the Board's archives represented a potentially biased source of material relating to the activities, developments and personal accounts of work that have contributed to shaping the Board of Social Responsibility's work across time. Indeed the Board's archives might be viewed as representing a source of data on the 'Assumed Organization' (Brown, 1971 : 25). In this light the student considered it unacceptable to take the Board's archival material at face value but

impracticable to individually validate every item and document. This dilemma was addressed by relying upon the Board's annual reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. These Reports represent 'secondary sources' (Burgess, 1984 : 124) of data and typically run to approximately 100 pages. Such Reports offer the Board's formal summary of its work and activities over the respective preceding year, and outline the activities to be continued and undertaken during the respective forthcoming year. These secondary sources of data arguably represent the manifest organisation. It was therefore considered prudent to validate these secondary sources of data. Accordingly four significant events reported by the Board were selected and the validity of their reporting within annual reports checked for accuracy by retracing events through all relevant 'primary sources' (Burgess, 1984 : 123) of data, i.e. minutes, private correspondence, case files, financial accounts and newspaper cuttings from the period. The accuracy of the Board of Social Responsibility's Reports to the General Assembly were therefore validated through reference to 'unsolicited', 'public' and 'private' primary data sources (Burgess, 1984 : 123 and 124). In particular: summary reporting of confidential discussions surrounding a substantial donation made to the Board by the Peter Wordie Trust during 1947 and 1948 was validated as accurate; summary reporting of developments throughout the 1970s and early 1980s in respect of the Board establishing specialist residential care facilities for older people with dementia was validated as accurate; the Board's summary reporting of prolonged, contentious and ultimately unsuccessful partnership negotiations with Shetland Islands Council during the late 1980s was validated as accurate, and the Board's summary reporting of negotiations relating to the taking over and the subsequent managed closure of Humbie Community Village, from the Algrade Association, during the late 1990s was validated as accurate. Notwithstanding this process of validation, primary sources of data remained available and were subsequently returned to several times to clarify certain events that remained unclear or otherwise ambiguous in summary accounts put forward in the Board's annual reports to Assembly.

The process of validation allowed the Board of Social Responsibility's Reports to the General Assembly to be considered as reliable and representative extracts and valid summaries of the historical archives and therefore as valid and reliable secondary sources of data relating to the activities, practices and objectives of the Board across time. Notwithstanding development of this view it was deemed prudent to triangulate all data realised from historical archives with interview data obtained from significant individuals operating within the Board and within both the voluntary and statutory sectors in Scotland. The database and timeline allowed the events identified within the archival material to be flexibly ordered according to the nature of the activity, or according to the place where the activity was undertaken, or according to the individual project or individual unit, or according to year. This process of ordering allowed the Board's archives to be considered against the policy developments identified in the literature (see Chapters 3 and 4) and enabled the development of three 'semi-structured' (Burgess, 1984 : 102) interview schedules (see Appendices IV, V and VI). These semi-structured interview schedules developed and combined the specific interests of the four research questions subsequent to the review of literature and placed questions in a context relevant to the sector where they would be asked. In addition to acting to triangulate the data realised from the Board's archives, these semi-structured interview schedules operationalised the desire to understand the Board of Social Responsibility from a wide range of perspectives to assist in revealing the 'Extant' (Brown, 1971 : 25).

Interview method

The development of the semi-structured interview schedules that were used to guide the conversations which were held with interviewees occurred after the Board's archives had been analysed and ordered within the database and the timeline. Consequently the questions contained within the interview schedules were

'grounded' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) in the 'Manifest' (Brown, 1971 : 25) reality that is represented by the Board's archives. Questions within the respective schedules were purposively ordered to ensure that issues considered to be of greatest importance arose early in the interview process. The ordering of questions was intended to limit any potential impairment in the data collection procedure should any interview be cut short due to unforeseen circumstances. This issue reflected the significant position and workload of those identified for interview. In practice the duration of the interviews ranged from 35 minutes to 2 hours 20 minutes. Handwritten notes were made during all interviews on prepared interview schedules. These notes were intended to be the primary data collection method supported by tape recordings made of the interviews.

Semi-structured interviews are intended to allow interviewees to express their views and opinions. However this research method can present problems inasmuch as the conversational style of the interview has an element of unpredictability in that the interviewer may have difficulty recording the data unless the interview is recorded on tape. Relying on handwritten notes means that decisions on the significance of data are effectively made while the interview is in progress and this can be problematic in that the interviewer must make these decisions while simultaneously attempting to maintain a dialogue with the interviewee. In view of the above all interviewees were asked at the beginning of their interview for permission to record the interview on tape. It was anticipated that these recordings would supplement the handwritten notes.

Recording interviews on tape is noted as having the advantage of being less distracting for the interviewer, relative to making written notes, in the sense that the researcher is able to concentrate on the interview's progress without consistently writing notes. An additional advantage of recording interviews on tape is that interviewees' words are captured verbatim, which creates the potential for a detailed

analysis of the interview to be conducted later. However recording interviews on tape can also be disadvantageous. Researchers are noted as having found certain individuals to be intimidated by the notion of being taped and interviewees can become 'self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved' (Bryman, 2001: 322). In this study, 3 of the 19 individuals interviewed declined to give permission for their interview to be recorded: none were asked for an explanation of their decision. In addition, 4 individuals asked for the tape recorder to be switched off at various points during the interview process so they could make certain remarks and observations "off the record". It was clear that these individuals felt uncomfortable about the idea of some of their words being recorded on tape.

In these circumstances the handwritten notes made by the student during the interviews are considered the most reliable source of data from interviews in this particular case study. All handwritten notes were transcribed as soon as practicable following each interview and, where possible, were checked for accuracy against the tape recordings.

Interview analysis

Although time consuming an advantage of transcribing interviews is that it allows significant data to be examined and analysed with relative ease at a later date. It was therefore considered good practice to transcribe all interview notes to allow the interpretations made during the interview to be noted while still fresh in the student's mind. In retrospect, the process of transcribing brought additional value to the data insofar as the repeated handling of the data enhanced the student's familiarity with the themes that were emerging from the conversations being held. Babbie (1992) has argued that the interpretation of emerging themes within data of a qualitative nature takes place in two ways. First, the interviewee interprets their social world and expresses it and, second, the researcher interprets the meanings and understandings

evident in what the interviewee has said. In doing so the aim of the researcher is to 'put himself in the others shoes to understand the other person' (Bryman 2001: 14).

The analysis of the interview schedules consisted of coding the qualitative data according to common themes that emerged within the data from interviews. Mason has argued that it is important to 'explore patterns and themes which occur across your data' (1996: 128). The specific approach adopted in this study to achieve this objective was that of open coding because qualitative data of the type obtained is noted as having the capacity to 'lead the researcher in unpredictable, uncontrollable directions' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994: 21). Open coding is noted as a method of managing data in this respect. In practice open coding allowed the analysis of the data to be led by themes that emerged within the data. The analysis of the data through open coding benefited this case study through the emergence of some unexpected themes. Subsequent to coding and identification of emerging themes, links were established between the coded data and the theories identified in the review of literature that occurred earlier in the research process.

Validity

Reid (1987) has considered the notion of validity in the specific context of understanding research results within the social sciences. Indeed Reid has argued that social researchers must explicitly consider the development of their research methodology, for without due regard being given to their personal analytical framework the results of their research may be rendered meaningless. Mason (1996) has argued that to 'convince others, you must provide some sort of account of exactly how you achieved the degree of reliability and accuracy you claim to be providing' (1996: 146). It should be clear that this methodology chapter has considered the research approach adopted by the student in addition to the ontological position, personal values of the student, and the research project's objective from the

perspective of the Board of Social Responsibility as sponsor of the research. The rationale for the adoption and development of the case study methodology has also been explained and it is hoped that the level of transparency will enable others to examine the research methods and techniques deployed from a critical perspective. Explication of the research approach and the researcher's personal views and objectives demonstrates how conclusions 'are generated from a piece of research' (Bryman, 2001: 30). Notwithstanding the above, it is clear that simply describing the research approach and announcing the researcher's personal views and objectives does not mean that the research results are valid.

Berger (1974) has argued that validity accounts for researcher bias and addresses the potential hazard of expected data being recounted rather than data actually found present. Validity therefore qualifies the precision and accuracy of the data being explained by the researcher. In other words has the researcher accounted for what he or she actually saw and heard, and have they accurately related this information? (Procter, 1993) Researcher bias is argued to be compoundable in interpretive commentaries due to the requirement that the researcher be selective when writing their account of the qualitative research (Berger, 1974). Arguably the production of valid work is contingent upon the selection and ordering of data prior to analysis. Such interpretive commentaries should be designed to offer detached and objective impressions of social processes or phenomena through full and credible accounts of what participation in the process or involvement with the phenomena has been like for the actor involved. To a greater extent the validity of interpretive research is therefore dependent upon the researcher getting 'inside the heads of the participants, looking through the participants' eyes and seeing and feeling what they see and feel' (Johnson, 1998 : 4). A further characteristic of validity is the manner in which the research subsumes individual cases when moving towards the finalistic explanation of data. Research that successfully achieves validity is argued to shift data towards a point from which description moves towards interpretive and theoretical explanation.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) have argued that valid qualitative accounts are typically interspersed with interpretive comments from the researcher. This is the model of interpretive commentary that is deployed in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Theoretical explanations arising from social research raises the issue of the extent to which validity can be claimed for any theoretical developments. Theoretical validity brings credibility to a case study and assists in raising a defence to charges of interpretive aspects of qualitative research amounting to no more than the elaboration of personal opinion and possibly prejudice. Theoretical validity raises the issue of the extent to which analysis develops generalisable theory to explain the phenomena in question (Johnson, 1998). Theoretical validity operates at two levels and Strauss and Corbin (1990) in particular have differentiated theoretical validity at the substantive and formal levels. Substantive theoretical explanations emerge from studying isolated phenomenon or social processes, as in this case study. Formal theoretical explanations emerge when multiple social phenomena or multiple social processes are studied. This distinction requires case study researchers to demonstrate caution against the overextension of theoretical explanations by inappropriately generalising results of their analyses. Specifically, case study researchers must be careful to avoid imbuing their substantive findings with properties applicable only to formally valid theoretical explanations. It should therefore be clear that this case study of the Board of Social Responsibility is not intended to offer any formally valid theoretical explanations, i.e. it is not claimed that the results of the research explicated in this thesis are generalisable.

Reliability

Reliability, as Hammersley has noted, refers to 'to the degree of consistency with which instances are organised to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (1992: 67). According to Mason, interpretive

research should be expressed in a context of demonstrating that 'data generation and analysis have been not only appropriate to the research questions, but also thorough, careful, honest and accurate' (Mason, 1996: 146). In relation to interpretive research, reliability therefore emphasises 'gaining an authentic understanding of people's experiences' (Silverman, 1997: 13). Babbie (1992) has argued that the qualification of reliability must incorporate recognition of two principal forms of repetition to remove ambiguity and justify the selection of specific research methods. Temporal reliability reflects the extent to which research findings can be accurately reproduced at different times (Sacks et al, 1980). Comparative reliability considers the extent to which research findings are reproducible when different research methods are applied to the same social phenomena, when the same methods are applied to the same phenomena by different researchers, or when the same methods are applied by the same researcher in different situational contexts (Carmines and Zeller, 1979).

Denzin (1970) has shown how multiple researchers can enhance the triangulation of data through their examination of the same social situation. However this form of triangulation is clearly not appropriate in this particular case study. In this case a single researcher conducted the research and so the consistency of the student's approach is an issue, particularly in relation to the deployment of the interview schedules. Insofar as the interviews were concerned the student introduced the project to research participants using the same introductory script each time. Implementation of the interview schedules however did not follow a pre-determined script because the researcher considered it beneficial to adopt a conversational style. Accordingly, questions within the interview schedules were not always presented in the same sequence. Moreover, the student rephrased questions to ensure that both the research participant and the student were clear about the meaning of the questions and the answers given. This approach was necessary to establish an interpretivistic view of reality that derived from interviewees' understandings of social processes, which were, in turn, predicated upon individual views of reality that arose as a

function of how those individuals think and feel. It is argued that the deliberate development of this approach is consistent with the ontological position adopted by the student.

Methodological triangulation, however, was achieved through the use of within and between case methods. In the context of case studies within method triangulation refers to the use of one research method deployed on different occasions over time while between method triangulation refers to the use of different research methods in the same situation (Denzin, 1970). In this case study, the data has been triangulated to enhance the reliability of the data. In particular, temporal and spatial triangulation has taken place by incorporating cross-sectional and longitudinal designs within the methodology through introduction of specific comparative elements, i.e. contrasting evidence obtained from different documents located within the archives and by contrasting interview data with the evidence obtained from different documents written at different times by different individuals. The data has also been triangulated by person, i.e. by contrasting individual accounts of social action. Moreover, the researcher engaged with the interview data over a protracted period of time. The process of coding involved repeated reading of the interview transcripts to organise, and reorganise, the data thematically. These steps prevented the interview data from being analysed according to themes that emerged from the first interviews. It can therefore be seen that the methodology established an evaluative framework that intentionally triangulated data across time, space, person, and by method to enhance reliability.

Limitations of the methodology

This case study of the Board of Social Responsibility is not intended to offer any formally valid theoretical explanations. In Schofield's view all qualitative research methodologies are so descriptively and conceptually complex that to replicate them

to achieve formal theoretical validity is a 'major undertaking' (1993 : 203). Krathwohl, similarly, has argued that formal theoretical validity is wholly dependent on replicability because the 'heart of external validity is replicability' (1985 : 123). Plainly a case study of the Board is not replicable in a different social setting. The lack of formal theoretical validity therefore implies a lack of external validity, which, in turn, dictates that the substantive results of this case study, as already noted, are not generalisable. However, the reliability and validity of the research methods that have been deployed are considered to be externally valid and are considered to be capable of reproducing substantively valid results if deployed in a different social setting. This claim can perhaps be evaluated by considering the key methodological limitations of this case study.

There are arguably six key methodological limitations that might be considered to have impacted adversely upon the effectiveness of the case study methodology deployed within this thesis. The first limitation relates to the selection of the case studied. The second relates to the numerically small size of the sample of interviewees (see Appendix III). The validity of the methodology might also be considered to be limited by the level of comparison undertaken while the fourth limitation relates to the use of the timeline and the database that were developed to order the data collected from the Board's archives. The fifth limitation arises from inconsistency existing in the number of questions contained in the three interview schedules (see Appendices IV, V and VI). Finally, the sixth potential limitation relates to the anonymous reporting of verbatim responses from interviewees in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Chapter 1 has shown that the Board of Social Responsibility effectively chose itself as the subject matter for this research project. Plainly the selection of the organisation cannot be considered to have been in any way random. This situation was unavoidable. However this situation should not be viewed as adversely affecting

the reliability and validity of the research methods deployed to further the case study's objectives. It is also the case that the study's methodology has been appropriately qualified through the explicit observation that findings are no more than substantively valid.

When considering the size of the sample of significant individuals, potential methodological limitations are perhaps best explained by considering the period under consideration and the need to achieve a balance of opinions to inform understanding of the organisation's role across a 52 year period. It will also be recalled that the sample of interviewees has been defined as purposive. The time-scale under consideration was such that it was not practicable to obtain the views of large numbers of individuals with insights and experiences of the work and activities of the Board during the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The purposive sample is therefore a pragmatic attempt to balance numbers of knowledgeable research participants drawn from within the voluntary and statutory social work sectors with a similar number of knowledgeable interviewees drawn from within the Board. It is also the case that the data obtained through interviews was triangulated with data realised from both archival material and from the wider body of literature. Appropriate efforts were made therefore to counteract any potential bias created within the case study by the necessarily small size of the purposive sample of interviewees. Similar case studies conducted in the future should also triangulate interview data, which is in any event good research practice.

It may be that material confirming or disconfirming data realised from the Board's archives could have been supported more effectively if the extent of comparison with similar voluntary organisations had been greater. This is the fourth potential limitation of the methodology. However appendices VII and VIII show that material from 19 local authorities and 29 voluntary organisations was reviewed to establish the sample of voluntary organisations that was used to identify research participants

and, in turn, to compare and contrast the work of the Board. The rationale for the selection of these organisations is noted above and it is argued that the number of organisations selected to establish comparisons, though undoubtedly small, was fully representative in the Scottish context.

Methodological limitations surrounding the use of the timeline and database that were developed to order archival material in this case study must perhaps remain unanswered until these tools are tested again in practice. Nevertheless, it is prudent to emphasise the process of education that underpinned the development of both the timeline and the database, and how this process involved the student's explicit consideration of potential methodological problems, which was considered a very important issue. Indeed, in a pre-emptive attempt to ensure that these two research tools were capable of collecting the breadth and depth of data perceived by the student as necessary to furthering the aims and objectives of the thesis, the process of development was deliberately tied into the body of literature surrounding the Board's work. In fact, the written material collected from the 29 voluntary organisations and 19 local authorities that participated in the study, in addition to the wide body of academic literature relating to voluntarism and public and social policy processes, was used to inform the process that underpinned development of the research tools. In sum, these two tools are believed to be capable of realising reliable and valid data and are considered flexible enough to be deployed in other social settings.

There are undoubted inconsistencies in the form and numbers of the questions contained within the three semi-structured interview schedules. The three interview schedules were used to realise data from within the Board, the voluntary sector and the statutory social work sector. The schedule used within the Board contained 23 questions, while the schedules used within the voluntary and statutory sectors contained 15 and 12 questions, respectively. The rationale for the number of questions in the former schedule relates to the case study's obvious focus on the

Board of Social Responsibility and the need to challenge and clarify certain issues that emerged from the analysis of material held in the timeline and database. The number of questions within the interview schedule used within the Board is therefore evidence of the methodological triangulation that took place. The discrepancy between the numbers of questions contained in the other interview schedules relates to the fact that there was a requirement to challenge certain issues that were perceived to affect only voluntary organisations, e.g. question 23 in Appendix IV and question 15 in Appendix VI. Again, the inconsistency measured in terms of the numbers of questions is evidence of methodological triangulation. Inconsistency between the interview schedules in terms of the number of questions should therefore be considered insightful rather than negligent.

The model that has been deployed to report the verbatim responses of interviewees has been anonymised to preclude the identification of individuals. This might be considered to erode the level of transparency and accountability associated with the case study by defeating interviewees' attempts to identify their contribution. All interviewees were explicitly made aware of the nature of this case study and their role in it prior to commencement of their interview. This awareness was deliberately provided to ensure that all interviewees held 'sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him [or her] to make an understanding and enlightened decision' (Nuremberg Code 1949, in Burgess 1990 : 200). This awareness was intended to ensure that the research participants could be associated with their comments to enhance the level of transparency and accountability evidenced within the thesis. Unfortunately, however, the condition of certain interviewees and the nature of their responses were such that the student has made the decision to report verbatim responses within the thesis in a manner that will preserve anonymity. For reasons that will not be recorded "condition" will remain undefined and no apology will be made for adhering to the ethics of the Nuremberg Code.

Summary

Chapter 4 has perhaps shown that ambiguity thrives in many areas of the mixed economy of welfare and is perhaps identified according to perspective, e.g. morality versus professionalism; welfare versus social work; palliative treatment versus ameliorative treatment; community work versus residential work; political change versus economic need; wants versus needs; statutory versus voluntary. The case study model deployed in this thesis was designed to identify and explain certain areas of ambiguity relating to organisational interdependencies and tensions that exist beyond the notion of 'New Public Management' (Deakin, 2001) within the mixed economy of welfare, and, as Brown (1971) suggests, beyond internal Board of Social Responsibility opinion. To do so it has been necessary to consider the history of both social work in Scotland and the history of the Board of Social Responsibility from a range of perspectives.

The view has been advanced that a strategic program of triangulation of research methods must be deployed to enable case study methodologies to assemble details of 'what happened... from different physical, temporal, and biographically provided perspectives' (Cicourel, 1973). Such triangulation enhances reliability and validity. Chapters 3 and 4 argue that through reference to historical documentation, contemporary documentation, other policy-forming agencies and individuals, understanding of organisational roles can be generated. This type of analysis is argued to advance understanding through recognition of the links, connections and relationships that exist between organisations and the policy environment within which they operate. The case study methodology developed in this thesis has been directed towards identifying and understanding the increments by 'which value outputs or value consequences differ' (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963 : 85). This is

the strategic approach that has been deployed to understand and reveal the role of the Board of Social Responsibility.

Chapter 6 : The position of the Board of Social Responsibility as a provider of social work services over time and the factors that influenced decisions about how its services were developed

This chapter begins the process of understanding the Board of Social Responsibility as a faith-based service-providing voluntary organisation. In Chapter 4 it was noted that the Board claims to have played a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society during the 19th and 20th centuries. Such a claim, in conjunction with the noted acknowledgments of the Board having been the largest voluntary provider of social work services in Scotland throughout the second half of the twentieth century, arguably characterises the Board as a dynamic organisation controlled by a 'leadership' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) collective, implementing clearly defined aims and objectives, rather than as an organisation 'sliding into change' (Billis in Harris, 2001 : 217).

The data discussed here was collected during the examination of the activities undertaken by the Board over time through its archival material and through the semi-structured interviews held with significant individuals (see Appendix III). Chapter 2 has highlighted the Church's Presbyterian structure and Christian ethos and how they are perceived to have contributed to shaping the Board's constitution, status and expressed objectives of meeting incipient social needs through the development of innovative social work services. Chapter 3 has linked the Board's provision of innovative faith-based social work services to the projection of the Church's moral position. Chapters 3 and 4 have noted how Dahl and Lindblom (1953), Harris and Rochester (2001), Hanvey and Philpot (1996), Osborne (1988), Osborne (1998) and Wolfenden (1978) have argued that the position of the voluntary sector within the social work arena has altered over time and how voluntary organisations are shaped by a range of competing exogenous and endogenous forces. The work of these authors combines to argue that the Board's position is likely to have changed over time as the social care market in Scotland has developed incrementally into an increasingly complex and challenging environment.

This chapter adopts Lohmann's (1987) advice and furthers the aims of the case study

by identifying the activities of the Board for what they are. The chapter's purpose, as highlighted in Chapter 5, is to further understanding of the position of the Board as a provider of social work services over time by identifying the social work activities developed by the organisation between 1948 and 2000 and how these activities might be linked to the wider social work policy environment.

At the beginning of a new era

In 1937 the Board operated 33 units and projects to ameliorate the social problems endured by six client groups (Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1937). In 1948 the Board operated 36 units and projects that represented 'the particular contribution of the Church to voluntary social service through emphasis on the Christian approach to the social problems of our day' (Committee on Social Service, 1948 : 33). These 36 units and projects were directed towards the amelioration of perceived social problems encountered by five substantive client groups (Committee on Social Service, 1948).

Table 4 details the number of units and projects operated by the Board in 1937, 1948, 1974 and 2000, relative to substantive client group. It highlights an increase in the Board's activities over time and an expanding client base. Table 4 argues that the work of the Board has expanded in terms of overall numbers of units and projects and overall number of client groups, but also notes a contraction of activities in several areas, notably in the numbers of units and projects provided for children, the homeless, the unemployed and unmarried mothers.

Table 4.

Numbers of units and projects operated by the Board, and its antecedents, in Scotland in 1937, 1948, 1974 and 2000 by substantive client group.

Client Group	Year	1937	1948	1974	2000
Children		9	8	14	5
Homeless		14	13	14	6
Mother and Baby		1	1	2	~
Older People		4	8	45	55
Unemployed		4	6	~	~
Physically Disabled		~	~	2	2
Mentally Disabled		~	~	2	13
Drug/Alcohol Abusers		~	~	7	13
Post-natal Depressives		~	~	~	1
Prostitutes and their Children		~	~	~	1
Families		~	~	~	5
Mentally Ill		~	~	~	1
Confused Elderly		~	~	~	9
Probation Services		1	~	~	2
Custody Alternatives		~	~	~	1
Totals		33	36	86	114

Lieut. Col. the Rev. Dr. Lewis L. L. Cameron, Director of Social Work 1936 – 1963, wrote that the Board's social work 'grew out of social conditions in Scotland at the beginning of this [20th] century when poverty, unemployment and drunkenness were rife, and there were no unemployment or sickness benefits, family allowances, or old age pensions' (1971 : 23). Cameron (1965 and 1971) has also noted that the Church found it impossible to develop social work activities during World War II because the state had compulsorily requisitioned a number of its buildings for military purposes and because the building materials required to adapt and reconstruct unsuitable or bomb damaged buildings for new purposes could only be obtained with difficulty under licence from the Ministry of Works. Cameron argued that the Church's efforts during the war 'concentrated on national requirements, the manpower and materials being needed to win victory' (1971 : 100). Consequently the period immediately after World War II was 'the beginning of a new era' for development of the Church's social work services (Cameron, 1971 : 100). Table 4 supports this representation of the period in arguing that, in terms of development of

social work services, the Board appears to have marked time between 1937 and 1948. The Board's report to the General Assembly of 1962 retrospectively accounted for the Church's social work service provision. The report confirms Cameron's representation and notes that the 'intervention of the Second World War prevented further developments during the period from 1939 – 1945' before detailing how the Church's social work service provision developed between 1945 and 1961 (Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 235).

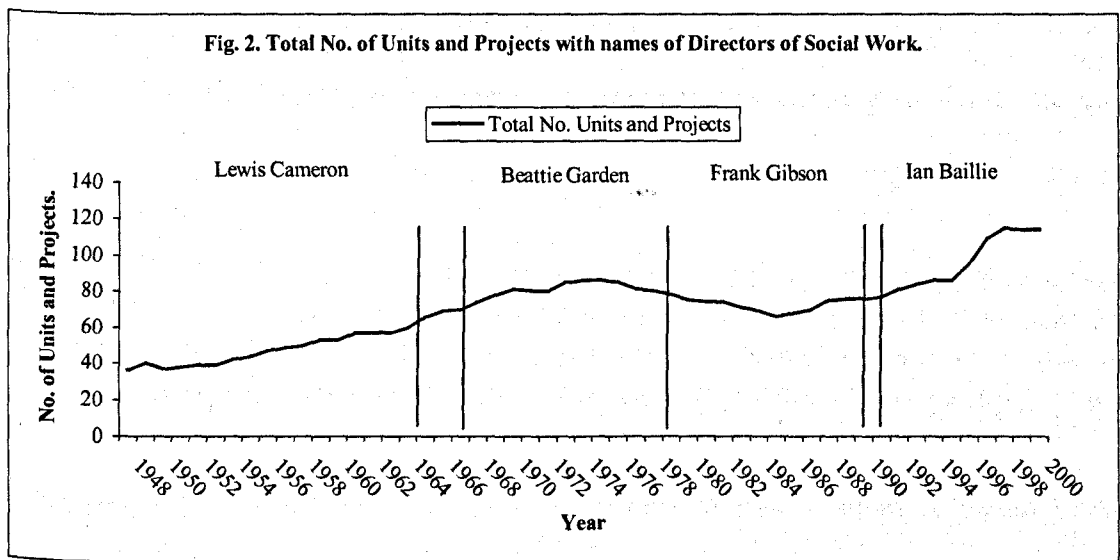


Fig. 2 displays the numbers of social work units and projects operated by the Board each year between 1948 and 2000 in addition to the names of the Church's directors of social work and their periods of office. Fig. 2 supports Table 4 in arguing that the Board's social work service provision expanded over time. In particular, it will be noted that the number of units and projects operated by the Board expanded from 36 in 1948 to 65 in 1965, respectively. The development and expansion of social work activities during that particular period tends to confirm the work of Murray (1969) and Eyden (1969) while running directly counter to Wolfenden's (1978) characterisation of voluntary organisations 'marking time' (1978 : 20) after World War II, as noted earlier in Chapter 3.

Cameron characterised the Church's accepted view of Scottish society at the end of the World War II and related it to the practical financial work that he undertook in order to develop the Board's activities in the new era.

'The twentieth century is the age of mass society and the age of the lonely soul. Today man is meeting and being made aware of his fellows more than ever before in history, but in the depths of his personality he has never been lonelier. The superorganisation and endless proliferation of human activities of modern civilisation bring with them the increasing depersonalisation of contacts between people at all levels. We know of more and more people but we *know* them less and less.... Industrial society demands not only the mechanisation of manual effort and the automation of mental process. It has reached the point where the standardisation of the human factor at many levels of behaviour is an integral element in the efficient, if dehumanised, working of the social nexus. Man's response, his status, aspirations, economic wants and social attitudes are being increasingly standardised, manipulated, directed from outside himself.

It was against that background that the Social Service of the Church was set in the years immediately before the Second World War and the advances of technology since have intensified that pattern. My first years in this work of Social Service were lean years, when a legacy or gift of even £100 was an event of rare occurrence, a contrast with today when legacies and gifts of thousands of pounds appear in every issue of "Life and Work". The growth of this tide of generosity is a romantic story proving the wisdom of the author of Ecclesiastes when he said, "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days". It was necessary to get out every Sunday and on several evenings each week to tell the people of what we were doing for the last, the least and the lost, to obtain funds to keep all our activities going.'

(Cameron, 1971 : 228 – 229)

Plainly Cameron believed the Board's activities immediately after World War II occurred in the context of a society undergoing change. Cameron wrote 'Sir William Beveridge published his epoch-making Report which was to have far reaching effects on the social security of the nation' (1965 : 180) and noted that the immediate effect of the Beveridge Report was the stimulation of statutory and voluntary organisations into undertaking reviews of their activities and policies. Cameron advised the Church that the 'adoption of the Beveridge Plan should lead to a partnership between Church and State and make possible new fields of social work' (Committee on Social

Service, 1942 : 356). When Cameron reviewed the Board's activities at the end of World War II he found that its work 'since inception has been institutional, and whereas this is still its principal concern, changed social conditions and modern requirements compel the Committee to be ready to undertake other forms of social service as the need arises' (Cameron, 1965: 180). He informed the Church that the National Assistance Act 1948 and the Children Act 1948 would initiate an era of partnership working between local authorities and voluntary organisations that would have no adverse impact upon the Board's social work (Committee on Social Service, 1948).

Cameron's interpretation of Scottish society's emerging needs following enactment of these two Acts called 'for an increase in the work the Church does on behalf of children, and for an immediate development in the provision of Homes for the Aged' (Committee on Social Service, 1948 : 2). With regard to work with children, Cameron's views were influenced and informed by the Clyde (Cmd. 6911, 1946) and Curtis (Cmd. 6922, 1946) Reports, which had advocated adoption and boarding out, rather than residential care, as the social treatments of choice for homeless children (Committee on Social Service, 1948). The approval of his interpretation by the Church (Committee on Social Service, 1949) effected a major change in policy direction within the Board which had previously concentrated on housing homeless children in 'segregated "Orphanages" and "Homes for Destitute Children", or in Homes with such titles' (Committee on Social Service, 1948 : 4).

Archival material argues that the change in childcare policy direction initiated by Cameron resulted in the revision of names and titles of homes for children, the development of policies to ensure no home accommodated more than 30 children, the eradication of policy requiring the segregation of children according to gender within homes, the development of policy to enable siblings to live together in family units, and the registration, in 1952, of the Committee on Social Service as an

Adoption Society (Committee on Social Service, 1949, 1950, 1952 and 1953; Cameron, 1965 and 1971). Notwithstanding the substantive change in policy affecting the nature of the Board's work with children, the major area of emerging social need perceived and addressed by Cameron was with older people through provision of residential care. Cameron argued that contemporary old age pensions were inadequate to meet the needs of infirm older people, obliging them, in turn, to seek refuge in a 'dismal and depressing poorhouse which they would seek only as a last resort' (Cameron, 1971 : 84). Consequently Cameron gave himself the

'... huge task of providing an Eventide Home in every presbytery or group of presbyteries, an objective which many regarded as fantastic and unrealistic, but by the time I retired in 1963, the number of Homes for Old People had risen from four in 1946 to thirty-one, covering twenty-eight presbyteries from Caithness to Cambeltown and from Aberdeen to Skye.'

(Cameron, 1965 : 189)

Historically the Board's services were established by local church organisations and later adopted by the Church following instruction from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Cameron, 1971; Committee on Christian Life and Work, 1870; Committee on Social Service, 1903; MacGregor, 1948). Notwithstanding this history, Davidson et al have noted that 'the expansion of the Social Service of the Church between 1945 and 1963 is one of the most amazing stories of one man's vision backed by tireless energy and ceaseless work' (in Committee on Social Service, 1963 : 292 ~ 292). Watt (in Cameron, 1965 : 240), Warr (in Cameron, 1965 : 10), Kinloch (in Cameron, 1965 : 243) Stewart (in Cameron, 1965 : 244) and Ricketts (in Cameron, 1971 : Foreword) confirm this view and unequivocally attribute the early post-war development of the Church's social work directly to Cameron as an individual. Ricketts acknowledged Cameron as solely responsible for the 'great development in the Church's social work in the years that followed the end of the Second World War, development largely achieved by his own zeal and foresight' (in Cameron, 1971 : Foreword) while Warr noted that Cameron was

appointed to a 'dim and comparatively unimportant body. Twenty-five years of vision, drive, and brilliant administration on the part of Lewis Cameron left it, on his retirement two years ago, that vital, progressive, nation-wide organisation of social welfare' (in Cameron, 1965 : 10).

The gifts, legacies and bequests Cameron obtained on behalf of the Board allowed him to expand the range and number of social work services provided. Social work in mother and baby homes, children's homes, residential care homes for older people, hostels for epileptics, holiday homes and dependency units was initiated and/or expanded autonomously in the two decades immediately after the war (Cameron, 1971; Committee on Social Service, 1945 ~ 1963; Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 ~ 1968). During this period the Board also expanded the range of activities undertaken in partnership with national statutory agencies. The Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations and the Council of Voluntary Organisations for Child Migration invited the Board to accept responsibility for monitoring and supervising child emigration nationally. The Board was identified for this role because it had experience and skill in providing social work services for children and because it maintained links with communities in Australia and Canada through the wider network of Presbyterian Churches (Committee on Social Service, 1948). Also, the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the National Coal Board invited the Board to establish hostels for male and female industrial workers of foreign origin, principally East Europeans, in Scotland (Committee on Social Service, 1949). Moreover, the Board developed moral welfare work around Scotland in partnership with the Scottish Episcopal Church (Committee on Social Service, 1942, 1945 and 1949; Luscombe, 1999).

Interviews within the voluntary sector attribute the early evolution of the Board's position as a provider of social work services to Cameron and recognise that he was responsible for developing new styles of service provision.

“The Board’s work with children started to shift away from the model of care being practised by the other large organisations. It was a new approach and some thought it wrong.” (Interview 2 : V.S.)

“Cameron was at the forefront of developing residential care provision for older people but at the expense of the Church’s other services.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

Within the voluntary sector, Cameron’s early focus on providing residential care for older people has also generated less positive views of the Board.

“... the concentration placed upon expanding residential services for older people prevented, and held the Board back from, developing other services, its children’s services in particular did not develop as they should have, resulting in the Board being overtaken in this area by other voluntary organisations.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

“The focus on residential care created an enduring perception of the Board as a traditional organisation that concentrates on providing elderly and other Cinderella services.” (Interview 15 : V.S.)

Within the statutory sector, Lewis Cameron is again identified as the key source of the drive behind the Church’s early post-war social work developments. Cameron’s focus on autonomously developing community services for children and residential services for older people developed a view within this sector of the Board preferring to work alone.

“Lewis Cameron was an autocratic man of huge ability, very charismatic, he brooked absolutely no nonsense and delivered results.” (Interview 15 : S.S.)

“Cameron operated at a national level to deliver results at the local level through his units.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“Cameron’s work and contribution to the Church’s early social work was significant. His focus on residential services for older people enabled the Church to act in the role of provider of residential accommodation for vulnerable individuals. It helped form a useful independent contribution and created a choice for individuals at a time when the only alternative was the Poor House.” (Interview 17 : S.S.)

“...his particular emphasis on developing residential care for older people influenced the nature of older peoples services within the entire caring sector for a whole generation.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“...at the time the Board was leading work on adoption by providing services on a national basis. These services allowed us to place children outside our area of jurisdiction away from the area of concern.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“...the Church worked alone with each of its units seeming to act autonomously and never asking for help from the statutory sector. It was viewed as a large charitable organisation with its own money and its own ways of doing things and payment for its services was never presented as an issue to us when we requested its services.” (Interview 15 : S.S.)

Interviews within the Board show a belief that Cameron’s lasting influence was that of creating an internal policy background that developed and sustained a distinctive range of social work services.

“Lewis Cameron was a man who determined everything.” (Interview 5 : B.)

“...at that time I think the organisation was responding to societal change by developing services without help from the state.” (Interview 1 : B.)

“Cameron’s influence and initiative developed an organisation that provided distinctive social work services on behalf of a Church whose doctrines were still quite intolerant.” (Interview 5 : B.)

Interviews reinforce the notion that Cameron was responsible for developing the social work policies and service provision of the Board after the war. They underline his focus on innovating residential services for older people while moving away from residential children’s services. Interviews argue that Cameron’s individual agency was the ‘necessary condition’ (Osborne, 1998 : 128) that allowed the Church to develop an early post-war position as an innovative provider of social work services. Within this thesis the words “individual agency” conceptualise the notion of intentional or wilful actions performed autonomously by an individual. Thus individual agency distinguishes the wilful actions of an individual from the actions of an individual carrying out the instructions of a social structure or, more relevantly in the context of this thesis, a higher-order collective. Chapter 3 has noted how Mullins

and Riseborough (2001) have identified the significant role played by individuals who scan their policy environment and select policy themes that they develop to influence the shape of their environment through individual agency rather than collective action. Chapter 4 has noted how Lindblom (1979) has argued that individuals have the potential to exert an influence upon social process and how Osborne has identified the innovative role of 'hero-innovators' (1994 : 17) at a managerial level within voluntary organisations. Similarly, Handy has highlighted the important role of 'those with a habit of direct interventions' (1988 : 86). Analysis of interview data and archival material has failed to highlight a significant role for either of the Board's higher-order collectives during the period of Cameron's directorship. The conclusion is that Cameron's philosophical and entrepreneurial drive was the primary influence that developed the Board into an 'innovative' (Osborne, 1994 : 9) faith-based service providing voluntary organisation between 1948 and 1963. To be clear, despite an exhaustive search for evidence to the contrary, there is no indication to suggest that either of the organisation's higher-order collectives operated in anything but an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner between 1948 and 1963.

Developing social work services in a welfare archipelago

At the point of Cameron's retiral in 1963, the Board had become a significant provider of social work services by acting both autonomously and in partnership to develop a range of 'alternative' (Wolfenden, 1978 : 43) social work services. Cameron's successor, the Rev. Andrew Buchan, Director of Social Work 1963 ~ 1965, affirmed the key aims and objectives of the Board as those of working 'in Christ's name among young and old on the widest possible canvas of human need' (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 : 246). This affirmation tends to support Wood's (2002) view that processes of identifying and defining social issues enable faith-based organisations to project religious views into the policy environment and

thus support a moral stance. Buchan argued that the Church's mission dictated the provision of a range of social work services 'characterised by organic growth within the context of the rapid and far-reaching changes in society' (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 : 246). What precisely Buchan meant by organic growth remains unclear but the Board's annual report for 1964 does identify increasing workloads in existing services, specifically adoption work, referrals from local authorities for places in children's homes and increased use of fostering (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 : 246). Notwithstanding increasing workloads, the range of services for children enlarged to include social treatments for juvenile delinquents through provision of approved schools in partnership with the Scottish Education Department, and the promotion of social welfare for young, male epileptic sufferers through provision of residential hostels closely linked to occupational training facilities managed by the Scottish Epilepsy Association (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964).

The retiral of Cameron allowed Buchan to review the Board's policy emphasis on developing residential care provision for older people. The Board's annual report to General Assembly shows that it anticipated halting expansion of social work in that particular area (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964). However, Buchan's review identified an increasing proportion of older people living in the community that was influencing the social work policies and service provision of other voluntary and statutory organisations in that service delivery area. The Board concluded

'...statisticians speak in astronomical terms of the growth of population by the end of the present [20th] century – and in similar terms of the expectation of life. The question arises – what is the function of the Church in the care of the aged? Apart from the fact that the aged have always been its special care, part of the original justification for the spread of the Church's work in the residential field was that it was necessary throughout the country to indicate how the Church thought this work should be done. There is clear evidence that the past work of the Committee has been of very considerable influence in forming public opinion as to worthy standards of care and accommodation. Moreover, the Church as a voluntary body has freedom of action not always

enjoyed by statutory bodies. It is still possible and desirable that the Committee, in its own freedom, should continue to seek new ways of caring for the aged, as other voluntary bodies and statutory bodies are continuously striving to do. In the exercise of a compassionate ministry, the Committee has always been conscious that it had an evangelical opportunity and duty. "What do ye more than others?" must continue to be a rebuke and a challenge.'

(Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 : 260)

Interview data argues that Cameron's influence over the Church's social work policy shaped the nature of the Board's service provision until the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973 combined to overhaul control over social work service provision in Scotland by creating regional and island social work departments that were obliged to promote social welfare. Interviewees from within the statutory social work sector contribute to this view by arguing that local authority social work service provision in Scotland maintained the spirit of the Poor Law long after the National Health Service (Scotland) Act 1947, the Children Act 1948 and the National Assistance Act 1948 were enacted. Interviews within this sector argue that the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 was the first piece of legislation to affect the position and activities of voluntary organisations because the Act required local authorities to promote social welfare. Interviews within the statutory sector describe local statutory social work services pejoratively prior to implementation of the 1968 Act and highlight inconsistent patterns of statutory provision arising from political influences subsequent to implementation of the 1968 Act. This tends to confirm the work of Murray (1969) and Eyden (1969) and suggests that voluntary organisations like the Board had potential to expand their social work service provision during the period to 1968.

"... statutory social work services were dominated by Poor Law officers and parish relief workers and statutory social work was fairly regarded as a joke. Responses to the [1968] Act were inconsistent, partly because the Act politicised social work by allowing councillors to interfere directly in the work." (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“The 1968 Act represented a sea change in attitudes within statutory social work and gave a terrific impetus to previously fragmented and backward services. Scotland immediately leaped ahead of England by two or three years, but around Scotland there remained wide variation in the quality and quantity of social services, local authorities were responsible for implementation of the Act and the small authorities were often the most progressive while many larger authorities simply didn't want the responsibilities the Act gave. This meant, despite the best intentions of some of us, local interpretation and the variation in services with the Poor Law continued.” (Interview 17 : S.S.).

The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 is not identified as having exerted any immediate adverse influence upon voluntary social work policy or service provision by interviews within the wider voluntary sector or the Board. Indeed, no mention of the 1968 Act, or of Kilbrandon's preceding report (Cmnd. 2306, 1964), was made in the Board's annual reports around the time of the Act's implementation (Committee on Social Service, 1963; Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 ~ 1971).

Archival material argues that the pattern of activities developed by the Board at the time of implementation of the 1968 Act were influenced by the views of Sir Keith Joseph who had argued that 'welfare services form more of a welfare archipelago than a welfare state' (cited in Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 236) and by a report published jointly by Birmingham Christian Social Council, Birmingham University and the William Temple College (Committee on Social Service, 1962). Joseph, like Beveridge (1948), had implied that the statutory social work sector could never meet all social needs while the former report's aim was 'to consider how churches and voluntary organisations can make a more effective contribution to the life of the local community within a situation where basic social services are provided by the state' (in Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 236). The Board, now operating under the direction of the Rev. L. Beattie Garden, Director of Social Work 1965 ~ 1977, continued to interpret its position within this so called welfare archipelago according to 'new emphasis on rehabilitation through individual and family casework and in dealing with the problems met in that field' (Committee on

Social Service, 1962 : 236). The Board's shift in policy emphasis towards rehabilitation was argued to be nothing less than a 'divine imperative' because 'Faith without works is dead' (Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 237). This emphasis also tends to affirm the notion that the definition of social issues affords faith-based organisations an opportunity to project their religious views into the policy environment.

Between 1966 and 1977, Table 5 shows that the number of social work units and projects operated by the Board increased by 12 and that its social work service provision in three areas was abandoned.

Table 5.

Numbers of units and projects operated by the Board, and its antecedents, in Scotland in 1966 and 1977 by substantive client group.

Client Group \ Year	1966	1977
Children	14	13
Homeless	8	11
Mother and Baby	2	1
Older People	34	40
Unemployed	1	~
Physically Disabled	~	2
Mentally Disabled	1	3
Drug/Alcohol Abusers	6	11
Post-natal Depressives	~	~
Prostitutes and their Children	~	~
Families	2	~
Mentally Ill	~	~
Confused Elderly	~	~
Probation Services	1	~
Custody Alternatives	~	~
Totals	69	81

Table 5 shows that the Board discontinued its probation services and its community based moral welfare services to families and the unemployed. Specifically, the Board closed its employment bureau in Edinburgh (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1966), wound up its partnership with the Scottish Episcopal Church, terminating moral welfare work in communities around Scotland (Board of Social and Moral

Welfare, 1972), and closed its probation services in Edinburgh (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1969). In addition, the Board's adoption work, after regionalisation, declined to the extent that activity in that area was progressively scaled down until, by 1977, only a baby adoption service was provided within Strathclyde Region, and then only because Strathclyde Region Social Work Department had agreed to meet all costs involved (Department of Social Responsibility, 1978). Table 5 suggests that the Board developed some new work with physically disabled individuals. However the full extent of this new work amounted to the Board renting four cottages to disabled couples. The cottages were situated within the grounds of two existing residential care homes and had previously been used by staff (Department of Social and Moral Welfare, 1974). Table 5 indicates that the major areas of work developed between 1966 and 1977 were with older people and drug/alcohol abusers. Archival material does not support the view that the Board developed a 'new emphasis on rehabilitation through individual and family casework' (Committee on Social Service, 1962 : 236) between 1966 and 1977.

Between 1966 and 1977 the Board opened six residential care homes for older people bringing its total number of care homes provided for that client group to 40. Four of these units were developed following gifts of large buildings and monies to fund adaptation of the building to its new purpose (Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1967 and 1969; Cameron, 1971). One unit was developed in a building previously used as a hostel for women and one was developed in a former manse that was adapted following the gift of a substantial sum from a Church Presbytery (Cameron, 1971; Department of Social and Moral Welfare, 1974). The expansion of work with abusers of drugs and alcohol occurred in 1977 when one children's home and three former girls' hostels were converted to hostels for alcoholics and when one new hostel for alcoholics was opened (Department of Social Responsibility, 1977 and 1978). Empirical work argues that the expansion of the Board's alternative social work service provision during this period was traditional (Osborne, 1998).

By 1970 views of the Board's position as a provider of social work services had altered within the statutory sector.

“By 1970 the Board was viewed as having completely lost its place as a charitable provider of social work services.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“The availability of funds for voluntary work via social work departments under the terms of the Social Work Act influenced the Church. It became a competitor and one looked down on by the statutory organisations. The Church was viewed as cashing in on the new system. It became simply one of any number of voluntary organisations and lost its appeal and its generosity, no money – no service. Everyone was aware that the Church received large amounts of capital, left by individuals to provide care but the Church was now demanding money from the statutory sector to provide its care. What were the Church's funds for if not for its care?” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“... local authorities began to distance themselves from the Church as it grew as a business operating on cost/benefit criteria rather than as the national Church with its own funds and agenda.” (Interview 17 : S.S.)

Within the Board, interviews support the notion that the emphasis on developing existing models of residential care provision created tense relations with statutory social work departments. In particular it is argued that the Board established a pattern of non-interaction with statutory social work departments that contributed to a perception of the organisation intentionally isolating itself from the emerging social work arena. It will be noted that Fig. 2 supports the view that an overall decline in the number of units and projects operated by the Board occurred between 1973 and 1984. Interviews within the Board suggest that individual agency was again the ‘necessary condition’ (Osborne, 1998 : 128) that effected an alteration of the Board's position as a provider of social work services after 1965. Indeed interview data suggest that the Board maintained an ‘approving’ (Kirkland, 1996) governing role during this period and failed to appraise its position on strategic and management issues developed by the Rev. L. Beattie Garden.

“... senior personnel had no idea about social work and actively fought against the development of the social work sector at the very time when it had become terribly important for the Board to develop hands on constructive involvement with the new local statutory agents.” (Interview 5 : B.)

“The damaging effect of this pattern of interaction ultimately set the work of the Board back 10 to 15 years.” (Interview 11 : B.)

“...led to the Board falling behind the times to the extent that it took until the mid 1980’s for the pattern of damage to be fully addressed.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“We began to fall behind because we had become an inward looking and precious organisation.” (Interview 11 : B.)

One interview within the wider voluntary sector confirmed that the position of the Board as an innovative provider of social work services altered between 1965 and 1977 through individual agency.

“Management during that particular period held the organisation back and prevented it from developing.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

These views emphasise individual agency in effecting an alteration of the Board’s position as an innovative provider of social work services in Scotland. Interviews reinforce the notion that the Rev. L. Beattie Garden was responsible for developing the social work policies and service provision of the Board after 1965. Interviews argue that Beattie Garden’s individual agency was the ‘necessary condition’ (Osborne, 1998 : 128) that repositioned the Board during this period and shifted the organisation’s focus away from provision of innovative alternative social work services to that of a ‘traditional’ (Osborne, 1998) provider of social work services. Again, and despite an exhaustive search for evidence to the contrary, analysis of interview data and archival material fails to highlight a significant influential role for either of the Board’s higher-order collectives during the period of Beattie Garden’s directorship. The conclusion is that the Rev. L. Beattie Garden, rather than any higher-order collective, shifted the Board’s style of service delivery between 1965 and 1977. To be clear, there is no evidence to suggest that either of the organisation’s

higher-order collectives operated in anything but an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner between 1965 and 1977.

Beattie Garden's traditional social work service provision, emphasis on Christian concerns and inward focus characterises the position of the Board between 1965 and 1977. In 1974 the Rev. L. Beattie Garden defended this characterisation of his work in a report to the General Assembly by advising that for the first time in its history the Board had 'found itself forced by external financial pressure to give up altogether one enterprise to which it had put its hand, and to alter the direction of a second' (Committee on Social Service, 1974 : 348). Beattie Garden's report noted

'... it has not been easy for the Committee to tolerate criticism of its own members, of local committees, of staff and of the General Assemblies of successive years when none knew better than the Committee itself the truth of the criticisms made, when, however, only the Committee had to bear the burden of weighty decisions and acceptance of consequences.

(Committee on Social Service, 1974 : 348)

On his retirement the Board was diffident in thanking the Rev. L. Beattie Garden for his 'combination of pastoral concern and practical involvement' (Department of Social Responsibility, 1977 : 31). The conclusion is that individual agency repositioned the Board after 1965 to become a traditional provider of alternative social work services rather an innovative social work services provider.

Shifting outlook and the pattern of service development

At the point of the Rev. L. Beattie Garden's retirement in 1978, the outlook and position of the Board as a provider of social care services again began to shift. This observable shift tends to substantiate the emphasis placed on individual agency developed above. The annual report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1977 noted

'A feature of the Church's Social Care has been a willingness, on the one hand to pioneer new forms of care and on the other, to reform the present provision and depart from work according to the changing needs of society. We are passing through such a period of change, accentuated by such diverse factors as:

medical advances that mean longer life for the elderly;
social pressures that involve more broken homes and disturbed children;
moral problems that involve addiction to one form of escapism or other;
financial pressure of a disastrous inflationary situation and the reactions of these factors one upon the other.'

(Department of Social Responsibility, 1977 : 301)

The Board's report of 1978 recognised the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Frank Gibson, Director of Social Work 1978 – 1989, as accompanying both a change in the Board's outlook and a period of change within society. The annual report of 1978 to General Assembly noted that the Board had shifted towards providing social work services independently within the social work arena, rather than in or through partnership, and implied that the adoption of an inward focus allied to its Christian ethos might have had a detrimental effect.

'The unfortunate accusation is often made of the Church and of its committees and departments that they give the appearance of preferring to think and to work in isolation. Sometimes the Church has given the impression of an unwillingness to think and to work in partnership because it is afraid that in so doing, there would be a diminution of the gospel of Christ. However, it has been found that this policy of working and thinking in partnership with others has given an openness and opportunity to the good news in Christ in social work thinking and practice. As long as the Church is seen to be committed to professional standards in its thinking and its work, there is not only an appreciation of the extent of the Church's contribution in social work but an openness to its distinctive thinking and practice.'

(Department of Social Responsibility, 1978 : 290)

Notwithstanding the effects of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 upon attitudes within the statutory sector and the heavy influence of individual agency upon the

Board's position, interviews within the Board and the voluntary sector identify the regionalisation of Scottish social work services by the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973 as having exerted a greater effect on the social work activities of the Board and the voluntary and statutory sectors. Interviews within the Board suggest that the previous pattern of non-interaction with social work departments created problems that required the Board to adopt a new outlook to maintain development of its social work service provision.

"Since we were having to fight very hard to hang on to the services we had, regionalisation created a very basic question for the Church, should it continue to develop residential services and a dependence on funding from local authorities? The inward focus of the Board around that time meant the question was never really anticipated, people looked backwards and sideways not forward and the tendency was just to carry on as before." (Interview 11 : B.)

"... it must be realised that the statutory sector blossomed after regionalisation and attempted to care for all in keeping with the ideology of the Labour left, you know, cradle to grave. It was a very difficult period for the Board and for the entire voluntary sector. Quite a few people in the statutory sector regarded the voluntary sector as total anathema and we had to fight to keep what we had never mind think of beginning new ventures. To keep going the Board had to begin to professionalise in order to stand its ground with the statutory sector." (Interview 5 : B.)

"The statutory sector had grown to look down upon the Board and the Church of Scotland. Our nationalised role made things especially difficult. Some didn't like the fact that our work questioned their policies in the light of our experience in other regions. Our role developed in many ways and I think the General Assembly tried to use us as a mediatory structure, to safeguard society from the extremes of some regions. The Board was there to set the Church's example and hopefully we stopped them [the regional councils] from doing just whatever they liked." (Interview 8 : B.)

"1974 was a point of real change for the Board. The Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church were the two major voluntary providers of residential care. Overnight almost, we had to begin to address the long disparity in residential work versus fieldwork. We had to begin to develop our residential work as part of the overall programme of social work going on in the country at the time." (Interview 3 : B.)

Interviews within the Board characterise the statutory social work sector, prior to regionalisation, as having

“... the glory but little power” (Interview 5 : B.)

Interviews within the voluntary sector identify the regionalisation of statutory social work departments as a pivotal point in the development of statutory social work service provision in Scotland.

“... regionalisation was the point when the direction of social work in Scotland changed. Up until then, the social work departments had been incapable of fulfilling the role they had been given without help and involvement of the voluntary organisations. Until regionalisation nothing really changed. After regionalisation the authorities were large enough to develop their own resources and that is what they started to do.” (Interview 2 : V.S.)

“The 1973 Act altered the environment within which statutory social work operated because the regions were powerful enough to dictate the social work agenda.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

Interviews within the statutory sector recognise that regionalisation altered the position of voluntary organisations within the social work arena by negating the relative value of the activities that voluntary organisations provided.

“Regionalisation created large, powerful organisations and generic social work services that enabled a real community based approach to welfare. Some of the authorities began to view the voluntary sector in a sort of parasitic light, at least they didn't believe that statutory obligations should be delivered by voluntary organisations and they effectively ruled them out of the equation. You see the regions were large enough to establish their own resources, they thought they didn't need the voluntary sector any longer and thought it should just carry on doing charitable work leaving social work to the state.” (Interview 10 : S.S.)

“... the old type specialist social work services were diluted by the creation of generic regional services. Changes were fierce and fast, adoption work, for example, became a local authority monopoly and the departments generally became much more detached from the interference of local councillors. Overnight, political views changed and we had to be seen to be doing practical work otherwise we were nothing.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“Regionalisation was for the better and social work finally came of age. As directors we had our seat at the top table and had strategic influence over

planning and all other aspects of social work policy. Kilbrandon [Cmnd. 2306, 1964] had laid the foundations but it was Wheatley [Cmnd. 4150, 1969] that made it all happen. Social work was elevated in status in most parts of Scotland and the regions began to build up their own resources to meet their obligations." (Interview 13 : S.S.)

Interviews within the voluntary sector confirm that the regionalisation of statutory social work services fundamentally redistributed power over the social work agenda in favour of the regional and island social work departments.

"Regionalisation made the voluntary sector dependent on the statutory sector for its money as well as for regulatory permission to even operate services." (Interview 7 : V.S.)

"... it mainstreamed social work and took away the voluntary sector's historic role as the main providers of social welfare services. This was wrong because the voluntary organisations had the experience and the skills and were more effective and efficient because regions lacked the capacity to innovate and were incapable of changing direction quickly when the need arose." (Interview 4 : V.S.)

"The regions held the power. When the regions said no that was it, there was absolutely no way round the problem. Even if an organisation had its own funds they could still pull the plug by refusing to use it or by not giving permission to operate it. Regionalisation changed the face of social work." (Interview 7 : V.S.)

"The Board was more affected by regionalisation than other charities because it operated a range of services and because it operated right around Scotland. These factors exposed the Board to issues and problems the specialised organisations never encountered." (Interview 15 : V.S.)

These views emphasise the influence of exogenous forces upon the continuation and development of social work services provided by voluntary organisations. Clearly the 1973 Act is held accountable within the voluntary sector for altering the social work environment in Scotland. Within the statutory and voluntary sectors the recognised position of the Board as a traditional provider of social work services within a changing social work environment is believed to have altered by the late 1970s. In particular, the Board's position as a provider of social work services is

unambiguously viewed as having been altered and strengthened through the endogenous force of individual agency.

“Until Frank Gibson came along the Church had been a precious body, certainly not part of the rough and tumble development of social work services at the time. Its practical work was difficult to identify and I personally would say that its work didn’t support or even parallel what was going on in the statutory sector.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“... common interests began to develop between the Church and the statutory sector. Negotiations over payments for services were sometimes difficult but the Board had the ear of the Scottish Office Ministers, and some of the senior civil servants, who listened to the Board because it represented the wider Church in this particular field. The Church at that time had very close links with the Catholic Church on a range of social work issues. They worked together to actively create tensions and we had to listen and respond appropriately. However, everything was handled constructively.” (Interview 13 : S.S.)

“The Church started to become an organisation that was a useful partner because it brought management and practical skills to the work it did. The working relationships we developed were generally good, although the Church did occasionally attempt to assert its independence. In general its role at the time was moving towards the preventative, I mean its main contribution was, and I suppose always had been, delivering services for inadequate individuals by providing for their total needs within its residential accommodation. The Board was listened to because they had experience and skills in that area but also because they were doing work that the local authorities would have to pick up if they ever pulled out. They were in a strong position and the management knew how to use it.” (Interview 17 : S.S.)

Interviews within the voluntary sector also recognise a change in outlook and enhanced level of professionalism within the Board during the early 1980s and emphasise the role of individual agency in altering the prevailing outlook of the Board and, subsequently, the pattern of development taken by its social work services.

“Frank was regarded highly as a man of considerable personal influence who had to deal with huge management issues to begin to take the Board in the right direction.” (Interview 19 : V.S.)

“The Church began to develop the level of professionalism that it had lacked. Looking back, I would say that the Church was working towards issues that we now call best practice.” (Interview 7 : V.S.)

“The Church, like many of the voluntary organisations around, began working to standards higher than those of the local authorities. For example the Board’s policies on childcare were widely adopted by other voluntary agencies and its distinctive approach began to shine through under Frank Gibson. There was an emphasis on quality that had never been apparent in the past and the Church’s work started to look as if it was being run by a team rather than an individual. It also started to become clear that money was not the primary motivation.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

Interviews within the Board also highlight the noted influence of individual agency upon altering and strengthening position and overall outlook of the Board.

“Frank Gibson was a strong character who moved the whole organisation on. He was a unique individual, qualified in three different fields with the ability to argue his case. He was the first to advocate a professional approach and he also tried to build up contacts within Europe, the U.S.A., India and Africa. Frank helped found the International Christian Federation for the Prevention of Drug and Alcohol Abuse and the Scottish Council for Single Homeless to help get the Board’s work noticed.” (Interview 11 : B.)

“Frank Gibson shared the vision and desire to innovate that was held by the staff operating at ground level. He put the Board’s finances on a firm footing and put a significant amount of work into getting realistic amounts of money from the local authorities for the work we were doing. He played a very hard game very well. Along with Cardinal Winning, Frank challenged the balance of power and the prevailing assumption of the time that partnerships with the regions could not be equal.” (Interview 3 : B.)

Fig. 2 has shown that the Board’s work declined between 1977 and 1990, measured in terms of overall number of units and projects. Specifically, Fig. 2 shows that the overall number of units and projects operated by the Board fell by 15 between 1977 and 1985 to 66, before rising by 10 to 76, by 1990. Table 6 shows that the major areas of work contracted by 1985 were with children and the homeless while new work was initiated with the confused elderly and families. Table 6 also shows that by 1990 the Board had initiated new work with prostitutes and the mentally ill and had returned to working with those on probation for the first time since 1969.

Table 6.

Numbers of units and projects operated by the Board, and its antecedents, in Scotland in 1977, 1985 and 1990 by substantive client group.

Client Group \ Year	1977	1985	1990
Children	13	3	3
Homeless	11	5	4
Mother and Baby	1	~	~
Older People	40	38	37
Unemployed	~	~	~
Physically Disabled	2	2	2
Mentally Disabled	3	4	7
Drug/Alcohol Abusers	11	9	10
Post-natal Depressives	~	~	~
Prostitutes and their Children	~	~	1
Families	~	3	4
Mentally Ill	~	~	1
Confused Elderly	~	2	5
Probation Services	~	~	2
Custody Alternatives	~	~	~
Totals	81	66	76

During 1983 the Board terminated its residential care services for children for three reasons: the Board had long recognised that social work policy should prefer that children live in the community rather than in residential establishments and had been working towards such a situation; relatively fewer children existed in the population because of a falling birth rate, and; local authorities encouraged fostering rather than residential care because they believed fostering to be relatively cheaper than residential care (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983 : 292). The combined effects of statutory social work policy meant the numbers of children being referred to the Board's homes had decreased to the point that the homes had become financially unviable (Board of Social Responsibility, 1984 : 352 ~ 353). In 1983 the Secretary of State for Scotland ordered the Board to close one of its List D schools. This closure preceded publication of a report (Fiddes, 1983) that had advised the Secretary of State not to continue providing List D schools in partnership with voluntary organisations but to make List D school provision the responsibility of

local authorities. In 1985 the Board was ordered to close a second List D school (Board of Social Responsibility, 1985). By 1990 the Board had withdrawn from providing services to the homeless to the extent that only two night shelters and two day centres remained in operation (Board of Social Responsibility, 1990). This withdrawal from working with the homeless reflected the Board's focus on quality and related dissatisfaction with the nature of the buildings that had been used to provide homeless services. In 1983, the Board anticipated 'providing more effective services for the homeless and with other organisations would be working towards resettlement within the community' (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983 : 354). Withdrawal from provision of residential homeless social work services reflected implementation of the policy shift away from palliative social work towards rehabilitative social work initiated in 1962 by the Rev. Dr. Cameron. Between 1978 and 1990 there is further evidence of the adaptation of old buildings for new work with drug and alcohol abusers (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983; Board of Social Responsibility, 1984 ~ 1995). Work with families was also reinitiated in 1981 when the Board opened a resource centre for the families of alcoholics to provide counselling and social support (Department of Social Responsibility, 1981: 289).

Residential social work service provision for the confused elderly began in 1982 when the Board opened the first residential care home for this client group in Scotland. The unit was developed when the Board received the gift of a building and two separate gifts of substantial sums of money to redevelop and adapt the building for a new use. The Board noted that it was appropriate for the Church to 'pioneer new areas of social work, and Williamwood House is a good example of that in 1982' (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983 : 289). The unit was developed in co-operation with Strathclyde Region Social Work Department and Greater Glasgow Health Board with the Church providing the capital and the statutory agencies providing enhanced revenues. The development of residential social work with the confused elderly was influenced by the terms of the Health and Social Security

(Adjudication) Act 1983, which, as noted in Chapter 3, had made it illegal for local authorities to supplement or otherwise contribute to payments for residential care made by the D.H.S.S. unless the primary issue of care was related to the mental health of the individual concerned. This Act created an opportunity for the Board to develop an internal policy of halting the expansion of its residential social work service provision for older people in preference to developing residential social work service provision for confused older people for which supplementary revenue allowances could be secured from local authorities (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983).

In 1988 the Woman's Guild of the Church of Scotland provided the Board with the finance to implement a new model of work with drug-addicted prostitutes. The model was based on earlier work undertaken in the Netherlands and in West Germany and was adapted by the Board for use in Edinburgh. The project was intended to mark the Guild's centenary and was intended to 'take love, acceptance, care and hope to those women who will not come looking for help' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1988 : 273). Also in 1988 the Board re-entered the probation arena by opening two probation hostels in Glasgow. These units were the second and third probation hostels to be opened in Scotland and were established in partnership with Strathclyde Region Social Work Department and the Scottish Office. The hostels offered the Courts a new method of disposal (Board of Social Responsibility, 1989). In 1989 the Board began to provide long-term residential care for the mentally ill. This social work service project was established following the gift of a building from a charitable trust and was funded in partnership by Forth Valley Health Board and Central Region Social Work Department to provide rehabilitative community care for individuals recovering from serious mental illness (Board of Social Responsibility, 1990).

The Board's archives show that in 1987 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on petition from individuals living within the Presbytery of Dundee, withdrew approval allowing the Board to establish a designated place for alcoholics in Dundee (Board of Social Responsibility, 1986 ~ 1988). This withdrawal of approval was unprecedented in the Board's history and is the first substantive evidence of either higher-order collective exerting any influence upon the social work activities of the Board in the post-war period.

Archival material shows that the Rev. Dr. Gibson altered the Board's policy of using legacies, gifts and bequests. Prior to 1978 legacies, gifts and bequests received by the Board were routinely used to subsidise social work service provision through direct application to revenue income accounts: unless conditions attached to the legacy, gift or bequest explicitly precluded such a use. On appointment, as interview data suggests, the Rev. Dr. Gibson reviewed the Board's financial arrangements and renegotiated revenue funding arrangements with C.O.S.L.A. and the Scottish Office such that legacies, gifts and bequests were subsequently used only for capital expenditure, or to reduce unmet property development costs. (Cameron, 1971; Committee on Social Service, 1948 ~ 1963 and 1970 ~ 1975; Board of Social and Moral Welfare, 1964 ~ 1970; Department of Social Responsibility, 1976 ~ 1983; Board of Social Responsibility, 1984 ~ 1990).

The position of the Board as a provider of social work services altered between 1978 and 1990. During the period the Board's archives demonstrate a willingness to reform its existing social work service provision and a willingness to work in partnership and to invent social service provision to meet incipient social needs. The implementation of these intentions confronted the perception that the Board preferred to work in isolation, preferring not to take cognisance of social work developments in wider society. As evidenced by interviews, the shift in outlook and policy emphasis enhanced the reputation of the Board, its social work services and

recognition of the organisation's professional experience and skills. Interviews acknowledge that by 1990 the Board acted as a significant provider of distinctive, professionally organised and managed social work services and recognise that the Board had become responsive to the views of Scotland's secular agencies. These characteristics are representative of an innovative organisation (Osborne, 1998 : 129). This classification takes account of interview data and archival material and recognises the role of individual agency in raising professional standards and adopting a proactive approach to meeting incipient social needs. The individual agency that altered the position of the Board between 1978 and 1990 was specifically, and effusively, recognised on the occasion of the Rev. Dr. Gibson's retirement when the Church acknowledged

'Mr Gibson's unique contribution to the development of the Church's social work over these years, and it is indebted to him for his professional insight and commitment to the development of services provided by the Board, on behalf of the Church, to the nation.

The Board, together with the whole Church, gives thanks to Mr Gibson for his leadership of its work, and looks with confidence to being able to build on what has gone on before as it develops its services for the future.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1990 : 398)

In summary the Rev. Dr. Frank Gibson was responsible for developing the social work policies and service provision of the Board between 1978 and 1989. Interviews and archival material highlight his focus on innovating social work services to meet incipient needs. Interviews unambiguously argue that Gibson's individual agency was the 'necessary condition' (Osborne, 1998 : 128) that allowed the Church to regain the position of an innovative provider of social work services. Again, analysis of interview data and archival material has failed to highlight a significant role for either of the Board's higher-order collectives during the period of Gibson's directorship. The conclusion is that Gibson's philosophical and entrepreneurial drive was the primary influence that developed the Board into an 'innovative' (Osborne,

1994 : 9) faith-based service-providing voluntary organisation between 1978 and 1989. To be clear, despite an exhaustive search for evidence to the contrary, there is no indication to suggest that either of the organisation's higher-order collectives operated in anything but an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner between 1978 and 1989.

Developments in the mixed economy of welfare

Interviews within the Board, the voluntary sector and the statutory sector identify the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 as having exerted a profound influence upon the production and regulation of social work services. The 1990 Act is recognised as having increased local authority influence over social work services by unequivocally placing the regional and island social work departments in control of social work policy, practice, regulation and finance. The Board's archives show that implementation of the 1990 Act was 'anticipated with mixed feelings' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 399). The Board expected the Act to be implemented in stages and anticipated the key developments to be

'by 1st April 1991: (i) to introduce a unit responsible for inspecting residential care establishments for adults;
(ii) in association with the above unit, to establish an Advisory Committee;
(iii) to plan for the development of mental illness services which will be 70 percent funded by a Government Specific Grant;
(iv) to introduce a complaints procedure

by 1st April 1992: to publish community care plans

by 1st April 1993: to accept transfer of responsibility from the Department of Social Security the financial responsibility for support of care costs.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 396)

Nevertheless the Board was decisive in advising the General Assembly that the 1990 Act would have a major impact on its service provision. It informed the Assembly that

‘The Church stands at a vital point of developing social care services. The area of social care practice is under scrutiny at all levels in society, government taking a lead role through the passing and implementation of the National Health Service and Community Care Act, 1990. The Church’s contribution must be to offer services to the whole person giving proper weight to spiritual needs, as well as to those physical and emotional areas of an individual’s life.’

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 398)

To be concrete, the Board was concerned that the 1990 Act would adversely affect all areas of its social work service provision because local authority registration and inspection departments could make demands that the Church would consider unacceptable relative to its Christian philosophy and because the local authorities would have influence over its financial situation through transfer of responsibility for statutory revenue payments (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991). The emergence of this view supports the argument that the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 eroded local authority control over the social work agenda by removing local authority control over the funding of voluntary social work services. The Board advised that renewed emphasis on local control over social work finance policy would require an enhanced local, in addition to national, presence if its voice was to be heard effectively by policymakers (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 396~397). In financial terms, the Board anticipated losing £2 million per annum following implementation of the 1990 Act. The Board had costed its residential care services for older people in 1991 at the rate of £200 per person per week while the Department of Health and Social Security had fixed the rates of statutory funding for 1991 at £160 for older people and £185 for the very dependent elderly per person per week, respectively (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 397). In 1991, the Board provided residential care to 1,307 older people (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991

: 398) and concluded that its historic focus on providing residential care to older people would mean that it would increasingly find 'itself in a position where income does not meet the cost of effective care' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 : 400). The chief area of concern for the Board following implementation of the 1990 Act arose from the belief that the best value environment to be created by the local authorities would not allow funding of residential care services for older people at a level that would meet costs (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991).

Under the leadership of Ian Baillie, Director of Social Work 1990 – 2002, the Board's reaction to implementation of the 1990 Act was threefold. The concern that inspection and regulation departments would make unacceptable demands relative to the Church's Christian philosophy of care resulted in the development of internal policies that sought to ensure that the Board's standards of social work service exceeded those demanded by local authorities and 'where such objectives cannot be met, the service must be stopped' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 321). The second area of concern for the Board was the influence that local authorities would have over the Board's finances. In this case the Board anticipated forthcoming revenue losses and altered the Rev. Dr. Gibson's policy of restricting the use of legacies, gifts and bequests to items of capital expenditure. From 1991 legacies, gifts and bequests were 'used to assist in the revenue contribution to projects' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 321). Finally, in two key ways, the Board addressed its concern that local authority control over social work policy would require enhanced local, as well as national, presence if its voice was to be heard effectively. First, the Board was successful in securing representation on a number of local authority inspection and regulation advisory committees established by the Act and thereby actively attempted to influence the work of local authority inspection teams (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 323). Second, the Board sought to involve the Church's wider membership in shaping its social work service provision by attempting to forge links between the social work services managed by the Board and

the social work activities of the churches that operated at the local level. It attempted to do this by appointing a Congregational Liaison Officer (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 328). The Board noted that the creation of this position represented a major effort to 'encourage the Church at congregational level to own its contribution to social work at both local and national level.' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 328).

Voluntary sector interviews argue that the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 was a direct attempt to enhance the emphasis on individual responsibility associated with the New Right's policies. Voluntary sector interviews repeat the view that the 1990 Act represented an attempt to cut costs and increase control over voluntary organisations by placing local politicians and regional authorities in control of the social work agenda. Interviewees also assert that the 1990 Act affected the Board to a greater extent than other voluntary organisations.

"The Act was a response to Griffiths [Cmnd. 849, 1988] and the massive problem of wasteful capital expenditure as far as the economy went. Before the Act, unrestricted amounts of money were available for residential care, local authorities were happy because they didn't have to pay, that effectively released the voluntary sector from having dependence on the statutory sector." (Interview 19 : V.S.)

"The N.H.S. and Community Care Act, 1990 reinstated the old issues of voluntary organisations negotiating contracts with individual authorities and brought in the, so called, arms length inspection and registration of homes. The large voluntary organisations were more affected than the smaller ones because service standards varied between regions and nothing was universal. I would think the Church was affected more than most because of its diverse range of services, and mainly because of its focus on residential care for the elderly. The community care legislation effectively meant everyone had to start working to higher standards than those of the regions. We had to be better than them because they enforced standards on us that they couldn't enforce on themselves and if they didn't enforce them on someone what was the point of having an inspection and regulation department?" (Interview 15 : V.S.)

"The N.H.S. Act effectively meant that local authorities could do as they pleased because they had control over everything and they immediately began to concentrate everything on their own units, never mind that they were

working below our standards most of the time. The regions didn't want to pay and everything became subject to suspect political motives. Some of the work of the voluntary sector was particularly controversial and immediately thrust into the financial limelight because it was plugging gaps that some local authorities hadn't really noticed before. I think that was part of Thatcher's intention you know, to change direction. I think it failed though because the councillors questioned whether they should have to pay for the services because they either didn't want to recognise the gaps in their own service provision or because they wanted to spend the money on the causes they deemed worthy." (Interview 6 : V.S.)

"The Thatcher government attacked local government ineffectiveness and waste by, among other things of course, making them accountable for everything to do with social work. Money became extremely tight and they were heavily criticised by all comers for failing and getting everything wrong. The effect on the voluntary sector was that we had to become even more professional, even more ruthless, in order to compete for funds to survive within the environment the Act created. In practice it all meant we had to bring our own money to the negotiating table. When we did that we survived and even prospered. Those that didn't or couldn't, started down a slippery slope towards oblivion." (Interview 12 : V.S.)

Statutory sector interviews characterise the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 as having strengthened the positions of the voluntary and statutory sectors at the local level. Within the statutory sector the 1990 Act is not considered to have affected the wider voluntary sector in anything other than a positive manner but is considered to have adversely affected local authority social work departments and the Board. The latter resulting from the Board's focus on providing residential social work services for older people.

"The Act introduced an expectation of change within social work that the voluntary sector was well placed to address. The statutory sector became a bureaucracy geared up to meeting regional obligations, in practice that was always going to mean that we would look towards the voluntary sector, and to a lesser extent the private sector, to work in parallel with us to meet our obligations." (Interview 10 : S.S.)

"During the 1980s a loophole in D.S.S. regulations created massive growth in private residential provision for older people and there was a real need to introduce some method of capping expenditure. Community care was created and much trumpeted by the Tory government, but the policy wasn't interested in the old issues of poverty or disadvantage. Community care was about getting value for money by relying on the voluntary sector to do the jobs we

couldn't get to. The 1990 Act created lots of opportunities for the private and voluntary sectors and I would say that it was a time of expansion for the voluntary sector into new areas." (Interview 9 : S.S.)

"The 1990 Act changed the emphasis of social work in a not wholly un-positive way. We had to tighten up the commissioning services, which invariably meant that informal discussions gave way to a stricter tendering process. Straightforward partnerships went out the window and contracts and accountability came in. The role of the voluntary sector, in many practical ways, was enhanced immeasurably and I think the voluntary organisations with their added value and their resources were ideally situated to make their impact on social work services in Scotland." (Interview 14 : S.S.)

"Thatcher redefined the debate on poverty and the nanny state. She vilified social work and shifted all policy debates to the right. She created the market economy and social work within the statutory sector went directly from a period of growth and development and influence to uncertainty. The whole of social work was reconstructed and the promotion of welfare moved right off the political agenda. On balance, I imagine the voluntary organisations fared very well but I should also imagine the Board didn't. A lot of us in social work looked at the Board at the time and thought they should immediately get out of elderly services because that whole area was effectively privatised during the 1980s and that was a key part of what the Act was trying to end." (Interview 13 : S.S.)

In 1994 the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994, effective 1st April 1996, rationalised local authority government in Scotland. The Act abandoned the two-tier structure of local government established by the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973. The Act disbanded the district and regional authorities and created 32 unitary councils and amended the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 such that unitary council authorities were not obliged or required to appoint directors of social work or maintain social work departments. The Board advised the General Assembly that the 1994 Act would 'have a major impact on the day to day work of the Board's staff' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1995 : 439). In 1995 the Board expressed its attitude towards the mixed economy of welfare to be managed by the unitary councils under the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990.

'The intention of the legislation was to encourage Local Authorities to be providers of fewer direct services, in preference to enabling others to provide services to meet needs identified by the local authorities. This concept is not

fully accepted by many Scottish Local Authorities, which are retaining many of their direct services and, indeed, are ensuring that these services are fully used before placements are made with other providers.

It is within this latter "decision making" area that the Board has been badly let down by Local Authorities with regard to residential care of elderly people. The Regional Authorities have left a burdensome legacy to their successor Unitary Authorities.

It is for these reasons that Local Authorities cannot be proud of their treatment of organisations which have given the community loyal support, in the Board's case, for 125 years.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1996 : 21/6)

The language and strength of feeling displayed in this statement is unprecedented for a report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Nevertheless the statement was endorsed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Board of Social Responsibility, 1996) and therefore represents the considered view of the Established Church in Scotland in perceiving a failure of Government policy. Interviews within the Board view the 1990 and 1994 Acts as having exerted a negative influence on their social work service provision. The policies developed by the local authorities, subsequent to 1990, resulted in service-providing organisations incurring financial deficits because, interviews argue, voluntary organisations were effectively used to subsidise the statutory obligations of local authorities. Interviews argue that inadequate financing of voluntary social work services was justified by statutory agencies through emphasis on considerations of best value and tendering. These issues are argued to have affected the Board to a greater extent than other voluntary organisations operating in Scotland. The statutory sector's obligation to secure best value after 1990 is also argued to have influenced the Board's position primarily because its director could no longer continue the previous practice of direct negotiation with the local authorities to secure enhanced funding for the social work services provision the Board wished to develop. Interviews argue that this resulted in the Board re-evaluating the predominantly residential nature of its social work service provision.

“Standards were driven down generally by the mixed economy of welfare. Local authority reorganisation reduced the efficacy and power of the local authorities. Empire building has replaced partnership working as people tried to do things themselves. Best value for us is a shot in the dark and we’re struggling with the idea. We’re an organisation that has developed strong feelings about the failure of the cradle to the grave welfare state.” (Interview 3 : B.)

“... tendering is a waste of time and money that has led to voluntary organisations competing with one another.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“We have suffered because of the generalist nature of our work, because of the national remit given to the Board and our comparative lack of local presence. The position was made worse after local authority reorganisation because we are now even less likely to be represented in service negotiations within each locality” (Interview 1 : B.)

“In terms of developing operations after the [1990] Act, we had to stop being so dependent on buildings and try to start tendering to deliver relevant services by responding to specific needs.” (Interview 3 : B.)

The residential focus of the Board’s social work service provision and the best value environment developed by the local authorities are viewed as having adversely affected the development and even continuation of the Board’s social work service provision. Interviewees reflect that the internal interpretation of the Board’s social work policy is reflected in a somewhat defensive response to the 1990 Act that was intended to enable continuation of the organisation’s autonomously developed pattern of social work service provision. This internal interpretation argues that the Board’s social work services are important because they have a distinctive purpose. The distinctive purpose, in turn, reflects the ethos underpinning the Board’s social work and tends to substantiate the theoretical link between religion and social work policy outlined in Chapter 3. In particular, the internal interpretation of the Board’s social work policy suggests that the organisation’s faith-based service provision is influenced by interpretations of social work that derive from ‘traditions and biographies’ (Wood, 2002 : 71). As such, the Board’s distinctive and religiously motivated social work service provision can be viewed as being reflective of the

Church's moral stance inasmuch as the Board's work attempts to address social issues perceived as important. Interview data tends to support this view.

"... our units are exemplars of different work." (Interview 3: B.)

"The whole purpose of our work is to show what can be done and how we think social work should be done. Our work enables a moral stance to be justified." (Interview 1 : B.)

Fig. 2 shows how the Board expanded the number of units and projects it operated by 38, from 76 to 114 between 1990 and 2000. Table 7 demonstrates that much of this expansion was with older people and the confused elderly. It also shows that the Board initiated an alternative to custody and work with post-natal depressives.

Table 7.

Numbers of units and projects operated by the Board, and its antecedents, in Scotland in 1990 and 2000 by substantive client group.

Client Group	Year	1990	2000
Children		3	5
Homeless		4	6
Mother and Baby		~	~
Older People		37	55
Unemployed		~	~
Physically Disabled		2	2
Mentally Disabled		7	13
Drug/Alcohol Abusers		10	13
Post-natal Depressives		~	1
Prostitutes and their Children		1	1
Families		4	5
Mentally Ill		1	1
Confused Elderly		5	9
Probation Services		2	2
Custody Alternatives		~	1
Totals		76	114

In 1991 the Board opened the second designated place in Scotland. This unit was established in partnership with the Scottish Office, Highland Health Board, Highland Region Social Work Department, Kirk Care Housing Association and Northern Constabulary. The unit receives individuals arrested for drunkenness as an alternative

to detention in police cells and is intended to decriminalise drunkenness (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992). In 1994 the Board developed a post-natal depression project, in a building formerly used as a children's home, in partnership with Lothian Region Council Social Work Department, the Dr. Guthrie Association, the Agnes Hunter Trust and the Martin House Trust. The project received a Highly Commended award from the Scottish Management Efficiency Group's Partnership in Health Care for the work undertaken (Board of Social Responsibility, 1995).

Between 1990 and 2000 the Board opened a further four units and projects to develop work with the confused elderly. Specifically, two residential care units were opened in 1992, and two day care centres were opened in 1996 and 1998, respectively. One was developed in a building previously used as residential care homes for children and older people respectively, with financial assistance from the William Adams Trust (Committee on Social Service, 1971 ~ 1973; Department of Social Responsibility, 1982; Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 and 1993). The second was developed in a residential care home that was reclassified as a unit for the confused elderly (Board of Social Responsibility, 1991 ~ 1993). One day centre was developed within a former manse alongside existing mainstream family counselling services and the other was developed in a building formerly used as a residential care home for older people (Cameron, 1971; Board of Social Responsibility, 1995 ~ 1999). The expansion of work in these areas was of a 'developmental' (Osborne, 1994 : 9) nature.

Between 1990 and 2000 the Board closed 11 residential care homes for older people (Board of Social Responsibility, 1990 ~ 2000). These units were closed because they had become financially unviable in the best value environment created by the 1990 Act and were closed because the Board was unable to meet the standards of service provision demanded by the local authorities. In keeping with the Board's policy

developed in 1992 the services were 'stopped' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 321).

Between 1996 and 1998 the Board initiated 27 home support schemes for older people. These schemes were run and managed from existing residential care units and were 'designed to provide a care package in one's own home, postponing the need for residential care' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1996 : 21/15). In 1997 the Board advised the General Assembly that the home support scheme was dependant on 'what local authorities are prepared to pay, although, as with other services, the Board will develop a fee scale for those who can themselves afford to pay for the service' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1997 : 21/21). These complementary social work schemes operate on an 'as and when' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1997 : 21/21) basis.

Interviews within the voluntary sector confirm that the 1990 Act exerted a detrimental influence upon the Board as a provider of social work services. In particular, interviews argue that the Board's determination to maintain the distinctive nature of its work shaped its attitude towards local authority control over social work policy and finance. Interviews highlight the reaction of the Board to the development of the mixed economy of welfare in Scotland as evidence of the Act's impact.

"The Church adopted a lead role in challenging the authorities over the creation of the care gap. It has taken huge risks and we have watched the outcome of those risks, which is exactly why we would not have wanted to get into the issues and work the Board has undertaken." (Interview 7 : V.S.)

"The Church has been affected more than most because it is a diverse organisation. I think the advantages of community care legislation have been outweighed by the disadvantages in their case. By comparison the N.H.S. Act has been crucial to our survival." (Interview 15 : V.S.)

"... the Board has shown that it is prepared to pick battles that it has no hope of winning." (Interview 4 : V.S.)

“Following the latest round of local authority reorganisation, social work has become very inconsistent. Funding varies from area to area, expectations of service vary from area to area and gaps in service provision have become apparent. These are the issues of the 1990s that have presented the opportunities for the voluntary sector. The authorities expect innovative developments from the voluntary sector and as a consequence they’re not interested in perpetuating old models of social service that revolve around sticking people in even older buildings. I don’t doubt the Church’s ethos, or the quality of its care, but I do think its defence of residential care has looked inappropriate.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

“The care gap has greatly affected the Church of Scotland because it stuck with residential care for older people in the hope that it could influence change. I think it’s shown itself to lack the capacity to influence change. It has been very, very critical of the local authorities but nothing has changed. The Board must move on if it is to survive.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

Interviews within the statutory sector confirm the views of the voluntary sector but reason that opportunities were created for voluntary organisations because the 1990 Act resulted in a deterioration of ability within the statutory sector.

“In many respects the whole business of social work went full circle with the 1990 Act. Here we are now, back at the beginning, local control over local problems with voluntary organisations tackling the issues that the state can’t. Everything’s up for grabs. The statutory sector’s work is variable to say the least and it would be surprising if it wasn’t when you think of the full range of authorities involved, falling everywhere between Glasgow City Council and Clackmannanshire. The local authorities are now obliged to be totally transparent, wide open to ideas and suggestions coming through from voluntary organisations or anywhere else for that matter. However, to be honest, all I ever hear about the Church concerns their financial crisis and the care gap.” (Interview 14 : S.S.)

“The Church now appears to be going along under its own momentum. It’s resting on its laurels now and has shown itself to be falling behind the dynamic organisations within the voluntary sector.” (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“Generally the voluntary sector’s position is enhanced now that social work has been fragmented by the creation of the unitary councils. Reorganisation changed the social work task to assessment and care management rather than as the monopolistic providers of social care that some of the regions thought they were after 1990. Recently there have been huge increases in budgets and major shifts in the direction of practice, although I suspect some may not have kept up with the pace of change. Those voluntary organisations that have developed and expanded their services have done so through diversification. In doing so they have enhanced the stability of statutory

social work at a time of major change through their comparative autonomy and freedom from political structures. The statutory sector's involvement has been to encourage that process and that element of autonomy. As a consequence, it is ridiculous when people suggest that the autonomy of voluntary organisations has been eroded through contracting and best value considerations." (Interview 10 : S.S.)

"Following local authority reorganisation, social work lost the degree of corporate planning between sectors that the regions had built up. The kaleidoscope of organisations involved in Scottish activities now means that certain organisations, statutory and voluntary, occasionally go off at a tangent. There has also been a lot of cherry picking going on with some local authorities being left with only the difficult and unpleasant jobs. Anyway, it's appropriate to say that now there is a tapestry of ad hoc services that demands more effective co-operation and co-ordination between sectors and organisations. My personal view is that statutory social work has lost its way and is now trying to redefine itself. Nobody speaks with any authority on social work now but the Board is a good example of a voluntary organisation that has attempted to speak out authoritatively." (Interview 13 : S.S.)

Notwithstanding the view that the Board's internal interpretation of social work policy is influenced by 'traditions and biographies' (Wood, 2002 : 71) and that its distinctive, religiously motivated social work service provision reflects the Church's moral stance, between 1990 and 2000 there is no evidence of either higher-order collective exerting any overt influence upon the position of the Board. Rather, interviews within the voluntary and statutory sectors unambiguously emphasise the role of individual agency in shaping the Board's development and reaction to legislation.

"Ian brought credibility to the Church's work in the social care field and has developed arguments to try and move things on." (Interview 10 : S.S.)

"The Board under Ian's direction has been absolutely vociferous on the care gap." (Interview 10 : S.S.)

"Ian Baillie has been very active in putting forward his position, the unique work of his organisation in terms of operations and his views about the care gap" (Interview 14 : S.S.)

"Ian Baillie is active at the U.K. level, getting the Board's message across. He has called together the Churches to talk about elderly care and has held meetings with the Scottish Executive and at Westminster. However, I'm not aware of any actual influence having been exerted." (Interview 4 : V.S.)

“Ian Baillie is well known and respected within Scottish social work, and we know he’s had a difficult job because the Church’s work is so large and it’s difficult to change.” (Interview 19 : V.S.)

“Ian has been quite an influential person and so he should be because he represents the views of a huge number of people.” (Interview 7 : V.S.)

“Ian has been our natural ally on many contemporary social work issues and has helped the sector progress.” (Interview 2 : V.S.)

“Ian has considerable personal credibility. He’s a clear thinker and a thoughtful person. By contrast the Church has a very low profile and most people aren’t aware that the Church of Scotland lies behind his work.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

Interviews within the Board confirm individual agency as the primary agent of change and highlight failures in the Board, operating as lower level higher-order collective, as being responsible for enabling individual agency to hold such a position.

“The Board is totally unworkable, it’s too large and the members are too easily distracted from the issues by events. A smaller Board would be better and we need a Board that can call the directorate to account.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“Ian Baillie is the Board’s primary contact with outside agencies. He influenced the work of the Board by bringing in his local authority background which helped us develop some influence with other agencies. Ian also picked up many of Frank’s interests and developed our international contacts.” (Interview 11 : B.)

“The Board is not aware of the extent of its work. The directorate is the prime agent of change and policy development. The Board’s a rubber stamp really and far too large to be of any effective use.” (Interview 18 : B.)

Osborne’s (1998) empirical work classifies the Board as a developmental organisation between 1990 and 2000. This classification again accommodates the role of individual agency in shaping the development of the Board’s services, in shaping the organisation’s reaction to legislation and in shaping the organisation’s overt determination to maintain the distinctive nature of social work service

provision. As such Mr. Ian Baillie should be considered responsible for influencing the development of the social work policies and service provision of the Board between 1990 and 2000. Interviews and archival material both highlight his focus on developing the organisation's existing pattern of social work service provision and how the Board, as lower level higher-order collective, has been ineffective in shaping the organisation's service delivery. Again, analysis of interview data and archival material has failed to highlight a significant role for either of the Board's higher-order collectives during the period of Baillie's period of office. The conclusion is that individual agency was the primary influence that shifted the position of the Board to become a 'developmental' (Osborne, 1994 : 9) faith-based service providing voluntary organisation between 1990 and 2000. To be clear, despite an exhaustive search for evidence to the contrary, there is no indication to suggest that either of the organisation's higher-order collectives operated in anything but an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner between 1990 and 2000.

Chapter 5 has noted how, between 1999 and 2002, the student attended and participated in all residential meetings of the Board of Social Responsibility and how, in 2000, the student attended the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to observe proceedings at first hand. The experience of the student, as an observer at all of these meetings, is consistent with the interview data and archival material. Between 1999 and 2002 the student observed nothing to suggest that the Board or the General Assembly operate in anything other than an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner. As such, despite deploying multiple research methods on multiple occasions between 1999 and 2002, and despite having unfettered access to the Board of Social Responsibility's decision-making processes and internal documentation, the student has observed no critical or challenging debates, no disagreements and no conflict at any meeting of the Board or General Assembly, nor evidence of discord within the archives or interview data. Moreover, Chapter 2 has noted how members of the Board have been exhorted to take an 'active interest'

(Baillie, 2000) and to represent the Board, in the development of social work policy at the national level. Between 1999 and 2002 the student observed nothing to suggest that any governing member of the Board of Social Responsibility had acted upon this exhortation. Thus the significant role of individuals in scanning the policy environment and selecting policy themes suggested by Mullins and Riseborough (2001) would appear to be borne out through consideration of the social work service provision of the Board of Social Responsibility.

Summary

The Board of Social Responsibility's claim of having played a leading role in developing social work services since 1869 cannot be sustained without qualification. The Board of Social Responsibility has operated innovatively at certain periods during the post-war period but has not operated in this manner consistently throughout the post-war period. Indeed analysis of interview data and archival material has shown that while individual agency was the necessary condition which enables the Board to be classified as an innovative provider during two discrete periods, i.e. between 1948 and 1963 and between 1978 and 1990, respectively. However, between 1963 and 1978 individual agency was responsible for the Board of Social Responsibility adopting a traditional approach to service delivery, while between 1990 and 2000 individual agency is identified as the primary agent of change that led the Board of Social Responsibility to operate in a developmental manner in terms of its service provision. While individual agency is therefore identified as the necessary condition for the production of innovative social work services, individual agency has not always influenced the organisation to operate innovatively within the social work environment. This would appear to be because the influence of individual agency has to some extent been contingent upon exogenous forces operating within the wider social work arena. In the Board of Social Responsibility's case, issues of finance and legislation are identified as

exogenous forces that have mediated the influence of individual agency upon the organisation's position as a provider of social work services over time.

Despite the undoubted influence of finance and legislation, the variability apparent in the Board of Social Responsibility's social work service provision over time tends to emphasise the influence of individual agency. This is because the shifts in the Board of Social Responsibility's position as a provider of social work services over time are linked directly to changes of director rather than the enactment of legislation or other policy developments. As such, there is limited merit in arguing that the Board's leadership should simply be considered as having responded to environmental policy pressures. As such, as Handy's work has suggested, a key feature of the Board of Social Responsibility as a service-providing voluntary organisation is that it is a 'managed' organisation (1988 : 14). The changing position of the Board of Social Responsibility's faith-based service provision also reflects both 'traditions and biographies' (Wood, 2002 : 71). As Mullins and Riseborough (2001) suggested, the Board's religiously motivated social work service provision should also be viewed as reflecting variation in moral stance as individual agency has attempted to select and develop specific policy themes when shaping the organisation's social work services.

Nevertheless the fact that the significant influence of individual agency has been contingent on exogenous forces tends to support Murray's (1969) view that voluntary organisations are not islands, while the substantive data also suggests that Kendall and Knapp (1996 : 201) are correct to argue that generating understanding of the role of the statutory sector is central to understanding of the role of voluntary organisations. It should therefore be recognised that there are competing explanations of the factors that have influenced decisions about how the Board of Social Responsibility's service provision has been developed and that it would be inaccurate to interpret the development of the Board's social work service provision, and indeed

the changing position of the Board, solely through biographical reference to so called "great men".

Chapter 7 : Understanding the work of the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of innovation, replication and complementarity

Chapter 6 has argued that individual agency has exerted a significant influence upon the position of the Board of Social Responsibility as a faith-based service-providing voluntary organisation and has highlighted a changing innovative – traditional – innovative - developmental pattern of participation in the Scottish social work environment. This changing pattern of participation has been linked to changes of senior management rather than competing explanations that emphasise organisational governance or policy developments within the wider social work arena. The changing pattern of participation within the social work arena demonstrates that the Board of Social Responsibility should not be viewed as having adhered to a single model of social work service provision across time. Indeed Chapter 6 has shown that the Board of Social Responsibility has expanded its work between 1948 and 2000, measured in terms of both number of units operated and range of activities undertaken. This chapter now turns to the issue of generating understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's social work service provision relative to the activities of the state in terms of innovation, replication and complementarity.

Differentiating innovative, replicative and complementary social work services

Chapter 4 has shown that Wolfenden found that the activities of voluntary organisations, relative to statutory social work agencies, can be considered in terms of complementing, adding to, or providing alternatives to statutory social work service provision (1978 : 43). Jones (1996) has argued that the substantive activities undertaken within the wider sphere of social work are influenced by the nature of relationships existing between the statutory agencies and voluntary organisations operating within it. Beveridge (1948), Wolfenden (1978) and Jones (1996) have all emphasised the complexity of such relationships, and Jones (1996) has developed a taxonomy that attempts to explain them. Understanding the Board's work in terms of innovation, replication and complementarity is therefore something of a comparative test that hinges on generating understanding of the social work undertaken by other

statutory agencies and other voluntary organisations operating within the social work sphere during the same period. Jones (1996) has noted that the variations of possible relationships between statutory agencies and voluntary organisations are fashioned and enabled by developments within the mixed economy of welfare to create practical difficulties, linked to inconsistency, for large voluntary organisations which must work with a number of local authorities and an assortment of statutory agencies. This issue is reflected in Chapters 3 and 6 which have noted that no voluntary organisation is an island. It will also be recalled that Chapter 4 has noted how Brenton (1985) and Osborne (1994) have both questioned the common claim that voluntary organisations *per se* are innovative. This particular claim was first noted in Chapter 1 in reference to the work of Beveridge (1948) who emphasised the importance of pioneering voluntary action within society.

Chapter 4 has noted that innovation is considered to be the product of the introduction of a novel component or working practice as measured against the work of other agencies and organisations in terms of the application of new practices or knowledge to new client groups. The introduction of such knowledge or practices provokes organisational changes that are manifest in the creation of alternate social states through the creation of new services for new client groups (Osborne, 1994). The work of Ham (1985), Gabe et al (1991), Lindblom (1959; 1979) and Osborne (1998) argues that this process is incremental within the Scottish personal social services. Table 2 demonstrated that organisational innovation, in keeping with the definition of total innovation, requires discontinuities to be apparent both in organisational processes and in the substantive social work services provided by any specific organisation. When discontinuities are apparent in both of these areas one can expect the effect to be the attempted creation of an alternate social state through the production of a new social work service that utilises new skills. Fig. 1 highlighted and developed innovative organisational behaviours in a graphical form and differentiated the range of possible behaviours. Chapter 4 concluded that only Type

A behaviour unequivocally meets the definition of what should be considered innovation.

Complementary social work services are 'different in kind from that provided by a statutory agency' but 'cannot be deemed alternatives or additions' (Wolfenden, 1978 : 43 ~ 44) because they act to reinforce other services. Wolfenden has argued that the distinction between additional and alternative services is largely attributable to the consumer's perspective (1978 : 44). Alternative social work services create choices that result in individuals utilising either a voluntary or a statutory service but not both, e.g. residential social work services. Additional social work, on the other hand, offers individuals the opportunity of simultaneously receiving services of the same type as those provided by the statutory sector to perform something of a supplementary role within the social work arena. Complementary services perform a reinforcing role and underpin those services provided by statutory agencies in qualitatively different ways, e.g. a kosher meals-on-wheels service. Clearly there can be nothing to preclude individuals receiving social work services from both statutory and voluntary social work sectors where complementary social work service functions are to be provided.

It will be recalled from Chapter 4 that innovatory organisational behaviours B, C and D are defined as expansionary, evolutionary and developmental organisational behaviours that reflect relatively low organisational impacts in the production of new social work services and/or new client groups. Indeed, innovatory sub-types B, C and D are differentiable from the totally innovatory manifestation of new social work services for new client groups precisely because of the extent to which such social work services replicate existing organisational activities and/or practices. Similarly, alternative social work services cannot be considered as complementary because they do not directly reinforce or support statutory social work service provision. Innovative and replicative social work services may therefore be additional,

alternative or complementary and replicative social work services may also be expansionary, evolutionary or developmental in their nature. Replicative social work services can therefore be qualitatively similar or different from those services provided by statutory agents and other voluntary organisations and may create choice by enlarging and extending the overall sphere of social work services. This statement implies that innovatory social work services must be qualitatively different from those services provided by statutory agents and other voluntary organisations and may also create choice by enlarging and extending the overall sphere of social work service provision. Table 8 summarises the defining features of innovatory, replicative, complementary, additional and alternative social work services in a tabular format.

Table 8. (From Wolfenden, 1978 and Osborne, 1994)

Defining characteristics of innovative, replicative and complementary social work services provided by voluntary organisations.

<i>Service</i>	<i>Defining feature(s)</i>
<i>Innovative</i>	Production of new services for new client groups
<i>Replicative</i>	Production of existing services for new client groups - expansionary Production of existing services for existing client groups - developmental Production of new services for existing client groups - evolutionary
<i>Alternative</i>	Act to create choice to services provided by other agencies
<i>Additional</i>	Act to supplement services provided by other agencies
<i>Complementary</i>	Act to reinforce and support statutory social work service provision

It is clear from Table 8 that there is nothing to preclude any innovative social work service being additional, alternative or complementary or anything to preclude a replicative social work service being additional, alternative or complementary. However it should be made explicit that an innovative service cannot be replicative, and vice versa. Table 8 argues that it is a technical and definitional argument as to how substantive social work services should be interpreted, and therefore

understood, in terms of innovation and replication and in terms of whether they are also additional, alternative or complementarity social work services, respectively. Arguably the foregoing discussion prevents the Board of Social Responsibility's social work activities being explained simply in terms of 'innovation, replication and complementarity, as meeting residual needs or through partnership with the state'. To that extent the second research question provided by the CASE application (see Appendix I) should be considered simplistic and unreflective of the body of literature that surrounds contemporary understanding of the participative roles of voluntary organisations within the personal social services.

Categorising the work of the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of innovation, replication and complementarity

Chapter 6 has shown that Board of Social Responsibility is more active now than at any previous time in the organisation's history, operating more social work units and projects now than it has done at any point in the past. Conjoining the identification of the Board's position and its pattern of development with the theoretical sensitivity generated above into innovation and replication allows the social work activities of the Board to be interpreted according to the defining characteristics highlighted in Table 8.

The technical application of these characteristics requires the explicit adoption of a rationale as to how substantive social work services should be interpreted and therefore defined in terms of either innovation or replication and according to whether they are alternative, additional or complementary, respectively. The rationale applied in Table 9 classifies the Board's substantive social work activities according to their purpose and their nature at the point of establishment within the organisation. This rationale avoids the misrepresentation of specific activities. For example, consider the hypothetical establishment of a residential care home for older

people by the Board in 1990. Such a consideration would produce the view that the social work activity was a replicative alternative social work service, in terms of the characteristics outlined in Table 8, because, in the context of the specific history of the Board's social work service provision, such a service would represent the replicative production of an existing alternative social work service to an existing client group. Such a unit would represent the developmental replication of an alternative social work activity for the Board. However, this view takes no cognisance of the fact that the Board of Social Responsibility was the first organisation in Scotland to develop residential care provision for older people, in 1926 (Cameron, 1971). At that time, the Board's residential care provision for older people was a totally innovative alternative social work service, representing the production of a new social work service to a new client group. The interpretation of the Board's social work activities at the point of establishment avoids misrepresenting the substantive activities of the Board of Social Responsibility. This rationale was adopted because it would be incorrect to consider the establishment of individual units outwith the extensive history of the organisation and the national context within which they operate.

Table 9.

Board of Social Responsibility units and projects categorised by innovation or replication sub type and by comparative role at point of establishment.

	Complementary	Additional	Alternative	Totals
Innovative	1	4	5	10
Replicative - expansionary	5	4	7	16
Replicative - evolutionary	28	5	18	51
Replicative - developmental	7	5	92	104
Totals	41	18	122	181

Analysis of the Board's archives has enabled all units and projects established between 1948 and 2000 to be interpreted according to the characteristics outlined in Table 8. Table 9 shows that this understanding highlights the extent to which the

social work service provision of the Board of Social Responsibility can be explained according to innovation or replication and in terms of whether substantive individual units and projects have been of a complementary, additional or alternative nature.

Table 9 shows that the Board has operated innovatively to provide ten new services to new client groups by establishing one complementary, four additional and five alternative social work services. Table 9 also shows that the Board has established a total of 16 replicative-expansory and 51 replicative-evolutionary social work services during the same period. Table 9 however clearly demonstrates that the majority of the Board's work has been of an alternative nature, and specifically of a replicative-developmental nature, which reflects the Board's focus on developing residential care services.

The analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's archival material carried out in Chapter 6 supports the data displayed in Table 9 by highlighting the emphasis the Board has placed over time in establishing alternative social work services like approved schools, residential services for adult offenders, residential hostels for men and women, residential children's homes, residential care homes for older people and mentally confused older people, single parents and those with epilepsy. It is apparent in the Board's archives that the organisation has placed less significance upon developing its complementary social work services like adoption and emigration services for children and its additional social work services like moral welfare and court workers. It is also apparent that the Board of Social Responsibility has tended not to operate in an innovative manner.

Table 10 supports the notion that the Board has tended to develop alternative social work services. Table 10 confirms that the Board has operated innovatively to provide alternative and additional social work services in ten cases and highlights the specific client groups involved.

Table 10.

Board of Social Responsibility social work services, with year service started, stopped along with type and nature of service.

	Year service		Type of service	Totally innovatory or replicative type	
	Started	Stopped	Type	Nature	Type
Res. Home - children	Pre 1948	1983	Alt.	Replicative	Evo.
Res. Home - boys	Pre 1948	1957	Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Res. Home - girls	Pre 1948	1949	Alt.	Innovatory	Total
Res. Home - handicapped children	1966		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Approved school - girls	Pre 1948	1985	Alt.	Replicative	Dev.
Approved school - boys	1964		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Training school - girls	1964	1970	Alt.	Replicative	Dev.
Child adoption	Pre 1948	1978	C.	Replicative	Dev.
Child emigration	Pre 1948	1963	C.	Replicative	Exp.
Res. Home - older people	Pre 1948		Alt.	Innovatory	Total
Res. Home - confused elderly	1983		Alt.	Replicative	Evo.
Sheltered housing - older people	1965	1998	Alt.	Replicative	Evo.
Day Care Centre - older people	1967	1970	Add.	Replicative	Dev.
Day Care Centre - con. elderly	1988		Add.	Replicative	Exp.
Home Support - older people	1996		C.	Replicative	Evo.
Res. Home - mental handicapped	1982		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Sheltered housing - autistics	1993		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Sheltered housing - disabled	1974		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Home Support - learning disabled	1996		C.	Replicative	Exp.
Epilepsy	1961		Alt.	Innovatory	Total
Holiday Home	Pre 1948		C.	Replicative	Dev.
Family resource and support	1981		C.	Replicative	Dev.
Mental health resource/day centre	1991		Add.	Replicative	Dev.
Day Care Centre - Homeless	1968		Add.	Replicative	Dev.
Day Care Centre - Dependency	1984		Add.	Replicative	Dev.
Night Shelter - Homeless	1968	1995	Add.	Replicative	Dev.
Hostels for men	Pre 1948	1980	Alt.	Replicative	Dev.
Hostels for women	Pre 1948	1978	Alt.	Replicative	Dev.
Prostitution / counselling - women	1988		C.	Innovatory	Total
Adult offenders	1988		Alt.	Innovatory	Total
Multiple client groups	Pre 1948	1984	C.	Replicative	Dev.
Non-specific (Assessed need)	1992		C.	Replicative	Evo.
Res. Rehabilitation - dependency	1961		Alt.	Replicative	Exp.
Women - pre and post-natal	Pre 1948	1979	Alt.	Innovatory	Total
Women - post-natal	1965	1977	Alt.	Replicative	Evo.
Edinburgh court work	Pre 1948	1968	Add.	Innovatory	Total
Moral welfare - Caithness	Pre 1948	1971	Add.	Innovatory	Total
Moral welfare - Edinburgh	Pre 1948	1969	Add.	Innovatory	Total
Designated Place - alcoholism	1991		Add.	Innovatory	Total

Key:

Alt. = Alternative social work service

Add. = Additional social work service

C. = Complementary social work service

Dev. = Developmental

Exp. = Expansionary

Evo. = Evolutionary

Table 10 also shows the client groups to whom the Board of Social Responsibility has provided replicative social work services: specifically eight complementary, six additional and 14 alternative social work services.

Murray's (1969) view, noted again earlier in this chapter, encapsulates the argument that the significance of the provision of social work services by voluntary organisations cannot be understood without reference to the work of the other agencies and organisations that collectively compose the wider sphere of social work. This is because such agencies and organisations do not exist or operate in a state of isolation within the politically pluralistic mixed economy of welfare that has developed in Scotland during the post-war period. It will also be recalled that Brenton (1985) and Osborne (1994) have independently questioned the claim that voluntary organisations *per se* are innovative, as Beveridge (1948) emphasised when referring to the importance he attached to pioneering voluntary action. It is therefore worth emphasising that the categorisation of the Board's social work services, as shown in Tables 9 and 10, demonstrates the extent to which its work should be classified as replicative rather than innovative, alternative rather than complementary or additional, and developmental rather than evolutionary or expansionary. Thus, interpretation of the Board's social work service provision supports the views of Brenton (1985) and Osborne (1994) in arguing that voluntary organisations are not innovatory *per se*.

Understanding the work of the Board of Social Responsibility relative to the work of similar organisations within the voluntary social work sector in Scotland

Chapter 6 has noted the changing nature of the Board's social work service provision throughout the post-war period. Chapter 6 has also noted that the specific nature of the Board's development has not been contingent upon the implementation of

Scottish social work legislation but has been contingent upon individual agency. Chapter 6 concluded that the Board of Social Responsibility's claim to have played a leading role in developing Scottish social work services could not be sustained without qualification. Indeed the data showed that while individual agency had been significant in influencing the production of some innovative social work services, it had not, over time, influenced the organisation to consistently produce innovative social work services. This was argued to be because individual agency is contingent upon exogenous forces operating within the wider social work environment. This conclusion was linked to Kendall and Knapp's (1996 : 201) view that understanding the roles of statutory agencies and other voluntary organisations is central to generating understanding of the role of any voluntary organisation operating within the contemporary personal social services. Accordingly analysis of the Board's archives and the responses received from other voluntary organisations (see Appendix VIII) was undertaken to identify six organisations with a similar history and/or faith-based ethos to the Board of Social Responsibility to establish a view on the significance of the organisation's changing model of participation in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland.

The Scottish Episcopal Church has historically operated as a generalist provider of non-denominational social work services in Scotland (Luscombe, 1999) and is, like the Church of Scotland, a designated religious body in terms of provision of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1990. Chapter 6 has already noted how the Board of Social Responsibility worked in partnership with the Scottish Episcopal Church to develop moral welfare work in Scotland (Committee on Social Service, 1942, 1945 and 1949; Luscombe, 1999). However, archival literature and interview data confirms that the Scottish Episcopal Church now contrasts with the Church of Scotland insofar as the former no longer participates within the personal social services as a service-providing organisation (Luscombe, 1999). Specifically, the Scottish Episcopal Church's residential children's services were transferred

outside control of the Church in 1969 with the formation of the independent Aberlour Trust. The Scottish Episcopal Church abandoned its children's adoption services in 1974 because fewer children were available for adoption due to the statutory sector's enhanced capacity to facilitate the removal of children from their immediate geographic area. This abandonment was contiguous with legislative developments within the statutory sector (see Chapters 3 and 6). The Scottish Episcopal Church's residential care provision for mothers and their babies ended in 1974 because single parents were considered to be no longer ostracised by their communities. Work with the homeless was discontinued during World War II and 'social reclamation work' with women ended in 1953 when the Scottish Episcopal Church closed its remaining service because the 'climate of opinion had altered greatly' (Luscombe, 1999 : 74). The moral welfare work, noted above, ended in 1971 when the Scottish Episcopal Church's partnership working with the Board of Social Responsibility ended with the retiral of their sole remaining moral welfare worker (Cameron, 1971; Luscombe, 1999). No other social work service of the Scottish Episcopal Church survived into the second half of the twentieth century. The Scottish Episcopal Church's Board of Social Responsibility now concerns itself solely with pump priming local church projects through grant giving and through lobbying activities at the national political level. The Scottish Episcopal Church's contemporary social work activities now clearly contrast with those of the Church of Scotland's Board of Social Responsibility because the former has chosen not to adapt its social work service provision to meet evolving social needs but has rather closed down and abandoned its social work services as they became redundant (Luscombe, 1999). Indeed the Scottish Episcopal Church has adopted a similar path to the Church of England, in England, in terms of choosing not to continue operating as a service-providing organisation within the mixed economy of welfare that has developed during the second half of the twentieth century (Whiting, 2002). This argues that the Board's model of participation in the wider sphere of social work service provision is

significantly different from the model of participation developed and implemented by the Scottish Episcopal Church during the post-war period.

Like the Board of Social Responsibility, the Salvation Army has an uninterrupted history of operating non-denominationally within the wider sphere of social work as a generalist provider of a range of social work services, many of which predate the state's emergence into specific areas of service delivery by a considerable period of time (Salvation Army, 1999). Indeed Chapter 2 has noted how the Board of Social Responsibility modelled its early social work services on those of the Salvation Army during the first decade of the twentieth century. The substantive work of the Salvation Army however differs fundamentally from that of the Board of Social Responsibility because the social work services provided by the former are unambiguously evangelistic and because the Salvation Army operates throughout the U.K. More particularly, while the Board's social work is organised and administered separately from the religious activities of the wider Church of Scotland, the social work activities of the Salvation Army's are intrinsically and inseparably linked with the organisation of its religious activities. This structural difference reflects differing developmental paths in that the Board of Social Responsibility has developed historically from religious activities within the wider Church of Scotland whereas the Salvation Army's religious activities have developed as a consequence of General William Booth's evangelistic social work during the 19th century in the East End of London. The Salvation Army is not specifically recognised or designated as a religious body in Scottish law but is recognised as a charitable trust in England and Wales (Salvation Army, 1999). The Board of Social Responsibility's model of participation in the personal social services is therefore significantly different from the model of participation developed and implemented by the Salvation Army during the post-war period and earlier.

Superficially, Barnardo's displays many similarities to the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of history, ethos and size. However, closer scrutiny shows that the two organisations differ significantly. Barnardo's history of social work service provision has been as a specialist non-denominational provider of children's services rather than as a generalist service-provider (Barnardo's, 2000a; 2000b; 2001). Barnardo's developed in Scotland from the early work of Dr. Thomas Barnardo who embarked upon 'good works' in England during the 19th century as a consequence of his aversion to the policies and practical inaction of the Church of England, not indeed altogether unlike William Booth of the Salvation Army. Barnardo's early work was intended to prove the policies and inaction of the Church of England wrong and Chapter 2 has shown how the Board has historically considered its work in similar terms to that of Barnardo's (Minute 503, 1946). Barnardo's, like the Salvation Army, operates across the U.K. and is not specifically recognised in Scottish law as anything other than a company limited by guarantee. Moreover, Barnardo's has abandoned the faith-based ethos that underpinned Dr. Thomas Barnardo's good works and consequently its developmental path and contemporary social work service provision contrasts with that of the Board of Social Responsibility. Barnardo's has abandoned its faith-base because that ethos was considered to be reducing the organisation's overall efficacy, primarily in the area of recruiting professional staff holding the pre-requisite religious beliefs. Barnardo's has expanded dramatically in Scotland in recent years from 13 units and projects in 1991 to 50 in 2000. Its provision of specialist social work services for children precedes the state's emergence into the area by some period of time (Barnardo's, 2000a; 2000b; 2001). Chapter 6 has shown that the Board of Social Responsibility has not matched this pace of change. Indeed, the Board's model of participation in the wider sphere of social work is found to contrast significantly with the model of participation developed and implemented by Barnardo's throughout the post-war period, particularly in terms range of services provided, abandonment of ethos and

relative success measured in terms of rate of expansion during the final decades of the twentieth century in Scotland.

Quarrier's, like the Board of Social Responsibility, operates exclusively in Scotland and has a similar faith-based history but differs in that it has exclusively operated as a specialist non-denominational provider of children's social work services, not unlike Barnardo's. Quarrier's Village developed from the 'good works' of William Quarrier in Glasgow during the 19th century (Quarrier's 1998; 1999; 2000). Quarrier's Village was an innovative, widely used and highly respected service that was adversely affected by the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, and specifically development of the children's panel system that encouraged community based remedial treatments rather than residential care as the social treatment of choice within the Scottish judicial system. Nevertheless, like Barnardo's, Quarrier's has expanded dramatically in recent decades and now operates a range of 60 units and projects throughout Scotland providing social work services to children and their families, to socially disadvantaged young people, and to young adults with disabilities (Quarrier's 1998; 1999; 2000). Again, like Barnardo's, many of Quarrier's units and projects are now community based social work services rather than residential care services. Chapter 2 has shown how the Board historically considered its work in similar terms to Quarrier's (Minute 503, 1946). Quarrier's is not specifically recognised in Scottish law as anything other than a company limited by guarantee and has, like Barnardo's, abandoned the faith-based ethos that historically underpinned its work for similar reasons. Like Barnardo's, Quarrier's history of operating as a specialist provider of children's social work services precedes the state's entry into the field. The Board of Social Responsibility's model of participation in the wider sphere of social work contrasts significantly with the model of participation developed and implemented by Quarrier's during the post-war period, particularly in terms of the latter's limited range of services, abandonment of

its faith-based ethos and the organisation's relative success measured in terms of expansion during the final decades of the twentieth century in Scotland.

Like the Board of Social Responsibility, Jewish Care Scotland operates exclusively in Scotland, has retained its faith-based ethos and continues to operate as a generalist provider of social work services (Jewish Care Scotland, 1997; 1999a; 1999b). Unlike the Board of Social Responsibility, the Salvation Army, Barnardo's and Quarrier's, Jewish Care Scotland's model of participation in the Scottish personal social services has been on a sectarian basis, i.e. services are exclusively provided for Scotland's Jewish community. Jewish Care Scotland is not specifically recognised in Scottish law as anything other than a company limited by guarantee (Jewish Care Scotland, 1997; 1999a; 1999b). Jewish Care Scotland is the re-launched body previously known as the Glasgow Jewish Welfare Board that was formed in 1867. Jewish Care Scotland is a comparatively small but nonetheless significant national provider of social work services and acts as the sole provider of alternative and additional social work services to Scotland's Jewish community, e.g. kosher meals on wheels, kosher lunch clubs, financial assistance, benefit advice etc. Jewish Care Scotland's services are provided by staff who need not be Jewish but must undertake training 'to provide a service that is culturally sensitive' (Jewish Care Scotland, 1999). Jewish Care Scotland was never a generalist provider of social work services to the wider public but has long been a provider of sectarian services that the state simply cannot provide. The Board's model of participation in the wider sphere of social work service therefore contrasts significantly with the model of participation developed and implemented by Jewish Care Scotland for the Jewish community during the post-war period.

The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland places a similar emphasis to the Board of Social Responsibility on its faith-based ethos but is not a service-providing voluntary organisation. Social work services are not provided by the Roman Catholic Church in

Scotland but are approved by the Church at the diocesan level and provided by a range of Catholic Orders that are typically based abroad and operate internationally (Brennan and McCashin, 2000). Indeed in terms of legal status there is, strictly speaking, no Scottish Catholic Church (McSweeney, 1980). Rather, each of Scotland's six Roman Catholic Diocese are designated as discrete religious bodies in terms of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Act 1990. This status reflects the Roman Catholic Church's worldwide movement operating through its system of autonomous dioceses. These are co-ordinated rather than controlled by the Vatican and the social work services provided by Catholic Orders in Scotland are therefore controlled by the Orders that choose to establish them (McSweeney, 1980). It is therefore obvious that the Church of Scotland's Presbyterian structure, outlined in Chapter 2, contrasts in almost every possible way with the structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Accordingly the Roman Catholic Church is not and never has been a provider of social work services and the Board of Social Responsibility's model of participation in the wider sphere of social work contrasts significantly with the model of participation implemented by the Roman Catholic Church.

Table 11 notes the legislative Acts that first allowed, as opposed to obliged, the statutory social work sector to provide social work services for the specific client groups that the Board of Social Responsibility has engaged with over time. However it need not necessarily follow, that any individual local authority actually provided any such social work service to any group under the various Acts. Nevertheless it is clear from Table 11 that some of the Board of Social Responsibility's social work has preceded certain pieces of legislation.

Table 11.

Board of Social Responsibility social work services, with year service begun and ended, along with the Act that enabled local authority provision of that service and whether the Board's work preceded that Act.

Client Group	Units	Board provision		Local authority provision	
		Begun	Ended	Precedes	Act
Res. Home - children		Pre 1948	1983	Y	1
Res. Home - boys		Pre 1948	1957	Y	1
Res. Home - girls		Pre 1948	1949	Y	1
Res. Home - handicapped children		1966		N	1
Approved school - girls		Pre 1948	1985	Y	2
Approved school - boys		1964		N	2
Training school - girls		1964	1970	N	1
Child adoption		Pre 1948	1978	Y	3
Child emigration		Pre 1948	1963	Y	4
Res. Home - older people		Pre 1948		Y	5
Res. Home - confused elderly		1983		N	5
Sheltered housing - older people		1965	1998	N	5
Day Care Centre - older people		1967		Y	6
Day Care Centre - con. elderly		1988		N	6
Home Support - older people		1996		N	7
Res. Home - mental handicapped		1982		N	1
Sheltered housing - autistics		1993		N	1
Sheltered housing - disabled		1974		N	1
Home Support - learning disabled		1996		N	7
Epilepsy		1961		N	7
Holiday Home		Pre 1948		Y	6
Family resource and support		1981		N	6
Mental health resource/day centre		1991		N	7
Day Care Centre - Homeless		1968		N	6
Day Care Centre - Dependency		1984		N	6
Night Shelter - Homeless		1968	1995	N	1
Hostels for men		Pre 1948	1980	Y	1
Hostels for women		Pre 1948	1978	Y	1
Prostitution / counselling - women		1988		N	6
Res. adult offenders		1988		N	8
Multiple client groups		Pre 1948	1984	Y	1
Non-specific (Assessed need)		1992		N	6
Res. Rehabilitation - dependency		1961		Y	6
Women - pre and post-natal		Pre 1948	1979	Y	7
Women - post-natal		1965	1977	Y	7
Edinburgh court work		Pre 1948	1968	Y	8
Moral welfare - Caithness		Pre 1948	1971	Y	6
Moral welfare - Edinburgh		Pre 1948	1969	Y	6
Designated Place - alcoholism		1991		N	6

Key to Acts:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 - Poor Law (Scotland) Act 1934 | 5 - National Assistance Act 1948 |
| 2 - Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937 | 6 - Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 |
| 3 - Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act 1939 | 7 - N.H.S. (Scotland) Act 1947 |
| 4 - Children Act 1948 | 8 - Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1949 |

Table 11 considers the Board's social work from an alternative perspective to that developed in Table 10. In particular, Table 11 considers the social work of the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of whether its social work service provision initially met needs unattended by the statutory sector. Indeed, Table 11 shows that the Board's social work service provision preceded the entry of the state under the Poor Law (Scotland) Act 1934 in six cases. In five cases the Board's social work preceded the entry of the state into specific areas of service delivery under the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. In three of these cases, i.e. moral welfare work in both Caithness and Edinburgh and holiday home provision, the Board preceded the statutory sector by a substantial period of time. In two cases the Board's social work service provision preceded statutory sector's work under the NHS (Scotland) Act 1947 and in one case each its social work activities preceded the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937, the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act 1937, the Children Act 1948, the National Assistance Act 1948, and the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1949.

More significantly, Table 11 demonstrates that the social work of the Board did not precede legislation allowing local authority service provision in 21 specific areas of social work service delivery. This tends to support the view that the Board of Social Responsibility has not always played a leading role in developing social work service provision for those most vulnerable in Scottish society during the 19th and 20th centuries. This claim contradicts the dynamic characterisation put forward by the Board of Social Responsibility and, combines with the conclusions from Chapter 6 to suggest that the organisation may, on occasion, have tended to slide into change (Billis in Harris, 2001 : 217).

Summary

The Board of Social Responsibility's social work services cannot be understood simply in terms of innovation, replication or complementarity, as meeting a residual demand or in partnership with the state. Indeed, it has been argued that the organisational behaviours B, C and D noted in Chapter 4, and defined as expansionary, evolutionary and developmental, reflect low organisational impacts in the production of new social work services and/or new client groups. Accordingly, these innovatory sub-types have been contrasted with total innovation to the extent that they have been interpreted and defined as replication: principally because of the extent to which the practical development of such services replicates existing activities and/or practices. As such innovation and replication are considered to be mutually exclusive whereas complementary social work services have been contrasted with additional and alternative social work services because of the extent to which the latter type of social work service does not reinforce or support statutory social work service provision. This chapter has argued that both innovative and replicative social work services can be additional, alternative or complementary and that replicative social work services should also be considered in terms of the extent to which they are expansionary, evolutionary or developmental in nature.

This chapter has therefore developed understanding of innovation, replication and complementarity through consideration of the substantive social work activities of the Board. Indeed interpretation of the Board of Social Responsibility's social work services demonstrates that the organisation's services have tended to be replicative rather than innovative, and alternative rather than either additional or complementary. The Board of Social Responsibility should therefore be viewed as having primarily operated to develop its existing alternative social work activities throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The conclusion is that the Board of Social Responsibility has tended not to operate as a significant provider of social work services that are capable of being categorised as totally innovative, complementary, additional, expansionary or evolutionary. As such the Board has

neither tended to operate in partnership with the state through provision of additional and complementary social work services nor has it held a significant role in addressing incipient social needs during the period through provision of totally innovative social work services.

Voluntary organisations similar to the Board of Social Responsibility have also been considered to develop insight into the distinctiveness of the Board's participation in the wider sphere of social work. This comparison argues that the Board is a distinctive organisation because it has not abandoned its faith based ethos, does not operate evangelistically, continues to operate as a generalist provider, continues to operate exclusively in Scotland, has not developed from the efforts of an individual and continues to maintain a large number of alternative social work services. More significantly in terms of furthering understanding of the wider voluntary social work sector, no common model of voluntary participation in the Scottish personal social services is identified in the data. Indeed, this chapter has found that no single defining feature is common to all of the voluntary organisations that have been considered. It can also therefore be said that the Board of Social Responsibility contrasts with other voluntary organisations in Scotland because it is unique in operating as a non-sectarian and non-evangelistic faith-based provider of a range of replicative social work services.

Chapter 8 : The contribution of the Board of Social Responsibility to social work policy development at the local and national levels in Scotland

Chapter 6 has identified the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility between 1948 and 2000 and has shown that the organisation has operated as a provider of social work services in Scotland. Chapter 6 also identified the key legislation that exerted an impact upon the work and activities of the Board and the significant roles played by key individuals in shaping the organisation's social work activities across time. Chapter 7 has considered the range of social work activities undertaken by the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of innovation and replication. Chapter 7 has interpreted the activities of the Board and demonstrated that ten of its social work services should be considered as innovative, while 171 of its social work activities should be considered replicative. Moreover, the process of interpretation has shown how the majority of the Board's social work activities should be considered as alternative social work services. The process of categorisation demonstrated that the Board of Social Responsibility has tended not to operate as a significant provider of complementary or additional social work services. Indeed the social work services of the Board cannot accurately be described as having been directed towards operating in partnership with the state, nor can the organisation accurately be described as having operated to meet residual social needs through the provision of innovative social work services. Rather the analysis and interpretation of the Board of Social Responsibility's social work activities has shown that the organisation should be viewed as a significant provider of a range of replicative, alternative social work services that have developed across time. This chapter continues the analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland by considering how the organisation's social work activities may have contributed to social work policy development in Scotland at the local and national levels.

The key trend in statutory social work service provision in Scotland and the key trend in the Board of Social Responsibility's social work service provision

Within this thesis the word 'contribution' is conceptualised as any event or activity that may have led, whether directly or indirectly, to the expansion, enlargement, improvement or development of social work or social work policy at either local or national level in Scotland. In this light the literature reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4 suggested that the key developmental trend in Scottish social work between 1948 and 2000 had been the erosion of historic inequities and local variation through programmes of reorganisation and rationalisation. Over time, social work policies has advocated and increasingly required that social work personnel be trained and qualified to operate within nationally specified parameters to address social needs prioritised by central government departments. This trend has been particularly obvious in relation to the activities undertaken by statutory social work service providers. Chapter 4 has noted how the Board claims to have played a leading role in developing the pattern of social work services available in Scotland and how this tends to characterise the Board of Social Responsibility as a proactive organisation rather than one 'sliding into change' (Billis in Harris, 2001 : 217). Chapter 7 however has challenged the Board's claim by qualifying the organisation's position and by developing understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility as a significant developer of replicative alternative social work services.

In light of Beveridge's (1948) arguments, noted in Chapter 1, one might argue that the Board's contribution to the development and expansion of statutory social work service provision during the post-war period is discernible in the specialisation of the organisation's alternative social work activities across time. More specifically, one might suggest that a process of specialisation has occurred within the Board as the organisation responded to the expansion of statutory social work service through the developmental replication of its residential social work services to target a particular group of people, e.g. older people. This argument reflects Beveridge's (1948) view that the establishment and development of statutory social welfare services would initiate and develop a tendency for the state to attempt to do more in the future than it

had done in the past, with voluntary organisations being left to attend fewer, more specialised needs. Chapter 3 has noted how the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 may have contributed to this situation by expanding and developing the role of the statutory social work sector in Scotland to reduce specialisation and duplication within local authority departments through creation of generic statutory social work agencies (Cmnd. 3065, 1966).

Secondary policy trends were also identified in Chapter 4. First among these secondary policy trends has been the centralisation of control over social work service provision in Scotland. Social work policy in Scotland during the 20th century has increasingly been developed at the national level while continuing to be interpreted and implemented at the local level (Osborne, 1988). This trend has eroded, arguably by design, local authority power and influence over social work policy (see Levitt, 1988; Murphy, 1992). In particular, the historic ad hoc development of social work policy by Scotland's local authorities has been widely criticised for perpetuating historical geographic variations that have impacted adversely upon availability and access to statutory social work service provision (see Cmnd. 4150, 1969). The ad hoc development of policy resulting in geographic variations and inequalities in terms of service provision are identified as key reasons why the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973 placed social work in the hands of the nine regional and three island councils rather than Scotland's 53 district councils. Nevertheless, continuing geographic inequalities identified by Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) led to him advocating that local authorities be placed in positions of political neutrality in terms of social work service development and implementation. This is the primary reason why the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 required local authorities to act as the facilitators of social work services within a national policy framework rather than as the local developers of social work policy and the providers of local social work services.

Chapter 6 has shown that geographic variation in terms of both social work service provision and inequality of access has continued into the 21st century. Such is the extent of the continuing variation that a 'Scottish Commission for the Regulation of Care' has been established by statute to ensure that all social work service provision in Scotland meets nationally defined standards of quality. The effectiveness of this agency must be highlighted as a matter worthy of future detailed consideration.

Views obtained from interviewees within the statutory social work sector reflect the incremental shift of social work policy towards the centralisation of power over social work services and the development of a tendency for statutory social work services to attempt to do more than they have done in the past to erode geographic variations.

"Social work services have been fragmented and often backward looking. Quite properly there has been an emphasis on training and qualifications. Within the Scottish Office, the development of our power was greeted with enthusiasm because it enabled us to provide the direction that social work obviously needed." (Interview 17 : S.S.)

"... huge changes in the structure of the family during the 1950s and 1960s necessitated sweeping changes to a social work sector that had developed piecemeal around Scotland. I would say the decline in the importance of the extended family created a national pressure, and we had to begin to take an interest in looking after family members who existed at the periphery of new nuclear families." (Interview 14 : S.S.)

"The training and provision of services expected of social workers has increased enormously. As you will know, a whole series of wide ranging and stimulating Acts has impacted hugely upon social work services to expand the range of statutory services. It remains to be seen, but hopefully these have culminated in giving the whole enterprise a strategic direction at the national level that it has always historically lacked." (Interview 13 : S.S.)

"Right after the war, we were subjected to a whole range of policies that were supposed to meet changes in society, and later on the collapse of the traditional family structure during the 1960s. Society was changing faster at the end of the war than at any other time in history and I think social work was really just forced to keep up by broadening its aims and objectives and restructuring to meet new problems when they cropped up." (Interview 9 : S.S.)

The shift towards genericism in social work service provision in Scotland, which was outlined in Chapter 3, is a reflection of the development of social work policies that have advocated professional genericism. This secondary trend, subsumed within the key overall trend of rationalisation and reorganisation, contributed towards the development of the social work departments that replaced the mass of separate social welfare agencies that existed prior to implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. However, Chapter 6 has noted how the Board has tended to look inward rather than toward social work policy developments, or the practical work of statutory agencies, for its lead. Chapter 7 has shown that this inward gaze has resulted in the development of a range of replicative alternative social work services. Chapters 6 and 7 show, through identification and interpretation of archival material, that the Board has contracted the range of client groups to which it provides social work services across time while simultaneously increasing the number of units and projects that it provides to those client groups. The conclusion is that the development of the Board's activities across time is symptomatic of the trend of service specialisation predicted by Beveridge (1948).

The trends of rationalisation and reorganisation within the statutory social work sector, to effect generic social work agencies capable of addressing nationally defined social needs, is contrastable with the Board's pattern of participation inasmuch as a trend of service specialisation is observable within the organisation's social work service provision. This view is reflected within the Board of Social Responsibility.

“Reorganisation within the statutory sector allowed their social work services to blossom. They have increasingly attempted to care for all in keeping with the ideology of the old Labour left, you know cradle to grave. Our response was always to try and be better than them by pulling our weight and by showing how we could do our work better than they ever could.” (Interview 5 : B.)

“Local authority reorganisation and development affected the range of services the statutory sector failed to undertake. They’ve expanded in response to changing political attitudes and a change in professional emphasis. Thatcherism really eroded the power of local authorities, and effectively made them accountable for their failures by handing their power over to central government departments. The net effect is that we have a reduced scope for developing new projects because the local authorities have had to do more but we have also been required to work to increasingly high standards within the services that we already provide. Developing quality is now the key in our existing work.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“... it’s the changes in society that have influenced the work of the Board. Travel and globalisation, changing views of the family, technology and drug abuse have brought to light issues that simply were not evident 25 years ago. The Board has tried to respond to these changes in society by training our staff to deal with these issues in our existing work so we operate more effectively than we have done before.” (Interview 1 : B.)

“Social work changed dramatically in that period. The network of the family has changed too, single parents are accepted now and society generally is aging. Thatcherism refocused the ethos of social work services according to the ‘look after yourself’ philosophy. However the Board stands against this philosophy and has developed strong feelings about the failure of the cradle to grave services supposedly being operated by the state. We stand against this failure and we’ve developed a policy of continuing our residential based work because it is needed and because we do it well.” (Interview 3 : B.)

Both the trends of rationalisation and reorganisation within the statutory sector and the Board’s contrasting trend towards social work service specialisation are recognised within the wider voluntary sector.

“The Board has always been ahead of us in developing its existing services. Whereas we have tended to just close things down the Board has chosen to develop and to increase its work in certain areas. I think choosing that particular path has been very brave and has developed the Board’s expertise as a response to the squeezes placed upon all of us by the expansion of statutory services. Personally, I think the voluntary sector has done Scotland proud in meeting its social needs but we’re suffering now from a structure that is ill-defined and not well suited to meeting the large scale restructuring that has taken place in the statutory sector. I suppose the Board’s work is one example of how the voluntary sector’s flexibility is both its greatest strength and its Achilles heel. I mean, I think the Board shows how an organisation can dig a huge hole for itself when what was really needed to address the drifting voluntary sector were formal structures to shape our collective

responses to ensure all voluntary organisations have a voice and a chance to succeed.” (Interview 2 : V.S.)

“Central government definitely plays the lead developmental role now in social work, which is quite a new feature of social work, but the local agencies still need our help to implement new ideas and developments, which is a very old feature of social work. We have to be flexible now and fully prepared to work with others. There’s nothing new in any of that of course but I’m not so sure the Church ever fully grasped that way of working. I suspect the Church’s philosophy is more attuned to maintaining its existing good works which historically tended to hide social problems away from prying eyes and I’d be very interested to know how the Board has expanded in recent years relative to other significant voluntary organisation.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

“... social work generally has become more professional and more responsive to a whole range of needs. That is good and that is obviously what the whole business is about. I think Thatcherism had the major impact on social work in Scotland because she turned everything upside down. Her legislation has had a huge effect and voluntary organisations have had to respond to developments in different ways depending on what they were doing. We’ve developed new ways of working, we’ve changed our ethos and now we are prepared to put our money where our mouth is. We’ve expanded as a result. I think the Board is different. It has maintained its ethos and has developed its original work rather than contribute towards meeting new social needs as they have evolved.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

Interview data confirms the shift towards generic social service provision within the statutory social work sector in Scotland during the post-war period. The Board of Social Responsibility is not held to have played a significant role in directly addressing the geographic variations that have impacted adversely upon the availability of statutory social work services across Scotland during the post-war period through provision of totally innovative ‘resource-stimulating’ (Jones, 1996) social work services. Rather, the above considerations of the Board tend to characterise an organisation that has worked to enhance the standard of its existing ‘resource-creating’ (Jones, 1996) range of replicative alternative social work services.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility can be considered to precede activities within the statutory social work sector in Scotland

Between 1948 and 2000, social work services in Scotland were not subjected to national co-ordination and it has been recognised that geographic variations have existed. Interviewees argue that large voluntary organisations have contributed to the development of social work policy in Scotland through transference of standards of service between and within local authority areas. Specifically, large voluntary organisations are argued to have benchmarked their standards of social work service provision against the standards demanded by local authorities requiring the highest standards of social service across the areas within which they operate.

“... we wouldn't look towards the Board for inspiration, it has, like all of the larger organisations and charities, contributed to the development of social work by operating throughout Scotland. I wouldn't say they have set the agenda but they must have played a standard setting role at the wider level, particularly through its eventide homes.” (Interview 4 : V.S.)

“The Board has set standards through its service provision. It's size and scale means that some of its services have paralleled the provision offered by the statutory sector. In areas where the statutory agents have historically lacked expertise the Board has worked alongside them and this has improved services.” (Interview 10 : S.S.)

The trend within the statutory sector of reorganising and rationalising to deliver generic social work services, ultimately through the regional and island social work departments is held to contrast with the Board's pattern of participation. However, interview data argues that the Board's activities and expertise have contributed to the wider development of social work service provision in Scotland through transference of standards of care across local authority boundaries. It is clear therefore that interviewees believe that the resource-creating pattern of participation implemented by the Board of Social Responsibility has contributed to the standards of social work service applicable within the statutory sector. This implies that the Board of Social

Responsibility's development of social work service provision to some extent precedes the production of similar activity within the statutory social work sector. The extent to which the social work service provision of the Board of Social Responsibility can be considered to precede the trends in social work service provision in Scotland is therefore of interest to this thesis.

Chapter 2 has noted how the Board of Social Responsibility was intended to develop into a general agency operating along similar lines to the Salvation Army, though structured differently of course. Chapter 1 has noted that Beveridge (1948) argued that generalist faith-based organisations represented a distinct model of participation in the pre-welfare state social work arena and argued that their participation must continue in the post-welfare state social work arena if all social needs were to be met. However, and as Chapter 7 notes, the works of Luscombe (1999) and Whiting (2002) demonstrate that not all large faith-based organisations have continued to participate in the post-welfare state personal social services. As a significant generalist provider of social work services, the Board's social work service provision should be considered to precede the trend of developing generic social work services within the statutory social sector by almost exactly 99 years. However, analysis of the Board's social work service provision has shown that the organisation has tended not to look towards other voluntary or statutory social work agents for direction. Two exceptions to this general rule were noted in Chapter 2: the Board of Social Responsibility modelling its initial social work objectives upon those of the Salvation Army in 1904 and drawing a comparison with Barnardo's and Quarrier's to develop an argument as to why it should receive monies from a trust in 1946 (Minute 503, 1946). These comparisons imply that some of the Board of Social Responsibility's activities precede the development of statutory social work services, confirming that the organisation has had potential to operate influentially across Scotland, in terms of standard and policy setting at the local level in substantive cases.

Interviewees within the Board highlight several substantive cases where the Board's social work service provision has preceded the work of other agencies but cite divergent examples to support their occasionally uncertain views.

"... Board has led the way and has had a very high profile in the early training period in Scotland." (Interview 18 : B.)

"Our children's homes and eventide homes were influential developments in their day. But I think our work in establishing dementia units is the best example of our work influencing others during the period you're interested in." (Interview 5 : B.)

"It's difficult to know. Skills applicable to one group can be applied to others and single issue groups often can't see the transference. I'm sure there have been instances but I can't be definitive and how can the impact be measured anyway?" (Interview 1 : B.)

"... one of our objectives is to influence and learn. We have always engaged with other organisations to discuss things. Williamwood House is one instance I think of where our work has been closely monitored by the local authorities." (Interview 8 : B.)

The reference to training can immediately be discounted because the Board's internal training activities did not precede training activities developed within the statutory sector, nor does analysis of the Board's archives support the claim. In fact the Board of Social Responsibility's archives demonstrate that the Scottish Office was responsible for establishing training as a feature of the Board's work. In particular, the Board's training section was established at the behest of the Social Work Services Group and was funded directly by central government grants from establishment in 1974 through to 1988 (Department of Social and Moral Welfare, 1975; Board of Social Responsibility, 1988). Interviews confirm this finding.

"... there was some resistance to a professional social worker coming into the Church and the Board didn't contribute financially to the training programmes until well into the 1980s. Help and support was given by the S.W.S.G. with the Board only providing some placements and input to the teaching." (Interview 3 : B.)

“The S.W.S.G. told the Board to begin training its staff. You won’t find that in the records because the management at the time didn’t want to know anything about it because they had no idea about social work.” (Interview 5 : B.)

Archival material and interview data demonstrate that there was a great deal of resistance within the Board of Social Responsibility to the establishment of a training section, with the Rev. L. Beattie Garden being found to have advised the Church of Scotland not to establish a training section for its social workers.

The Board’s development of children’s homes and eventide homes is recognised as having been totally innovative. However these services were established outside the period of interest to this thesis, i.e. the first children’s home in 1868 and the first eventide home in 1926 (Cameron, 1971; Department of Social Responsibility, 1983).

By 1948, eventide homes and children’s homes were prominent features of social work service provision in Scotland to the extent that the Board should be viewed as a comparatively minor provider of such services within any given local authority area.

Interview data and archival material does not therefore confirm that the local influence of these residential services was of any substantive consequence during the period in question.

The Board’s residential social work with the confused elderly began in 1982 when it opened Scotland’s first residential care home specifically for this group. The first unit was developed after the Board entered an agreement with Strathclyde Region Social Work Department and Greater Glasgow Health Board to provide a residential care home for the confused elderly with the latter agencies providing enhanced funding revenues for the service to be delivered. Chapter 6 has noted how this development was influenced by the terms of the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983, which, as noted in Chapter 3, made it illegal for local authorities to supplement or otherwise contribute to payments for residential care made by the D.H.S.S. unless the primary issue of care was related to the mental

health of the individuals concerned (Department of Social Responsibility, 1983). This Act can therefore be seen to have created an opportunity for the Board to develop a policy of halting the expansion of its residential care for older people in preference to beginning to develop residential care for the confused elderly, for which supplementary revenue allowances could be secured directly from local authorities. The Board's development of residential social work service provision for the confused elderly was therefore contiguous with implementation of the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 and contingent upon receipt of enhanced revenue funding from two public agencies.

In 2000 the Board provided five residential social work services for the confused elderly, and four day care centres within them, for the confused elderly. This tends to emphasise the developmental model of participation in the Scottish personal social services that characterises the Board's work. This chapter, like Chapter 6, has shown that the development of specialised alternative social work services for the confused elderly is viewed within the Board as a significant development. Closer scrutiny however suggests that the initial development of Williamwood House highlights the influence of outside revenue funding and the facilitative role played by legislation rather than highlight the extent to which the Board's activities should be considered to precede those of the statutory social work sector. This example of the Board's contribution to developing social work policy emphasises the important roles of differentiable sources of funds in contributing to the shape, nature and scope of Scotland's social work service provision, much as Beveridge (1948) predicted.

Notwithstanding the dependence on funding, the extent to which the provision of social work services by the Board can be considered to precede similar activity within the statutory social work sector in Scotland during the period in question cannot be considered as significant on the basis of the evidence discussed. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of the Board's activities carried out in

Chapter 7 where it was identified that 122 of 181 units and projects were of an alternative nature, and where 171 of these units and projects were found to have been developed across time to replicate existing service provision, in one of three specific ways. Again, this implies that the Board has not played the leading role in developing the pattern of social work services available in Scotland that has been claimed.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been reflected in local social work policy developments in Scotland

Interviewees within the statutory and voluntary sectors do not consider the Board's social work services to have been influential in policy terms at the local level. This contrasts with the view that large voluntary organisations have acted to transfer standards of care between local authority areas. It is worth noting therefore that interviewees are unable to provide concrete examples of instances where the Board's activities might have exerted such an influence upon local social work policy development despite the Board of Social Responsibility having been identified as an organisation likely to have exerted such an influence.

Within the voluntary sector, interviewees do not believe the Board of Social Responsibility has exerted any influence upon local social work policies or upon the social work activities of their respective organisations.

“No we don't look towards any organisations for examples of how to develop our work. We carry out our own research to identify trends and develop our work. However, it's just as fair to say that we don't exert any influence upon the work of the Board either, or any other social work agency for that matter.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

“I'm not aware of the Church's activities influencing any social work development in Scotland. In fact I'm not conscious of the Church doing anything very special at all. I think the Church of Scotland could be saying more and doing more, but generally we see other voluntary organisations as

competition that we have to be different from, and more progressive than.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

“... I wouldn’t want to get into the issues and work of the Church. The Church has taken risks but we don’t see the outcomes of those risks. In my experience the Church’s work that has been innovative has not been adopted by local authorities. I’m thinking in particular of the probation hostels. They just exist and only ever started because Strathclyde paid for them.” (Interview 7 : V.S.)

“... your question implies a perception of the Board that is incorrect. I think the Board’s services characterise a traditional organisation not a pioneering one. It certainly concentrates on elderly services and obviously must be very good at providing those sorts of Cinderella services. But that’s not pioneering work and we’ve never been interested in that type of social work.” (Interview 15 : V.S.)

Within the statutory sector, interviewees do not consider the Board as an influential organisation because it appears that they do not believe that the Scottish personal social services are capable of being influenced by any organisation in any co-ordinated or rational manner, far less by an organisation viewed as lacking relevance and significance.

“... the Board’s activities have been innovative but they have also been sheltered within an organisation that is quite precious at times, not well understood, and even less widely recognised. For example, I think the Board’s title is confusing and because of that its work is not readily recognised for its size and its diversity. I think that has always masked the Board’s impact, and any influence it might have had, because its work lacks significance.” (Interview 10 : S.S.)

“The Board has always had a number of thematic/strategic issues in common with the statutory sector. Its range of operational interests have always crossed with ours and I think that probably shows how the Church and the Scottish social work departments have shared common interests over the years. This can’t be applied to other voluntary organisations because they have tended to work with a smaller range of client groups. I think that probably makes the Board different but not influential.” (Interview 14 : S.S.)

“Throughout its history the Board has been confident in speaking out – often more so than the local authorities, especially before regionalisation. I think its expression of standards through quality of care and its more recent continuing commitment to specific models of care has differentiated the organisation. However I cannot say that this differentiation has been influential.” (Interview 13 : S.S.)

“... the whole issue of influence and development implies a degree of rationality that simply does not exist in the kaleidoscope of Scottish social work. Of course the Board's a player but there just is not the degree of corporate planning between sectors and between voluntary organisations that would be necessary for an organisation like the Board to have made an impact upon the ad hoc tapestry of social work services that exists.”
(Interview 17 : S.S.)

Notwithstanding the lack of evidence from interviewees, four concrete cases of the Board of Social Responsibility attempting to influence social work policy at the local level, primarily by advocating the implementation of certain practices, are identifiable within the organisation's archival material.

First, in 1983 the Board opened Williamwood House following the legislative development outlined earlier. Williamwood House was subsequently recognised by the Centre for Policy on Ageing as having established the national, i.e. U.K. standard for the voluntary provision of residential care for dementia sufferers (Board of Social Responsibility, 1983). In 1987 the Board of Social Responsibility opened Cameron House as its second residential care home for the confused elderly. This building represented the first purpose built residential care unit for individuals with dementia (Board of Social Responsibility, 1987). The Rev. Dr. Frank Gibson recalls that the design model was known as ‘Gibson's racetrack’ having been based on his model of an oval racetrack in the United States of America, i.e. there are no dead end corridors within the building. The Board's archives demonstrate that older people suffering the effects of dementia were not differentiated as a specific client group in local policy terms in 1983 (Board of Social Responsibility, 1983 ~ 1987). In 1987 the Board denounced local authorities for not providing specialised social work services to this client group that it had identified. By 1987 two local authorities had developed specific policies for recognising and providing services to older people with dementia (Board of Social Responsibility, 1987). In 2000, all the Scottish local authorities noted in Appendix VII had policies relating to the care of older people

suffering the effects of dementia. One can therefore argue that the residential care home developed by the Board of Social Responsibility in 1983 has influenced social work policy because statutory social work agencies have developed policies to provide specialised social work services to those suffering dementia subsequent to 1983.

Second, in 1986 the Board of Social Responsibility wrote directly to all Scottish local authorities asking them to implement a practice of assessing all applications for residential care provision from older people. Responses from local authorities were inconsistent and many local authorities are recorded as having specifically thought such a policy was unnecessary. No action was taken. The Social Work Services Group (S.W.S.G.) of the Scottish Office commented on this attempt by the Board to influence local social work policy (S.W.S.G., 1987). This initiative represents the only identified case of the Board of Social Responsibility attempting to directly influence the policies of local authority social work departments. The Board of Social Responsibility's practice subsequent to implementation of the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983 was to assess and co-ordinate applications for its residential care centrally at its headquarters in Edinburgh (Board of Social Responsibility, 1986). One can argue that the Board was unsuccessful in attempting to directly influence the policies of local authorities with regard to implementation of the practice of assessing all applications for residential care provision from older people. However, it should be noted that local authorities became obliged to implement this policy by the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990. One can therefore argue that the Board's practice of assessing applications for residential care provision has preceded, if not influenced, national social work policy. Nevertheless the statutory social work sector is now obliged to assess all applications for residential care provision from older people.

Third, the Board was the first and only organisation to open probation hostels in Scotland. Chapter 7 has shown that this innovation occurred in 1988 when the Board opened 2 probation hostels (Board of Social Responsibility, 1987 ~ 1989). Legislation allowed, but did not oblige, local authorities to establish such units as early as 1949 (see Table 11). Such hostels were common in England but have never become common in Scotland because of a funding disincentive that exists. Specifically, the development of probation hostels requires Scottish local authorities to meet the revenue payment for residents who in any other case would become remand prisoners. As such these individuals would be housed in prisons and their care would be funded directly by central government. The Board's archives show that it spent many years attempting to encourage the use of such units in Scotland without success (see for example Board of Social Responsibility, 1984 ~ 1988). However, policies surrounding the establishment and provision of probation hostels remain undeveloped at the local level in Scotland. One can therefore argue that the Board's contribution to influencing the policies of Scotland's local authorities has been limited in relation to the development of probation hostels.

Fourth, the Board began the practice of providing counselling, contraceptives and social and physical health services to prostitutes in the Leith area of Edinburgh in 1988. This project was developed in partnership with Lothian Health Board and was subsequently moved, as opposed to expanded, to Dundee when the Board lost the tender to continue the project in Leith. The social and health care services provided to prostitutes by the Board in Leith were statutorily available to any individual from the range of existing statutory agencies. What distinguishes the Board's initiative was that it made a full range of social and health care services available directly to prostitutes in the form of a 'one stop shop' (Board of Social Responsibility 1987 and 1988). Moreover, the Board of Social Responsibility established this service in the face of strong opposition from the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland which argued publicly against the statutory sector's participation in developing the service through

the provision of funding, and announced that it would never allow one of their Holy Orders to become involved in such an area of service provision (Board of Social Responsibility 1988 and 1989). The development of this social work service supports the view that the Board, like other voluntary organisations, tends to operate autonomously and not to look to other voluntary organisations for direction. The development of this service also tends to demonstrate that the social work service provision initiated by the Board influenced the social work policies of a second Scottish city to allow provision of such a service, i.e. because the service subsequently moved to Dundee. One can therefore argue that the Board has contributed to influencing the policies of Scotland's local authorities in relation to the development of social and physical health services targeted specifically at prostitutes.

Interviewees within the statutory sector have suggested that the Board's work with drug dependents and alcoholics, and its designated place, might be considered to have been influential at the local level. However with regard to drug dependency services there is no evidence to support such a view and the literature does not suggest that work in this area has influenced any local social work policy development elsewhere. However it should be recognised that interviewees within the Board argue that Ronachan, in Clachan, Argyll, is an 'exemplar of different work' with alcoholics because individuals are removed to Ronachan for care, i.e. away from their community, to assist the rehabilitation process. At Ronachan, individuals also receive 'spiritual input' (Department of Social and Moral Welfare, 1975 and 1976). It is this particular aspect of the social work undertaken at Ronachan that distinguishes the project and which also effectively precludes the model of care developed there from being implemented by local authorities around Scotland. Archival material demonstrates that the Board of Social Responsibility's designated place in Inverness was a replication of a similar unit that had been established at the behest of the Scottish Office in the Aberdeen area. The unit was developed there by a

voluntary organisation unrelated to the Board of Social Responsibility. The social work service provided by these two units has not been adopted by any other statutory agency and archival material demonstrates that the Board has tried, and failed, on two separate occasions to open designated places in other local authority areas (Board of Social Responsibility, 1993 ~ 2002). Accordingly neither of these initiatives can be considered to have exerted a significant influence upon the development of social work policy at the local level in Scotland.

It is clear that the Board has exerted an influence upon local social work policies between 1948 and 2000. It is also clear that a contributing factor to the undoubtedly limited observable impact of the Board's social work service provision and lobbying efforts can be attributed to the fact that social work policy has increasingly been developed at the national rather than local level in Scotland during the period in question. Nevertheless, it is clear from the foregoing that the Board of Social Responsibility has attempted to influence local social work policy development. However, the true extent to which the social work service provision of the Board has come to be reflected in the social work policies of Scotland's local authorities is not considered to be significant by interviewees. This tends to confirm the view that the Board of Social Responsibility has not played a significant role in addressing the local geographic variations that have adversely effected the availability of statutory social work services across Scotland during the post-war period. Rather, analysis of the extent to which the social work activities of the Board have been reflected in local social work policy developments in Scotland tends to characterise an organisation that has worked to develop standards in a range of resource-creating, replicative alternative social work services.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been reflected in national policy developments in Scotland

Consideration of the extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been reflected in national policy developments in Scotland is particularly important given the fact that social work policy has increasingly come to be developed at the national level in Scotland between 1948 and 2000. As such understanding of the Board's social work influence would be incomplete without some attempt being made to understand the influence of the organisation's work at that level, particularly given that its local influence is found to have been limited. Moreover, while the Board's direct influence upon local authorities may not have been significant, it is clear from the above that Scotland's local authorities have implemented two of the Board's social work practices, following their adoption in national social work policy.

As noted, the Board's practice of assessing applications for residential care from older people was taken up by the statutory social work sector in Scotland following implementation of the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990. This was because the practice of assessing all applications for residential care from older people was made a statutory obligation by the 1990 Act. Despite this practice having been advocated by the Board some years before, no direct evidence has been found to suggest that the organisation was in any way responsible for influencing the terms of the 1990 Act. For example, the Board's archives do not show that it attempted to lobby Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) but they do show that the Board responded to, rather than anticipated, the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 and its repercussions (Board of Social Responsibility, 1984 ~ 1997). This distinction in approach is exemplified in the archival material which notes how the Board 'must continue to address how to deal with the current position' [i.e. the funding gap] (Board of Social Responsibility, 1992 : 321). Community Care : Agenda for Action (Cmnd. 849, 1988) and Caring for People (Cm. 849, 1989), both of which preceded the 1990 Act, recommended a series of changes to the social security system to effect the enhanced use of public funds with the intention of enabling community care,

rather than residential care, within a wider U.K. policy framework. These recommendations were developed in response to the rapid expansion of costs incurred as a result of residential social work developments across the U.K. subsequent to implementation of the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983. Indeed the 1983 Act is held to have made the expanding level of expenditure being incurred by the social security system in the U.K. unsustainable (Deacon, 1995; Glennerster, 1998; Johnson, 1995). The Board's attempt, in 1986, to influence local assessment practice within the statutory social work sector cannot be considered as a factor that influenced development of Griffiths recommendations (Cmnd. 849, 1988). 'The Use of Residential Care for the Elderly' (S.W.S.G., 1987) supports this view by making it clear that the Board's attempt to influence the admission policies of local authority social work departments received 'a patchy response' (S.W.S.G., 1987 : 30). The Board's archival material reflects this view by providing no evidence to argue that the organisation influenced, or even attempted to influence, either directly or indirectly, Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) or Caring for People (Cm. 849, 1989) and therefore the terms of the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990.

The Board's totally innovative development of practices and policies relating to the provision of residential care for those suffering dementia can be considered to have influenced social work policy at the national level. Williamwood House has already been shown to be considered by several interviewees as having established policy for that particular client group in Scotland. Williamwood House was established by the Board in 1983 (Board of Social Responsibility, 1983) following implementation of the Health and Social Security (Adjudication) Act 1983. It has already been stated that the development of Williamwood House was contingent upon the 1983 Act, in terms of realising enhanced finance revenue payments from public agencies. Nevertheless, the Centre for Policy on Ageing reported that Williamwood House was 'the only voluntary home in the U.K. caring for people with senile dementia' (Centre

for Policy on Ageing in, Board of Social Responsibility, 1987 : 283). The Centre for Policy on Ageing also advised that Williamwood House represented 'not only an important initiative in the development of specialist care in Scotland, but also an illustration of the potential role of voluntary organisations in the provision of specialist care, and an example of good practice from which everyone in this field can learn' (Centre for Policy on Ageing in, Board of Social Responsibility, 1987 : 283). Williamwood House was subsequently visited by social care agencies from across the world and was regarded as a 'show piece development of social care provision for a niche market' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1983 ~ 1987). It has already been shown how archival material demonstrates that older people suffering the effects of dementia were not differentiated as a specific client group in local policy terms in 1983 and how, in 1987, the Board denounced local authorities for not providing specialised social work services to this client group (Board of Social Responsibility, 1983 ~ 1987). By the year 2000 all local authorities in Scotland had developed policies relating to the care of older people suffering the effects of dementia. One can therefore argue that the residential care home developed by the Board in 1983 did influence national social work policy to the extent that local statutory social work agencies have developed policies to identify older people with dementia as a client group.

The extent to which the social work service provision of the Board has come to be reflected in national policy developments in Scotland has been challenged through reference to the organisation's archival material. This analysis of the Board's archives has highlighted two instances, between 1948 and 2000, where the Board has either attempted to influence national social work policy or is considered to have influenced national social work policy in Scotland. In the former case, no evidence has been found to support the view that the Board's attempt to influence the admission policies of local authority social work departments was successful. Indeed it should be noted that the analysis of the Board's archives failed to identify any

reference to this attempt to influence the social work policies of Scotland's local authorities. Analysis of the Board's archival material also failed to provide evidence upon which to base the view that the organisation influenced, or even attempted to influence, either directly or indirectly, Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1988) or Caring for People (Cm. 849, 1989) and therefore the social work implications of the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990. All of this suggests that while the Board may have held potential to influence the policies and standards of local authority social work departments, the organisation has not played an identifiably significant role in establishing standards and policies at the national level in anything other than two substantive cases.

Notwithstanding the above, it must be noted that interviewees have argued that the Board is, in general terms, an influential body. However, it must also be noted that no interviewee could provide concrete examples and how all interviewees had difficulty in communicating their opinions on the precise nature of the Board's influence, or potential influence as the case may be. Board personnel have argued that the organisation has exerted an influence whenever it has responded to consultation papers issued by Parliamentary Committees, Working Groups or Government Inquiries. However, there is no archival evidence to support such a view. Contrarily, archival material demonstrates that the Board has always been reticent about responding to consultation papers. More specifically, the Board and its antecedents rarely provide written evidence to statutory committees. In fact the evidence demonstrates that the Board has deliberately chosen not to provide evidence to major inquiries that have been undertaken between 1948 and 2000. For example, confidential correspondence demonstrates that the Board did not provide a formal written response to the Wolfenden Committee (1978) because the director of social work at the time had 'not had an opportunity to do this' (Beattie Garden, 1975b). This despite the fact that he had been in personal correspondence with Baron Wolfenden from late 1974 (see Beattie Garden 1975a and 1975b; Croly, 1974a,

1974b, 1974c and 1976). Moreover, the Board did not provide evidence to the Kemp Committee (1997) and it should be noted that no file relating to this committee could be found at the Board's H.Q. The Wolfenden Committee (1978) and the Kemp Committee (1997), taken together, arguably represent the two most significant attempts to gather information on the activities of the voluntary sector in Scotland between 1948 and 2000. The lack of response from the Board of Social Responsibility to these committees, and other significant inquiries undertaken across time, mean it is impossible to compare and contrast the thinking of the Board of Social Responsibility on substantive social work issues relative to the views of the other large voluntary organisations that did choose to provide detailed responses. As a result, the practical social work of the Board, as evidenced through the archival material, is the only tangible evidence of the organisation's thinking across time. This tends to reinforce the view, first noted in Chapter 6, that the Board of Social Responsibility tends to look inwards for inspiration rather than outwards to local and national social work policy developments.

The influence exerted upon national social work policy development by the Board of Social Responsibility has been important but perhaps not significant. This is because the influence exerted by the Board is considered representative of an organisation concerned to develop existing social work service provision rather than the development of innovative social work services intended to meet incipient social needs. This finding supports the conclusions developed in Chapter 7, inasmuch as the inward gaze adopted by the Board has resulted in the development of replicative alternative social work services and a simultaneous contraction in the range of client groups to which those social work services are provided.

Summary

The Board has exerted a limited influence upon social work policies operating at the local level between 1948 and 2000. This influence has been limited, in part, because the power over social work policy development has increasingly come to be held at the national level and, in part, because the Board has tended to focus upon developing its range of resource-creating, replicative alternative social work services. This finding reflects the view developed in Chapter 6 and which holds that exogenous and endogenous have competed to influence the substantive shape of the social work services provided by faith-based service-providing voluntary organisations operating in Scotland, a notion developed in Chapter 9. It is clear from analysis of the Board's archives, and from interview data, that the organisation has not impacted significantly upon local social work policies in the few instances where it has attempted to directly influence the substantive nature of local social work policies. It is therefore argued that the Board's social work service provision has contributed to the development of local social work policy but not significantly so.

Examples have been found of the Board both developing innovative social work services and working pro-actively to influence national social work policy. Plainly the Board's extensive social work service provision counts as a contribution to the development of social work at the national level in Scotland. However, analysis suggests that the extent to which the social work service provision and related activities of the Board have come to be reflected in national social work policy developments is not significant. In this regard the Board's archives demonstrate that it has frequently chosen not to contribute to state sponsored inquiries and tended to choose not to look outwards towards other social work agencies for inspiration with regard to developing social work policy at the national level. This view is consistent with the conclusions from Chapter 6, which has shown how the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been influenced primarily by traditions and by biographies. This demonstrates how endogenous forces have limited the

organisation's contribution to social work policy development at the national level in Scotland.

In summation, the Board of Social Responsibility has made an important contribution to the development of social work policy in Scotland at both local and national levels but has not played the significant, leading role in developing the pattern of social work in Scotland that it claims to have done.

Chapter 9 : The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been shaped by its religious ethos, by activity on its own initiative and by external forces

Chapter 6 developed understanding of the mechanisms through which the Board of Social Responsibility has developed and implemented social work policy in Scotland to reveal the significant roles played by key individuals in shaping the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility across time and how various exogenous forces, principally legislative, have influenced the development and continuation of the organisation's social work services. Chapter 7 considered the range of social work services provided by the Board of Social Responsibility in terms of innovation and replication and concluded that the organisation has tended not to operate as a significant provider of totally innovative social work services. Rather, Chapter 7 demonstrated that the organisation should be viewed as having operated as a significant provider of replicative, alternative social work services that have grown in number developmentally across time. Chapter 8 considered the Board's contribution to social work policy development at both local and national levels in Scotland and concluded that the Board has made a resource-creating contribution to the development of social work policy in Scotland at both levels but has not played the significant, leading role in developing the pattern of social work in Scotland that it claims to have done. This chapter continues the analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland by developing understanding of the extent to which the Board's social work service provision can be considered to have resulted from either endogenous or exogenous forces.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been shaped by its religious ethos

The Board of Social Responsibility's religious ethos conforms to the doctrines of Christianity and, specifically, Calvinistic Protestantism (Brown, 1987; Burnet, 1949; Drane, 1997; Storrar, 1990). The form of Calvinistic Protestantism practised within the Church of Scotland is Liberal Presbyterianism and the Church recognises God

alone as the Head of the Church (Brown, 1987; Burnet, 1949). In practice this is manifest in the Church's Presbyterian structure which is polyarchic insofar as all are recognised as equal in the eyes of the Church. The key doctrines of the Protestant faith ordering daily life for those adhering to the Liberal Presbyterianism practised within the Church of Scotland are hard work and moderation in all things (Burnet, 1949).

The aims and objectives of the Church of Scotland are developed and implemented through the Church of Scotland's Presbyterian system of courts, as noted in Chapter 2. The Board of Social Responsibility has been instructed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 'to seek to retain and regain the highest quality of life which each individual is capable of achieving at any given time' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). In this regard the Board's specific constitutional remit has four aims. First, it is required to offer social work services in Christ's name to people in need; second, to provide specialist resources to further the caring work of the Church; third, to identify existing and emerging areas of need, and to then guide the Church of Scotland in pioneering new approaches to those problems, and finally, to study and present essential Christian judgements on social, moral and ethical issues arising within the area of the Board's concern (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). Chapter 2 has already noted that this fourth objective provided to the Board has not been considered within this thesis. Moreover, the Board must provide these social work services to all individuals regardless of gender, ethnic background, creed or sexual preference etc. (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c).

The religious ideals that underpin the Board's activities on behalf of the Church of Scotland have been related to its practical social work activities and expressed as the furtherance of individual worth, normalisation, involvement, quality and value (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 2). The Board's activities are therefore explicitly grounded in a belief that all individuals are of intrinsic worth, because each

has been created in the image of God (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). This belief permeates the Board's activities and its attitudes, most obviously perhaps in its position as an employer. The Board maintains a policy of employing only individuals who can provide substantive evidence of an active Christian faith, though not necessarily a Protestant one (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). Chapter 2 has noted that the policies and values of the Board cannot be considered utilitarian and has noted how Storrar views the Church of Scotland's approach to the needs of society as one of 'principled calculation' (1990 : 7).

Interviewees within the Board of Social Responsibility explain the religious ethos that underpins the organisation's work in terms that highlight a perceived distinctiveness.

"The Board carries the full weight of the Church. It is a large organisation and must pull its weight within the world of social work. It has to because the Church is not separated from the world so it must work to avoid becoming separated from God. The Church's social work must be distinctive to bring salvation and this is not an added extra. This aim means we must be professional in our work and our faith so our work is not better than the work done by others, it means our work is distinctive." (Interview 5 : B.)

"... faith definitely influences and shapes our work. That means we are seen as those that do good. That's important because we are part of the Church and this is part of what the Church is supposed to be about." (Interview 3 : B)

"An advantage for us is that we operate under the banner of the Church. For many of us it is not a choice to participate in providing social work services because we must, as Christians, try to discern what God's will is and then try to make life better for those placed in disadvantage. That makes us very different." (Interview 11 : B)

"Our faith means we are accountable to God for everything we do. We can't hide from that so it impacts on our practical work and supports our policies. How we do our work is scrutinised by God so we must have people who answer to God in their actions and through their prayers." (Interview 1 : B)

Views within the Board of Social Responsibility emphasise the intrinsic worth of individuals and that, as a consequence, the organisation's activities must reflect

individual needs if the organisation is to promote individual worth, normalisation and involvement as full community members. The Board believes that implementation of this concept of normalisation enables individuals to access spiritual opportunities while simultaneously opening access to aspects of daily living that are available to the wider population. This view is highlighted within the Board of Social Responsibility's strategic documentation which highlights the notion of social inclusion

'While traditionally caring for most client groups in a residential setting, the principle of social inclusion has led the Board towards a wider range of interventions...'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c : 3)

The Board maintains that only through processes of evaluation and change can its social work activities and services continue to be effective and appropriate in a changing society. This reflects the Board's focus on standards as identified in Chapter 8. The Board's documentation argues that it is committed to the practice of actively seeking the views of those involved in providing, using and purchasing its services to achieve effective and appropriate services at any given time (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c).

These internally expressed views and values contrast with the perceived reality of the Board's work within the statutory social work sector in Scotland.

"... Church and other religious organisations like it, ought to operate services that can be seen to be relevant to their ethos. They should forget about the trendy things and provide practical help to people in need. Many of these things cannot be done on a national basis and that is where organisations like the Church should be operating, by addressing new and real needs of society locally not historical or Church needs. The Church does have an innovative history of actually doing but it has lost its way in enabling faith to improve society. It's about money now." (Interview 9 : S.S.)

“The faith based organisations can meet particular needs of people who share a common faith. Faith based organisations often bring that particular level of commitment to the services they provide but must be cautious not to end up with an over sectioned provision. I think this has happened to the Board, you know, it has become focused on residential care for older people and for older people with Church of Scotland connections at that. That’s the perception and that has raised a moral and ethical stance within the Board that challenges the funding of residential care to a degree that has become pedantic and boring without creating any great debate.” (Interview 10 : S.S.)

“Faith based organisations have been the historic providers of social work service, with a rich legacy of looking after the most vulnerable. At our peril we should be ignoring the history of the voluntary sector. The faith based organisations bring added value to contemporary social work in four ways. 1. They bring added finance through income from donations. 2. They bring added choice. 3. They bring a value base that is often shared by their users. 4. They bring the value of being able to speak independently and often at odds with the values of the statutory social work sector or the local authorities. I think Scotland’s large voluntary organisations vary in which of these things they achieve. I think the Church brings added finance, choice and shared values but fails to speak independently with any great authority.” (Interview 13 : S.S.)

Clearly, perceptions of the Board’s distinctiveness within the statutory social work sector recognise the distinctive faith-based ethos of the organisation but tend to highlight dependence on funding and sectarianism in provision rather than an emphasis placed upon meeting individual needs through the promotion of individual worth, normalisation and community involvement. These perceptions of the Board’s distinctiveness within the statutory sector are mirrored within the wider voluntary social work sector in Scotland.

“... religious ethos is important for some and presents problems for others. On the positive side, working to a Christian vision can emphasise base values and cultural factors that attract certain groups of users. I think you’ll see that side of things in the Board’s work with older people. On the negative side, we found that an overt religious ethos alienates whole groups of people and that meant our organisation struggled to attract users, so we struggled to help people. That’s what we found and that’s why we abandoned our religious ethos, it simply became counter-productive. We’re operating in a polyethnic society now and the secular organisations can achieve anything a faith based organisation can. I don’t think the Board has grasped that fact yet, or at least it doesn’t seem to have developed its faith to meet contemporary social needs. I think it’s probably struggling to maintain relevance.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

“The Board’s religious ethos makes it distinctive for the wrong reasons I think. In my view it’s an idealistic organisation not a pragmatic one. Its working ethos reflects a moral and ethical stance which is, I must admit, a brave one, but one that is becoming seen as anachronistic. It’s distinctive because, like us, it has tried to maintain an identification with a particular culture, with a specific part of God’s family. On the way I think it’s probably failed to realise that its boundaries have shifted and that to continue to bring its added value to the needs of people it has to move with the times.” (Interview 19 : V.S.)

“... religious organisations sometimes forget they don’t have a monopoly on righteousness and are not necessarily better than others. There is nothing intrinsically advantageous about organisations like the Board which I often consider as community remnants. The Board’s distinctiveness comes from exclusiveness based on Christian principles that thrived historically in lively congregations, religious life and large churches that could support efforts to include, for example, disabled service users. It’s a naïve outlook and a naïve organisation is not a realistic one and I think its ethos is beginning to work against it. (Interview 15 : V.S.)

Clearly perceptions of the Board of Social Responsibility within the wider voluntary sector also identify a distinctive faith-based ethos but tend to highlight themes of historicism and sectarianism in provision rather than distinctiveness generated through a practical emphasis on meeting human needs through promotion of individual worth, normalisation and community involvement.

The Board of Social Responsibility believes that the contemporary codification of its values support the message of hope and new life through Christ that has remained unaltered throughout the organisation’s history (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). The Board has also developed the view that it must continually review and evaluate its work in order to identify how it can best serve the people of Scotland. Interviewees within all sectors highlight the unaltered message of hope and new life that is apparent in the Board of Social Responsibility’s policy documentation and the dependence on funding, which appears to cast something of a shadow over the organisation’s claimed progressiveness.

Chapter 2 has noted that the Board believes its greatest resource to be its staff and how it is their personal Christian commitment that enables the intrinsic value placed upon human life by the Church to be recognised. This overarching reliance upon its staff is a concrete manifestation of the Christian vision of quality and value in service delivery that is a stated priority of the Board. Throughout its history, the Board has maintained its policy of employing only individuals who can prove that they have a true Christian commitment (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c). This commitment is a prerequisite for staff because non-Christians are considered unable to provide social work services that might enable individuals to access the spiritual opportunities that are implicit within the concept of normalisation developed by the Board. The Board holds that its social work services are distinctive because they do not lack practical understanding of and insight into the true meaning of Christian life (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998c).

While the emphasis within the Board upon this Christian mission may be interpreted differently within the wider arena of social work in Scotland, its significance as an endogenous force that has shaped the organisation's practical activities cannot be overemphasised.

“Our employment policy is about our common denominator, it is about the shared respect we feel for others and it creates the supporting environment that we need to work. It enables our staff to work closer together as a team because only the best will do. It creates our baseline and our ideal and makes us different to other services without a baseline.” (Interview 1 : B)

“... the employment policy that attracted me to the Board because it enabled me to follow my calling through my vocation. The policy brings in people with a high motivation and common though broad view and gives us a common purpose and commitment. It is after all the Church's work we are doing so I think it is important that we are seen to be acting it out.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“Our employment policy gives our users a dimension of their being attended to by an organisation that is different because the spiritual side of things is also taken care of. It makes the Board's services different and creates a

choice, a Christian choice. At the same time staff have an opportunity to offer themselves on Christian service.” (Interview 11 : B.)

“It’s not a bonus bit. Our Christian view is that we are addressing the needs of sinners in need of redemption, not by holding down a helping hand but by holding it out. We are all on the same level, there are no hopeless cases and our employment policy underpins everything we do. It’s our vocation, our opportunity to answer our calling, our Christian calling.” (Interview 18 : B.)

The Board’s employment policy means that, where necessary, it prefers to employ unqualified and inexperienced Christians in preference to suitably experienced and qualified agnostics. The view is that people can be trained to perform a role but cannot be trained to believe something. Board of Social Responsibility personnel argue that their faith-based ethos creates a unique choice for service users, represents their ideal state of affairs and establishes a baseline that guides their behaviour and their interactions with other staff and users. In essence the faith-based ethos promotes the moral stance that is identified in Chapter 6 as motivating the Board’s work through attempts to address the social issues that are perceived as important.

Interviewees within the wider voluntary and statutory sectors argue that the Board’s Christian employment policy is questionable. They argue that the policy is exclusive and must have a negative impact on the organisation’s service provision because it prevents the Board from considering all potential candidates for employment. Nevertheless interviewees argue that the Board should have the right to maintain such a policy if it so wishes but emphasise that the policy need not necessarily result in service provision of a higher standard than those provided by secular agencies.

“... Church’s employment policy is a matter for them. However, I do think it creates artificial tensions and creates a basis for competition that can be unhealthy. It has also led to contracts being ended because the policy does not sit well with equal opportunities legislation.” (Interview 13 : S.S.)

“... I think this highlights how the Board is seen in terms of your earlier question regarding influence. I think the Board’s influence is as a Church organisation not as a social care organisation. The employment policy is well

known and marks the organisation out in a way that isn't positive." (Interview 10 : S.S.)

"... may be appropriate for individuals to think about working for organisations to answer their calling. I suppose that gives them a continuity of their faith and perhaps allows them to test their values in practice. However I do think it often goes wrong when the appropriate balance is not achieved between the faith base and respect for the rights of others. I think the Church's employment policy is exclusive and - I must emphasise that this is a personal view - for me that means the organisation doesn't strike the right balance." (Interview 14 : S.S.)

"Faith should be secondary to the quality of care. Good faith based provision brings an extra dimension to provision. It shouldn't be about evangelism but about witness, part of the staff's justification of one's faith. Done badly, faith based provision is very stock and crass and runs counter culture to secular organisations. Unfortunately, the public now sees faith based provision as crass and stock." (Interview 4 : V.S.)

"Though not overtly religious, we do have a shared basis and set of values. We've developed our mission away from the overtly religious because it was becoming counterproductive. Religion is a very personal thing you see and many of our staff simply could not accept the specific doctrines adhered to by their colleagues. It led to arguments and just detracted from our cohesiveness, you know of the organisation as a whole." (Interview 12 : V.S.)

The Board's religious ethos has influenced the activities the organisation has undertaken. Work with 'fallen women', 'drunks', 'impoverished families' and moral welfare work are all examples of its Christian social work initiated by the organisation's moral stance. 'Unmarried mothers', 'women prostitutes', 'young people from unsatisfactory homes and with perverted ideas', 'drop-outs afflicted by drugs and drink', 'the socially inadequate' and people with 'behavioural difficulties' are all identified in the Board's archival material as individuals whose social and material needs have been addressed by holding out the 'helping hand' of the Church. Chapter 2 has shown how these activities evolved from historical concerns with the impoverished state of the Scottish people under Poor Law provision, e.g. hostels for men and women became residential care homes for older people, orphanages became children's homes, shelters became day centres. However, Chapter 6 has shown that it would be wrong to simply explain the Board's work as the continuation of historical concerns relating to the Church's religious ethos. This is partly because the Board's

documentation explicitly demonstrates strategic concern to provide quality services and service delivery rationales that include offering choice to enhance quality through the development and adaptation of existing service provision to meet perceived and prevailing social needs. Indeed the Board, as Chapter 2 has shown, is constitutionally obliged to operate as an adaptive organisation, and an organisation that exercises caution in the processes of adaptation.

The Board of Social Responsibility is an organisation that is recognised as being distinctive both because of the generalist nature of its work and because it has maintained its religious ethos while other significant voluntary organisations in Scotland have not. The Board's constitutional remit emphasises the Protestant religious ethos that places the Church's Christian mission at the forefront of its activities. The generalist nature of the Board's contemporary social work service provision identified in Chapter 7 is arguably therefore a reflection of the broad aims of the Christian mission that have developed over time. The Board has arguably met this remit by replicating and developing specialisation in its range of resource-creating alternative social work services to maintain the social state that is perhaps representative of the common faith of the individuals the organisation employs. The uniqueness identified in Chapter 7 is therefore directly reflective of the religious ethos that the organisation advances on behalf of the Church. This characterisation of the Board's faith-based ethos explains why the organisation has been effective in replicating a range of resource-creating alternative social work services rather than effective in operating as an innovative service-providing voluntary organisation within the social work sphere.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been shaped by developmental activity on its own initiative

Between 1948 and 2000 the Board acted as a generalist agency providing a range of social work services for a range of client groups. The position of the Board, as Scotland's largest voluntary provider of social work services, has remained unchanged from 1948 to 2000. During this period, the organisation's activities have remained predominantly residential in terms of provision and therefore alternative in nature. These services have developed from the Church's historical concerns with the impoverished state of the Scottish people and have been shaped by individual interpretations allied to the Church's religious ethos. Interviewees within the Board of Social Responsibility reflect this view.

"We have been shaped by a clear objective to respond to social needs laid down by the Church. We are doing the Church's work." (Interview 1 : B.)

"We've responded to social needs that have been identified locally. To that extent I think you can say that we have underpinned the development of society through the local work of the Church." (Interview 8 : B.)

"A key part of being attached to the National Church is that we have had to meet the full range of individual needs as they have arisen around Scotland. There are fewer unmet needs around today because of the Church and we have been given money to meet those needs." (Interview 18 : B.)

"... the Board's history has been about recognising people who have fallen through gaps. The Board has always sought to meet needs because of our faith based aims and objectives." (Interview 3 : B.)

"... through observation we have plugged gaps left by others. We have been made sensitive to these needs in different ways at different times because of our religious ethos. In that sense the Board is a mediatory structure that is a safeguard within the Church and a safeguard within society. State policy often conflicts with the needs of the people and throughout history the Church has been there to safeguard the Scottish people." (Interview 5 : B.)

This interview data reflects the influences of faith, partnership and legislation. At a more strategic level, this interview data highlights the rationale of developing existing work to meet social needs that have been left unattended by the statutory sector. The trends within the Scottish social work sector, identified in Chapter 6, included those of professionalisation, centralisation of power over policy

development and genericism in terms of service provision. The generalist nature of the Board's social work activities has already been shown to precede the creation of generic statutory social work agencies in Scotland to the extent that its broad range of social work service provision cannot be linked to the aims and objectives encapsulated in the Kilbrandon Report (Cmnd. 2306, 1964).

Nevertheless interview data and archival material (Committee on Social Service, 1947 and 1948) has demonstrated that the Board's social work with children was informed by the Curtis (Cmd. 6922, 1946) and Clyde (Cmd. 6911, 1946) Reports. Moreover, it was noted in Chapter 7 that the Board is recognised as having developed innovative models of social work with children and older people prior to the period of interest to this thesis. In addition, Chapter 6 has demonstrated that significant individuals are considered to have shaped the Board's social work service provision, according to innovative and traditional models, until the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973 created the regional and island social work departments. Contemporary views within the Board of these early models of participation, and the organisation's policy direction between 1948 and 1974, reflect the creation of the range of distinctive social work services that exist today. Within the statutory sector, the Board's innovative development of residential social work services for children and older people has contributed to a view, already identified in Chapter 6, that the Board preferred to work autonomously. The 1973 Act is recognised by interviewees as having exerted a significant influence upon social work service provision generally and upon the Board's social work service provision more specifically.

“... regionalisation politicised our social work. The previous problems of Labour councillors interfering directly in the work was solved by regionalisation. Before, some councillors had been far too close to the problems to bring any kind of objectivity to their decisions. The regional departments were too large to allow direct interference but were influenced and subjected to party political ideologies. In some areas you could almost

say that the social work departments became the medium for implementing political ideology.” (Interview 17 : S.S.)

“1974 was a point of real change for the Board. The Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church were the two major voluntary providers of residential care. Overnight, well almost, we had to address the disparity in our residential work versus their fieldwork. We had to begin to develop our residential work as part of the overall programme of social work going on in the country at the time.” (Interview 3 : B.)

By 1974, the Board’s activities included 86 units and projects that were designed to further ‘varied and important activity in social work... through which the Church continues to exercise its centralised body of social welfare’ (Committee on Social Service, 1974 : 348). In 1974, this centrally organised operation was directed towards ameliorating the social conditions of seven substantive client groups. In 2000, as Chapter 7 has shown, the Board operated 114 units and projects to further the Church’s specified ambition of working ‘in the midst of and alongside social work services throughout Scotland... [while] seeking the development of excellence in the services provided in Christ’s name’ (Board of Social Responsibility, 2000 : 4).

Analysis of archival material has not identified the opening or operation of a disparate number of units in any geographic area nor have any specific activities of the Board expanded disproportionately during any particular period of government. Indeed analysis of archival material suggests that the reverse is true. The Board of Social Responsibility’s residential care services for older people and children were adversely affected by implementation of the 1968 and 1973 Acts, and in particular by the consequent emphasis in Scotland upon the local development and implementation of social work policy. Setting children’s services aside for the moment, the data suggests that the generalist nature of the Board’s activities has remained constant throughout the period in question while adjustments made to specific areas of the organisation’s social work activities can be considered to reflect developmental initiatives that have allowed the organisation’s social work services to meet rising standards of service provision. Had this not been the case there would

arguably no longer be a Board of Social Responsibility and one can cite the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Church of England as evidence for this view. Nevertheless, various mechanisms of developmental activity and change are evident in the nature and the quantity of work done by the Board over time. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 have identified these mechanisms as autonomous action, legislation, local and national policy influences, funding dependencies and an instruction from General Assembly. Analysis of archival material suggests that economic conditions can be added to this list.

The extent of the Board's social work service provision, quantified as the number of units operated, declined during the 10-year period between 1974 and the 1984. Archival material identifies one significant internal influence shaping this pattern of decline: the emergence of a focus upon finances and in particular the development of a finance policy that precluded bequests, legacies and other invested resources being used to subsidise service provision (Committee on Social service, 1975). This policy required that the Board's financial resources be used only for establishing social work services and not to subsidise service provision which should be revenue funded by the statutory sector. Between 1974 and 1989, the Board can be seen to have consolidated its financial resources rather than deploy them to expand service provision.

"... all our services should be self-funding. Our earned income is very important but sometimes we don't earn enough through fees because the authorities don't pay enough. Consequently our unearned income is invaluable and makes the Board a viable proposition. The gifts and legacies we receive enable us to work autonomously and flexibly to develop our services. Our own resources also bring added value to the quality of our existing services but not by subsidising work." (Interview 1 : B.)

"... earned income enhanced the professionalism of the Board but it has always been the gifts that allowed us to undertake new tasks. You know you have to be ruthlessly professional in dealing with financial matters." (Interview 5 : B.)

“Philanthropy is an interesting idea. I don’t think the Board is philanthropic because our motivation must come from our Faith. We do need money though and you are right that we receive large sums from individuals who have been called to provide for others in such a practical way. Money presents a problem for us though because we must use these gifts wisely and diligently to achieve the aims of those who have been called to provide. These are the aims of God. At the same time we must speculate and take chances and when we get it wrong we are accused of incompetence.” (Interview 5 : B.)

“... earned income places us in hock to the local authorities and allows them to influence what we do. Unearned income contributes directly to the work of the Board. It allows us to be responsive and flexible so that we can meet the Church’s needs by enhancing our autonomy.” (Interview 8 : B.)

“Our earned income streams allow us to maintain our existing units and projects but places us at the disposal of the local authorities. Too much reliance on earned income in the past has often put some of our services in jeopardy when the clients have dried up. This means that unearned income is very, very important to the Board. In the longer term it is important to our survival and our ability to act flexibly in developing underdeveloped areas of our work. The trouble with unearned income related to short-termism. What I mean is that unearned income, gifts, bequests, legacies, just as you’ve mentioned, are so variable from year to year that we can’t guarantee their amount.” (Interview 11 : B.)

“Unearned income is essential if we are to do new and innovative work. This means we must keep our net as wide as possible to collect as much money as possible through things like legacy promotion. Earned income is also essential to maintain our services. Problems with earned incomes mean that we must try and not become too tied. The balance to achieve is to not be so tied to earned that flair and innovation dies.” (Interview 3 : B.)

This ruthless professionalism saw the Board’s invested funds grow from £1.1M to £19.6M between 1976 and 1990 – these are ‘at cost’ values and are, respectively, equivalent to £5.3M and £26.5M in 2000 after adjustment for inflation (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998d; 1999b; 2000a; Board of Stewardship and Finance, 1996 ~ 1997; General Treasurer of the Church of Scotland Trust, 1977 ~ 1995; Minutes of the Church of Scotland Board of Social and Moral Welfare Committee on Social Service 1964 ~ 1970; Minutes of the Church of Scotland Committee on Social Responsibility 1976 ~ 1983; Minutes of the Church of Scotland Committee on Social Service 1946 ~ 1963; Minutes of the Church of Scotland Committee on Social Service and 1971 ~ 1975). Prior to the emergence of this policy, as Chapter 6 has

already noted, bequests, legacies and invested funds had been used to subsidise and expand service provision and have, since 1990, again been used to subsidise units and projects that are financially unviable. It is unequivocally the case that the financial resources accrued between 1974 and 1989 have allowed the Board of Social Responsibility to maintain the scale of its social work service provision post 1990.

Returning to children's services, a notable shift in the Board's approach to working with children is identifiable within the organisation's archival material. Chapter 7 has noted how the organisation has not developed its social work with children whereas, during the same period, Barnardo's and Quarrier's have expanded, adapted and developed their work in this particular service area. Analysis of interview data in Chapter 7 shows that Barnardo's and Quarrier's have abandoned their faith-based ethos and have expanded their social work activities in this particular area through National Lottery grants. Indeed Quarrier's admits it would have faced bankruptcy had it not been for National Lottery monies while Barnardo's has expanded its range of social work projects and units for children by almost 400% in the final decades of the twentieth century, partly because of the funds it has secured from the National Lottery. Similarly, Jewish Care Scotland has dramatically expanded its range of social work service provision through receipt of a grant from the National Lottery Charities Board (Scotland) (Jewish Care Scotland, 1999a). However, the Board has maintained its faith-based ethos and this ethos prevents the organisation from applying to the National Lottery Charities Board (Scotland) because such monies are considered to be the product of gambling. The Salvation Army too has largely withdrawn from providing social work services to children because it too has maintained a faith-based ethos that precludes applying for National Lottery funds.

Plainly archival material and interview data argues that internal forces have shaped the activities of the Board. A significant internal or endogenous force has been the Board's faith-based ethos operating via the constitutional remit provided by the

General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. However the activities of the organisation have also been shaped by other forces, including the Rev. Dr. Gibson's policy of not deploying income derived from non-operational sources to subsidise and support existing and new developments, which led to an overall decline in the number of projects and units carried during the 1980s.

Analysis of the archival material and interview data demonstrates that individual agency, internal financial policy and the organisation's faith-based ethos have all influenced the specific nature of the social work services provided by the Board of Social Responsibility over time. With the exception of social work service provision for children, these influences have meant that the range of activities undertaken by the Board has remained relatively constant between 1948 and 2000, although the number of units and projects maintained has fluctuated, with a notable decline being observable between 1974 and 1984. This particular decline highlights the extent to which the organisation's policies have been shaped by endogenous influences which have in turn shaped the scale of the developmental activity undertaken on the organisation's own initiative. The strength of the Board's policy initiative is evident in the degree of tension created within the organisation by the emergence of the financial policy that was pursued by the director of social work between 1974 and 1989. With hindsight, this policy can be seen to have compounded the adverse effect exerted upon the organisation following implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973, and in particular the creation of regional authorities with the capacity to develop social work services without requiring access to the resources and skills available within Scotland's voluntary sector. Nevertheless the extent to which the activities of the Board have been shaped by developmental activity on its own initiative indicate that the organisation has actively chosen to continue as a service-providing faith-based voluntary organisation while other, similar organisations have not.

The extent to which the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been shaped by external forces

The expansion of statutory social work activity following the creation of the regional and island social work departments adversely affected the social work activities of Scotland's voluntary organisations. This was because the local authorities preferred to build up their own resources rather than provide capital funding to initiate new work undertaken on their behalf by voluntary organisations. Analysis of archival material suggests that the Board could have reduced the effect of this exogenous influence upon the viability of its work by continuing to use the income it derived from non-operational sources to subsidise its social work service provision and to support the development of new social work ventures until they became established. However the policy, implemented between 1974 and 1989, of not using the income it derived from non-operational sources in these ways represented not only a change of financial policy for the Board, but a change of policy that compounded the effects of external statutory policies. This policy interaction led to a decline in the overall number of units and projects operated by the Board of Social Responsibility.

In addition to this policy interaction, two additional exogenous forces are identified as having acted to shape the Board's social work service provision: economic conditions arising from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (O.P.E.C.) created oil crisis of the mid 1970s and implementation of the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 which placed local authorities in control of the mixed economy of welfare.

The O.P.E.C. oil crisis created inflationary economic conditions that made the Board's residential care homes for older people financially unviable. The extent of this non-viability is evidenced in archival material which demonstrates that the Board raised its weekly fee for residential care for older people twice during the 1974/1975

financial year. Specifically the weekly care charge was raised on two separate occasions during 1974, first, from £14 to £18 and then, later, from £18 to £27. This represented a 92% increase in the Board's weekly charge for residential care within one year (Committee on Social Service, 1975 : 300 ~ 302). To put the extent of the Board's financial non-viability at the time in context, it should be noted that 42 of the 82 social work units and projects operated by the Board in 1974 were residential care homes for older people. The archives show that the 92% increase in the weekly care charge occurred despite 'the most tender consideration for the sadness of residents in Eventide Homes who thus lose a long cherished feeling of independence, possibly lasting a lifetime and possibly representing a lifetime's savings' (Committee on Social Service, 1975 : 300). The inflationary conditions created by the O.P.E.C. crisis crippled the organisation's expansion and upgrading of its social work service provision during the period (Committee on Social Service, 1975 : 300 ~ 302).

Archival material also shows that the Board's social work service provision has been affected by the failure of Scotland's local authorities to meet the obligations imposed upon them by National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990. Specifically, as Chapter 3 has shown, local authorities have not acted as impartial facilitators of social work services, operating to secure best value for users and public alike as intended by Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1989) and as required by the Act. Rather, many local authorities have continued to act as the monopolistic providers of social work services and have done so to the loss of user choice, at the expense of local taxpayers and to the detriment of the voluntary and private sectors. In particular, many of Scotland's local authorities have developed policies of directing applications for residential care from older people towards their own units. This has negated user choice while effectively forcing the taxpayer to pay premium rates. Sutherland (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) has found this practice to be inconsistent with the philosophy of best value and inconsistent with the creation of user choice. Chapter 4 has shown that the position adopted by statutory social work agencies subsequent to 1990 may have

placed voluntary organisations in the role of 'reactive vessels for the perpetuation of existing ideologies, values, responsibilities and policies' (Kendall and Knapp, 1996 : 1). Interviewees from the statutory sector recognise Sutherland's work but argue that the statutory sector has operated to enhance local accountabilities.

"The evolution of the mixed economy of welfare has brought stronger levels of accountability for us but this has arisen from a lack of knowledge of the roles of voluntary organisations, the tensions within them and their management structures. It has by no means been a one sided show." (Interview 14 : S.S.)

"... your question highlights the historical importance of the voluntary sector in acting as mediator to distribute monetary gifts from the landed classes to the poor. Unearned income, as you call it, did raise the game of the voluntary sector and I know it remains very important to some organisations today. In my experience they [voluntary organisations] expect to be able to treat local authority funds in the same way. That's obviously unacceptable." (Interview 9 : S.S.)

The Board has been heavily exposed to the development of social work policy in the area of residential care for older people throughout the period in question. Following Griffiths (Cmnd. 849, 1989), the organisation faced the choice of closing all financially unviable residential care services for older people or subsidising them. In practice the Board of Social Responsibility has chosen to do both. In 1989 the Board made its first closure of a residential care home for older people noting that

'The Home, which could accommodate twelve residents, in fact, had only six long-term residents with occasional respite care and holiday placements. There had been no referrals for some time. Therefore, there did not appear to be the same need for this provision. Discussion took place with the Social Work Department regarding perceived need in Langholm for residential care for the elderly. While indicating appreciation of the level of care provided by Greenbank Eventide Home, the Social Work Department did not indicate that the need would increase.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1989)

Between 1990 and 2000 a further 11 residential care homes for older people were closed by the Board of Social Responsibility (Board of Social Responsibility, 1990~2002).

In 1990 the Board's invested funds stood at £19.6M, this being the 'at cost' value and equivalent to £26.5M in 2000 after adjustment for inflation. In 2000 the Board's invested funds had fallen to £7M, again this is the comparable 'at cost' value which excludes year on year variation within the financial markets. Between 1990 and 2000, the Board received £18.2M in gifts, legacies and bequests (this and all subsequent values have been adjusted for inflation to ensure comparability at 2000 levels). Between 1990 and 2000 the Board of Social Responsibility made a total gross operating loss on its social work operations of £39.5M, equivalent therefore to a total net loss of £1.8M after deducting non-operational derived income. These figures argue that the Board subsidised the social work services it provided between 1990 and 2000 by realising £19.5M of its invested resources and by redirecting non-operationally derived income away from the development of new services towards the subsidisation of existing services. This is broadly equivalent to an annual operating loss of £3.7M for each operating year between 1990 and 2000 (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998d; 1999b; 2000a; Board of Stewardship and Finance, 1996 ~ 1997; General Treasurer of the Church of Scotland Trust, 1977 ~ 1995).

Fig. 3 displays the financial information referred to above in a graphical format. In addition to the cost value of investments, net profit/loss and gross profit/loss, Fig. 3 displays the year 2000 inflation adjusted values of the Board's investments.

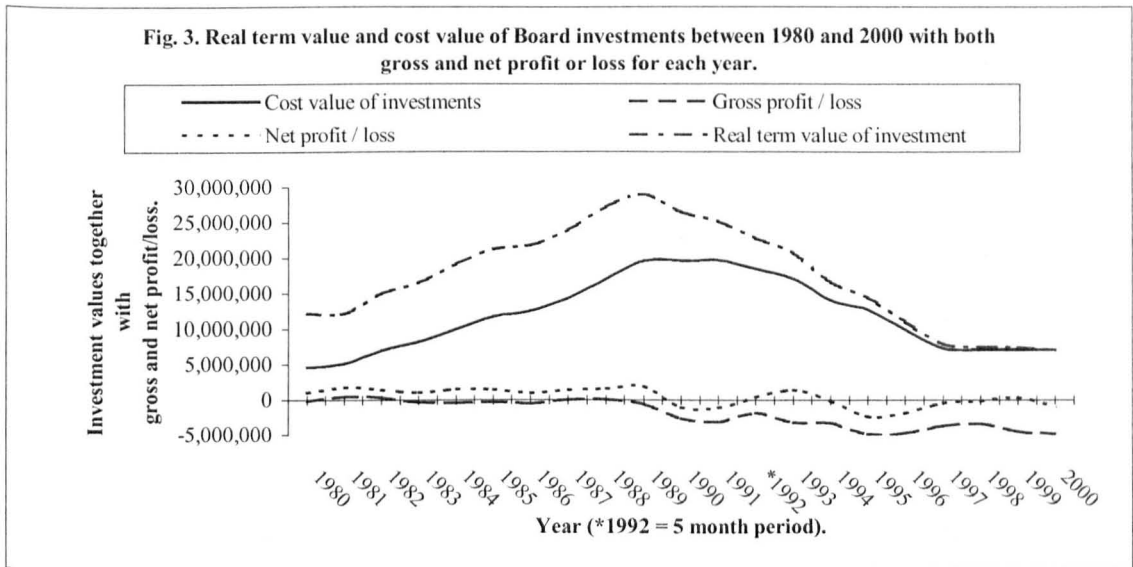


Fig. 3 demonstrates the full extent of the Board’s year on year net losses after 1990 in addition to the wealth that the organisation accrued prior to 1989 as consequence of the Rev. Dr. Gibson’s implementation of the finance policy that precluded bequests, legacies and other invested resources being used to subsidise service provision.

Post 1990, the Board argues that it has been forced to use its invested funds to meet shortfalls in revenue funding by local authorities and that it could have directed its invested funds and unearned income towards developing other projects and units had local authorities furthered their obligations according to the 1990 Act. Indeed the Board’s archives refer to this issue repeatedly.

‘During 1992, while Local Authorities have rightly continued to demand high standards of care in residential settings, the finance made available to meet the revenue costs of such services for elderly people has fallen short by a very substantial margin.’

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1993: 453)

‘Operational experience reveals that, at this time, Local Authorities are showing little interest in assessing applicants with sufficient financial resources to meet the cost of their care, preferring to encourage the provider

(for example, the Board of Social Responsibility) to assess the need for, say, residential care and agree the financial contract direct with the service user.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1994: 445)

'Once again, the finances of the Board have been overshadowed by the issue of the financial care gap referred to already. The Board has continued to raise this matter with Government and with Local Authorities.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1995: 436)

'Another intention of the legislation [i.e. National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990] was to encourage Local Authorities to be providers of fewer direct services, in preference to enabling others to provide services to meet needs identified by the Local Authorities. This concept is not fully accepted by many Scottish Local Authorities which are retaining many of their direct services and, indeed, are ensuring that these services are fully used before placements are made with other providers. This is good business practice in terms of Local Authorities but is questionable within the Authorities' requirement to provide choice to those in need of care services.

These are only a few of the inequalities, if not inequities, which must be resolved if community care is to be effective. Funding is inadequate but choices are still made by Local Authorities as to where to use the finance which they have available.

It is for these reasons that Local Authorities cannot be proud of their treatment of organisations which have given the community loyal support, in the Board's case, for 125 years.'

(Board of Social Responsibility, 1996: 21/6)

The 'care gap' (Cmnd. 4192, 1999) created and perpetuated by local authorities is viewed as having hindered the development and expansion of the Board's social work service provision during the 1990s. Nevertheless, it is also clear that the Board would have been unable to subsidise its social work service provision throughout the 1990s if its considerable financial resources had not been developed during the 1980s. There is a view within the Board that it continued its exposure to residential care for older people, despite the losses incurred, because the prevailing funding situation was considered temporary. However, archival material demonstrates that the Board continued its exposure to residential care for the older people for two key reasons. First, the Board has found itself legally bound to continue its historic work

in this area of social work service provision because many of the gifts, legacies and bequeathed buildings it has accepted across time have conditions attached that restrict their use specifically to the provision of residential care for older people. Consequently, abandoning residential care for older people would render unusable a substantial proportion of the Board of Social Responsibility's buildings and invested funds. Second, the Board of Social Responsibility believes it has a moral duty to continue the employment of its staff (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998).

Interviewees within the voluntary and statutory sectors argue that the care gap has impacted upon the Board to a greater extent relative to other voluntary organisations because of the extent to which the organisation has been required to continue its exposure to residential care for older people. Interviewees within the voluntary sector argue that the Board of Social Responsibility's concern with the care gap highlights a more fundamental issue.

“This is the fundamental question. Our developmental growth has always been built on income earned from the local authorities but it is our unearned income that enables our independent agenda for action, and our innovative projects and politically sensitive projects that meet new needs.” (Interview 15 : V.S.)

“... voluntary organisations need clients and partnerships with the local authorities enable us to work with people. Partnerships are compromises though and don't come without adverse effects. The local authorities squeeze you and nowadays no surplus can be earned from work undertaken with the local authorities. It's stifling innovation and unless you can bring money to the table the authorities aren't interested. So earned income and unearned income are very important. One enables survival and the other enables new needs to be addressed.” (Interview 12 : V.S.)

“First I'm going to pick you up on your language. I prefer to think of tied and untied sources of money. So it's not earned – it's tied, and it's not unearned - it's untied. Both have a part to play. But it's the untied that allows innovation and flexibility, but that means it must be used with great care. The Board is very fortunate in having resources to use innovatively but that presents the organisation with a paradox. It must guard its resources carefully but must also take risks. I think it's got the balance totally wrong.” (Interview 4 : V.S.)

“... if you think of it in terms of advantages and disadvantages it might be clearer. The advantage is that we can continue our work with earned income but the disadvantage is that we can't do anything new or anything particularly interesting. With unearned income there are no disadvantages. When funding is inadequate we dip into our resources and we dip into them if we want to try something new or identify a problem.” (Interview 6 : V.S.)

These views contrast with those of interviewees within the statutory social work sector who argue that they are concerned with the fundamental issue of managing public funds for best effect.

“No. That's mythology. Voluntary organisations try to make a virtue out of this care gap argument. We are the ones who enable innovation and we are the ones who enforce rigour through contracts and we can't be seen to be wasting public funds by allowing voluntary organisations to build up vast resources. The Board is a good example of an organisation that has taken its eye off the ball and do you know how much money it has in the bank?” (Interview 13 : S.S.)

“... I think the statutory sector sees the role of the voluntary sector to be comparatively free from political structures and we encourage voluntary organisations to take autonomous lines on certain issues. We have to be transparent though and more straightforward than we have been in the past. I don't think statutory funding erodes the autonomy of the voluntary sector although I can see that some will complain that we attach limits to our funding.” (Interview 10 : S.S.)

“Funding the work of voluntary organisations doesn't mean that we erode their autonomy or their ability to innovate. All we do is simply manage public funds for best effect.” (Interview 14 : S.S.)

Accordingly, exogenous forces have affected the financial viability of the Board of Social Responsibility and can be considered to have significantly affected the extent to which the organisation has been successful, over time, in meeting its stated remit. As noted, this remit includes offering social work services in Christ's name to people in need, providing specialist social work resources to further the caring work of the Church and identifying existing and emerging areas of social needs to guide the Church in pioneering new approaches to relevant problems (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). As such the purpose of the Board between 1948 and 2000 has been to make a significant impact on the lives of service users throughout Scotland

by delivering social work services on behalf of the Church of Scotland (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a; McGillivray, 1996). Archival material and interview data argues that these exogenous forces have operated to shape the social work service provision of the Board. The primary exogenous forces that have acted to shape the organisation's social work include, first, the regionalisation of social work departments in 1973, following earlier implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, which enabled political influences operating at the local level to initiate an expansion of statutory social work activity rather than continue to provide capital funding to voluntary organisations to initiate new work on their behalf. Second, the O.P.E.C. created economic crisis that affected the financial viability of the organisation's residential care services for older people, crippling, in turn, the organisation's ability to expand and upgrade its other social work services. And third, the influence of local statutory social work agencies subsequent to their being placed in control of the mixed economy of welfare by the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990.

Summary

Analysis of archival material and interview data supports the view that the activities of the Board of Social Responsibility have been shaped variously by the organisation's religious ethos, by activity on the organisation's own initiative and by a range of external forces to make an important contribution to the development and implementation of social work services in Scotland, primarily through the replication of a range of resource-creating alternative social work services. It can therefore be said that the social work activities of the Board reflect the organisation's faith-based ethos, activity undertaken on the organisation's own initiative and by a number of external forces that include changing social and economic conditions, the development of the social care market and the reform of local government. Moreover, in working to achieve its Christian mission, it would appear that the Board

has implemented its faith-based ethos to place a unique focus upon individual needs to further individual worth, normalisation, involvement, quality and value. However, in application, the focus is arguably more reflective of an attempt to define the social issues that are perceived to be important to the organisation's leaders to maintain their moral stance.

Notwithstanding the above, interactions between the range of identified endogenous and exogenous forces highlights the strength of individual agency within the Board as the significant force that has shaped the organisation's contribution to the mixed economy of welfare in Scotland. Evidence for this view exists, perhaps most obviously, in the extent to which financial policy has shifted, first to preclude the subsidisation of local authority revenue payments and, then, to allow such subsidisation, resulting in annual losses of approximately £3.7M per year, every year, between 1990 and 2000. To make this finding absolutely explicit, it should be noted that the shifts in finance policy were both contiguous with and contingent upon changes of director.

It is the case that the purpose of the Board between 1948 and 2000 has been to make a significant impact on the lives of service users throughout Scotland by delivering social work services on behalf of the Church of Scotland (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a; McGillivray, 1996). In working to reveal the extant organisation it has been noted how responsibility for legitimating production of the Church's voluntary social work activities has been devolved from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, operating as upper level higher-order collective, to 96 individuals, operating as lower level higher-order collective, governing production of the Church's social work activities. However this chapter has again found that neither of these collectives can be considered as endogenous forces that have exerted any significant influence upon the shape of the organisation's social work services or upon the substantive position of the

organisation as a provider of social work services. Somewhat like Chapter 6 therefore, and despite an exhaustive search for evidence to the contrary, this chapter has turned up no evidence to suggest that either of the organisation's higher-order collectives operate significantly in anything but an 'approving' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101) manner.

It is clear that the Board of Social Responsibility has offered social work services in Christ's name to people in need, has provided specialist social work resources to further the caring work of the Church and has identified existing and emerging areas of social needs to guide the Church in providing new approaches to relevant problems (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998a). However the conclusion is that the Board of Social Responsibility must qualify its claim to have 'played a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998b : Intro.). This is because the analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's important role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland has developed understanding of the extent to which the Board's social work service provision should be considered to have been shaped by exogenous rather than endogenous forces. As such it is argued that the evidence reveals an organisation that has tended not to exert a significant influence upon the adjustments that have been made to the distributions of power over the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland.

Chapter 10 : Discussion of findings

This analysis of the role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland began with a brief review of Beveridge's (1948) work. This review was undertaken to highlight the social needs unattended by the state in 1948 and how it was predicted that voluntary organisations might continue to meet those needs during the post-war period. In that light, Chapter 1 identified two objectives for this thesis. First and foremost, the objective of this thesis has been to generate understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland - as opposed to generating understanding of the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland *per se*. Consequently it is appropriate that this thesis has been grounded in the body of literature that seeks to understand and explain the practical work, governance and scope of influence of service-providing voluntary organisations like the Board of Social Responsibility. It is argued therefore that this case study has operated from a sound theoretical base to conduct an analysis of the role of a service-providing voluntary organisation in developing and implementing social work policy. The second objective of the thesis has been to highlight the generalities of the wider voluntary sector operating in Scotland. It should therefore be clear that this thesis aspires to provide, first, an understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland and, second, to contribute to the developing body of literature that seeks to understand Scotland's distinctive voluntary sector. It is hoped that those with a specific interest in the Board of Social Responsibility and those with a policymaking role within the wider social work environment will find this work useful and of interest.

The methodology developed within this thesis to generate understanding of precisely how the social work activities of the Board have evolved to meet the unattended needs of the Scottish people has identified a pattern of participation in the social work arena that has been influenced by a range of endogenous and exogenous forces.

Identification of the Board's pattern of participation has both confirmed a changing pattern of work undertaken by the organisation over time and contributed to the view that individual agency has been the significant force that has operated to shape the organisation's work: first shifting from an innovative to a traditional model of participation, returning to an innovative model, and then, finally, shifting towards a developmental model of participation. However this latter finding should not be considered reflective of the adoption of a "great man" interpretation of the Board's role in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland - but rather recognition of the extent to which individuals have lead the organisation throughout a period during which the social work policies of the state have developed to control and regulate the work of voluntary sector organisations.

The observed influence of individuals highlights the finding that the Board of Social Responsibility's higher-order collectives have governed the organisation in an 'approving', rather than 'leadership', 'representational' or 'involved' (Kirkland, 1996 : 100 - 101), manner between 1948 and 2000. It is appropriate to support this analytical framework by noting that direct observation of the organisation at work complemented by extensive analysis of archival and interview data identified no conflicts, no debates nor any significant disputes within the Board of Social Responsibility. Consequently it must be recognised that no evidence has been found to suggest that members of the Board of Social Responsibility nor members of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland have directly contributed to shaping the organisation's work or, in turn, the legislation or related plans of action that have controlled and regulated the provision of social work between 1948 and 2000. Accordingly this case study of the Board of Social Responsibility contradicts Kramer's (1987) view that large numbers of governing members tend to increase democratic effectiveness. To be absolutely explicit, this thesis finds that the approving model of governance adopted by the Board of Social Responsibility's higher-order collectives questions the extent that Members of the Board of Social

Responsibility can be considered to have met their constitutional remit, and challenges the extent to which the organisation's lower and upper level higher-order collectives have effectively governed and legitimated the Church's social work activities.

Notwithstanding the above, the Board of Social Responsibility's contribution to the development of the legislation and related plans of action that control and regulate social work service provision in Scotland is not satisfactorily explained simply through consideration of individuals and the influence they have exerted upon the organisation's changing pattern of social work service provision. As such, in highlighting the inadequacy of "great man" interpretations, this thesis argues that it is necessary to contrast innovative models of service provision with expansionary, evolutionary and developmental models of service provision if the extent to which a service-providing voluntary organisation has impacted upon the development and implementation of social work policy is to be established. Such a contrast is viewed as necessary because these latter models of service delivery are considered to differ from 'total innovation' (Osborne, 1994) to the extent that the thesis has found it necessary to define replication to explain the extent to which the expansion, evolution and development of social work services should be viewed as replicating existing social work practices. The subsequent categorisation of the Board of Social Responsibility's activities in terms of innovation, replication, complementarity, additionality and alternativeness confirms the utility of the definitions developed. Indeed the definitions of expansionary, evolutionary and developmental models of service provision have generated understanding of the Board's social work activities and allowed their interpretation as replicative rather than innovative and alternative rather than either additional or complementary. Accordingly the analytical framework established within Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis have allowed the concept of 'Total innovation' (Osborne, 1994) to be differentiated from the concept of replication developed in Chapter 7. It is argued here that only replicative social

work services can be considered qualitatively similar to the social work services provided by statutory agents and other voluntary organisations.

The definitions of replication established within this thesis are considered to be a significant contribution to the developing body of literature that seeks to understand and explain the work of Scotland's voluntary sector. In deploying these definitions to explain the substantive activities of the Board of Social Responsibility this thesis has found that the organisation has not operated as a provider of totally innovative social work services to a significant extent between 1948 and 2000. Indeed, this thesis finds that the Board of Social Responsibility has operated in a 'resource-creating' (Jones, 1996) manner.

Analysis of innovation and replication in the context of the substantive social work activities of the Board of Social Responsibility has highlighted both the distinctiveness of the organisation's approach to social work service provision and the importance of the organisation's faith-based ethos. The Board of Social Responsibility should be considered a distinctive organisation because it has maintained a faith-based ethos, which, on face value at least, has been used to justify the continuance of the range of replicative, alternative social work services identified in Chapter 7. Interview data analysed within this thesis is considered to confirm Wood's (2002) view that the motivation of faith-based voluntary organisations can be observed when organisations attempt to identify and define the issues they perceive to be impacting upon those deemed to have social needs, i.e. in the dynamic interplay between organisations and their environment. As such, it should be clear that this thesis subscribes to Wood's (2002) view, which holds that it is the process of identifying and defining social issues that enables faith-based organisations to project their religious views into the policy environment. This thesis argues that the Board of Social Responsibility's replicative social work service provision implicitly defines a range of social needs that have been perceived by certain individuals over

time as being of importance to the Church of Scotland. As such the faith-based ethos that underpins the Board of Social Responsibility's work is considered to have provided the organisation's leaders, as opposed to the organisation's higher-order collectives, with opportunity to project a moral, rather than a professional, stance. This view is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the Board of Social Responsibility's exclusive employment policy which shapes an organisation that provides the organisation's directors with an obligation to perpetuate models of engagement in keeping with their interpretation of 'traditions and biographies' (Wood, 2002 : 71).

This thesis has confirmed that the Board's faith-based ethos is not only distinctive, inasmuch as manifestation of the faith-based ethos contrasts with those of other voluntary organisations operating in Scotland, but that it highlights the origins of the changing pattern of work undertaken by the Board of Social Responsibility over time. To be clear, this thesis considers that the faith-based ethos of the Board of Social Responsibility, which is held to reflect individual interpretations of traditions and biographies rather than the ethos of any collective, explains why the changing patterns of work undertaken by the Board over time are contingent with changes of director. This insight into how the Board of Social Responsibility's faith-based ethos influences the work of the organisation is considered to contribute towards revealing the extant organisation by generating understanding of the limited impact of the higher-order collectives' approving role in the development and implementation of social work in Scotland.

Comparative analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's activities with those of other organisations has identified no common model of participation in the Scottish personal social services nor any feature common to all voluntary organisations. Nevertheless, comparative analysis has allowed both the generalist nature of the Board's social work to be confirmed as a constant and the influence of individual agency to be confirmed as having effected only comparatively minor alterations to

specific areas of the organisation's social work service provision over time. In regard to the latter, the data analysed in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 argues that the comparatively minor alterations to specific areas of the organisation's social work service provision reflect, in turn, the incremental process of social work service and policy development in Scotland identified in Chapter 3. Evidence for this view is observable in the Board's replication of alternative social work services throughout a period when other voluntary organisations can be observed to have changed their pattern of service provision substantially over time to reflect the changing policy environment. This case study analysis has demonstrated that individual agency has facilitated a limited contribution towards shaping the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services (see Chapter 1). Consequently, analysis and interpretation of the organisation's social work service provision contradicts the Board of Social Responsibility's somewhat dynamic portrayal of its activity noted in Chapter 4. To be explicit, analysis of the extent to which the Board of Social Responsibility has been active in developing and implementing social work policy in Scotland has led to the conclusion that the Board of Social Responsibility is an organisation that has on occasion tended to slide toward (Billis in Harris, 2001 : 217) change during the period in question.

The notion of Scotland's largest voluntary organisation sliding toward change requires consideration of how the state has extended its control over the social work environment. This thesis has identified four periods that characterise the variable outlook of the Board of Social Responsibility's leaders towards the extension of the state's control and which conceptualises the organisation's changing pattern of participation in the incremental development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland.

Until challenged by the regional and island social work departments following implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 and the Local Authority Government (Scotland) Act 1973, respectively, this thesis holds that individual agency operated without limit or qualification to influence and shape the work of the Board of Social Responsibility. It cannot reasonably be asserted that the Board of Social Responsibility in any way slid toward change prior to 1968.

However, the two Acts noted above are viewed as having combined to conceive of a pivotal moment in terms of not only the history of the Board's social work service provision but the history of social work service provision in Scotland generally. In relation to the Board, the particular influence of regionalisation is judged to have interacted with the inward gaze promoted by an individual within the organisation to effect a significant alteration in the organisation's approach to social work service provision. Rather than evolve, cultivate professional skills and innovate to specialise its service provision, the Board fixed its attention on the provision of palliative residential social work services to the extent that its relations with Scotland's social work departments became tense. This view is evidenced perhaps most clearly in the policy of not interacting with Scotland's statutory agencies that was established within the Board after 1965 and in the declining number of client groups to which the organisation provided social work services between 1965 and 1977 (see Table 5.). This evidence develops the view that the Board has, on occasion, intentionally worked to isolate itself from the policy environment within which it operated subsequent to 1968. This is how the Board of Social Responsibility should be considered to have slid toward change between 1965 and 1977. Moreover, in sliding towards change during this particular period, the Board of Social Responsibility should be viewed as having actively worked against its specified aims and objectives by precluding itself from operating effectively to influence the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services.

In 1978 the Board of Social Responsibility was repositioned for a second time. Chapter 6 has shown that this repositioning was again contiguous with a change in key personnel. The Board's willingness to reform its social work service provision after 1978 was consistent with the constitutional remit provide by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and evidences an enthusiasm within the organisation to invent social work services to meet incipient social needs. This thesis holds that this enthusiasm was absent between 1965 and 1977. Between 1978 and 1990, the outlook of the organisation's leader influenced the development of ameliorative residential social work services that were directed towards meeting the social needs of the confused elderly, alcoholics and probation disposals from the Scottish courts. The repositioning is demonstrable in the Board's withdrawal from the provision of palliative residential social work services provided to the homeless; in the tacit acceptance of local policy developments within the statutory sector that forced the closure of palliative residential social work services for children, and; in the organisation's explicit opposition to national policy developments that forced the closure of two List D schools. By 1990 individual agency had influenced the organisation's outlook to the extent that the Board of Social Responsibility should be recognised as having become a provider of professionally organised and professionally managed social work services that were responsive to the views of Scotland's secular agencies. To this extent the Board of Social Responsibility should be considered to have contributed towards the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services between 1978 and 1990.

From a range of perspectives highlighted within this thesis, the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 is identified as having enhanced local authority control over social work service provision to the extent that the Act is viewed as having unequivocally placed Scotland's regional and island social work

departments in full control of social work policy, practice, regulation and finance. However, the Board of Social Responsibility's archives demonstrate that the organisation anticipated implementation of this Act with some ambivalence. More specifically, the Board's reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland evidence a belief that local authority control over social work would enhance the accountability of Scotland's local authorities but conclude that enhanced local accountabilities would inevitably mean the organisation incurring financial losses. Moreover by 1994, the Board found itself attempting to anticipate the effects of a reorganisation of Scotland's local authorities. At this time the organisation's leader advised the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that local authority reorganisation would have a major impact on the organisation's social work activities. In fact, the organisation's leader warned the Church that that the best value environment created by Scotland's local authorities was exerting an adverse effect upon the development and possibly continuation of the Board of Social Responsibility's range of social work services. The organisation's reaction to the challenges of the 1990 and 1994 Acts was influenced and shaped by the director of social work rather than either of the approving higher-order collectives. The reaction took the form of a determination to maintain provision of a range of residential social work services. This reaction characterised the organisation's outlook towards local authority control over social work policy and finance after 1990. Evidence for this view is most obvious in the tension that is evident in the unprecedented level of criticism levelled at Scotland's local authorities within the Board of Social Responsibility's reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland throughout the final decade of the twentieth century. This is the extent to which the Board of Social Responsibility should be considered to have worked to isolate itself from the policy environment within which it has operated since 1990 and, consequently, slid toward change. In sliding towards change during this particular period, the Board of Social Responsibility is again argued to have been active in working against its specified aims and objectives by precluding itself from operating

effectively to influence the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services.

In summary, the Board of Social Responsibility's provision of a range of resource-creating, replicative alternative social work services has been accompanied by a contraction in the number of client groups to which the organisation has provided its social work services to over time. It is concluded that this narrowing contribution is indicative of the trend towards service specialisation predicted by Beveridge (1948). Analysis of the literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 confirm the theoretical basis for this view while Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 confirm an organisation that has supported substantive areas of the social work arena through development and implementation its social work service provision. However, the conclusion is that the organisation has not played a leading role in influencing the range of social work services that are available locally in Scotland. More specifically perhaps, it is concluded that the influence exerted by the Board of Social Responsibility at the local level has been limited because of the emphasis that has been placed, over time, on the replication of alternative social work service provision. This pattern of provision is held to be demonstrative of an organisation that has not impacted significantly upon the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation or the erosion of unco-ordinated local services. At the national level, the limited influence exerted by the Board of Social Responsibility upon the development of social work policies is also held to be demonstrative of an organisation that has been concerned to develop its existing work to maintain rather than create social states. The Board of Social Responsibility's focus on maintaining its range of replicative, alternative social work services, combined with the contraction in the number of client groups it has served across time, defines an organisation that has worked to survive rather than an organisation that has worked to offer services in Christ's name to people in need, to provide specialist resources to

further the caring work of the Church and to identify existing and emerging areas of need in order to guide the Church in pioneering new approaches to relevant problems.

In answer to the first objective of this thesis, the consideration of precisely why the social work activities of the Board have developed into the range of alternative social work service provision that are observable in 2000 has revealed a voluntary organisation that is distinctive, a voluntary organisation that has been shaped by activity initiated within the organisation by individuals; by the doctrines of Christianity; by external forces that include changing social and economic conditions, and; a voluntary organisation that has reacted to the development of the mixed economy of welfare. Accordingly, the interpretive methodology outlined in Chapter 5 of this thesis has enabled the relationship that exists between the Board of Social Responsibility and the development and implementation of social work policy to be conceptualised as variable. This conceptualisation has been explained through consideration of the extent to which the organisation's higher-order collectives have chosen to govern in an approving manner and through consideration of the organisation's consequent dependence on individuals. The Board of Social Responsibility is viewed therefore as having both reacted to changing social work policy and as having impacted upon the formulation of social work policy during the period in question. The strength and significance of individual agency rather structure explains the variation in role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland. Ultimately the links that have been established between the social work service provision of the Board of Social Responsibility and the social work policies developed by the state reveal an organisation that cannot sustain the claim of having played 'a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society' (Board of Social Responsibility, 1998b : Intro.). All of which generates understanding of the extent to which the 'Manifest' (Brown, 1971 : 25) Board of Social Responsibility

should be considered to diverge from the 'Extant' (Brown, 1971 : 25) Board of Social Responsibility.

Turning to the second objective of this thesis, it will be recalled from Chapter 1 that Beveridge (1948) identified a series of social trends that he believed would affect the scope, scale and nature of the work undertaken by voluntary organisations during the second half of the twentieth century. Beveridge's (1948) view that the initiation of a welfare state would stimulate the State to do more in the future than it had done in the past is explicitly evidenced throughout this thesis. Indeed the literature reviewed within this thesis (see for example Cmnd. 4192, 1999) makes it clear that the social work environment within which the Board of Social Responsibility has operated between 1948 and 2000 has increasingly come to be controlled and regulated by the State.

In addressing the second objective of this thesis, three questions that feature prominently in the contemporary body of literature surrounding the organisation of voluntary action are implicitly considered within this thesis (see for example Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001). Indeed these questions have been considered in terms of: how the different aspects of social work policy development have been viewed within the Scottish voluntary sector; how the development of social work policy has affected voluntary organisations operating in Scotland, and; how the development of social work policy has affected the grouping to which the Board of Social Responsibility belongs? As noted in Chapter 1, it is in generating understanding and appreciation of the generalities of the Scottish voluntary sector that the broader utility of this work is considered to be located.

This thesis has shown that the state's response, in Scotland, to the social trends identified by Beveridge (1948) has included the extension of statutory service provision activity into areas of social work that Levitt (1988) and Mitchison (2000)

demonstrate to have been pioneered by Scotland's voluntary organisations. This programme of extension has been intended to develop geographical uniformity through adherence to consistent standards of social work service provision. This thesis has found that the extension of statutory social work service provision has required Scotland's voluntary organisations to cultivate professional skills and to evolve their social work service provision. Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis have provided a background of evidence to support the view that the work of service-providing voluntary organisations in particular has become relatively more specialised and increasingly directed at meeting the residual social needs of particular groups of people during the post-war period. Indeed Ham, 1985; Murphy, 1992; Osborne, 1988; Seed, 1973 and Younghusband, 1951 identify an incremental process of social work service and social work policy development in Scotland that has been active in fostering the work of service-providing voluntary organisations with a view to meeting such needs. This thesis finds therefore that Scotland's policy environment has been supportive of the grouping to which the Board of Social Responsibility has belonged between 1948 and 2000.

Chapter 4 of this thesis has identified the contemporary voluntary sector in Scotland and found it to be overwhelmingly populated by small organisations. The proliferation of small organisations in Scotland is argued to be evidence of the supportive policy environment identified above, which, in the wider U.K. context, is recognised as having brought an inherent fluidity to the voluntary sector (see for example Flynn, 1996; Kemp, 1997; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Wolfenden, 1978). This fluidity arguably contrasts with the voluntary sector's past, i.e. a past incontrovertibly associated with the large scale pioneering efforts of middle and upper class philanthropists and the production of an unco-ordinated range of local services (Johnson, 1987; Levitt, 1988; Mitchison, 2000; Thane, 1992; Wolfenden, 1978). The fluidity associated with the proliferation of small organisations highlights how the Scottish voluntary sector has evolved, and how Scottish voluntary

organisations are cultivating professional skills and working to develop their contribution to social work service provision. This thesis finds that the development of social work policy in Scotland has encouraged the work of voluntary organisations.

This thesis has emphasised Murray's (1969) view that voluntary organisations are not islands and how, as a consequence, voluntary organisations must interact and engage with the statutory sector if they intend to contribute to the distribution of power over the development of professional social work practices, service specialisation and the erosion of unco-ordinated services. This representation of voluntary action complements the argument that the objectives of social work are advanced when attempts are made to secure the benefits of alternative realities through the adjustments of policy. Evidence to substantiate the manifestation of this representation is argued to be observable in the incremental shifts that have occurred throughout the period under consideration, and which have resulted in the role of Scotland's local authorities shifting from the local provision poverty relief towards the control and regulation of ameliorative social work services according to nationally defined standards.

Views of the post-war development of social work policy emanating from within the Board of Social Responsibility represent conflicts of interest, tensions and partialities at the local level. In essence, Scotland's local authorities are identified within the Board as having repeatedly and consistently attempted to do more than they have done in the past but to have failed to do so impartially. Indeed, within the Board of Social Responsibility, Scotland's local authorities are viewed as having actively worked to create an uneven playing field that has grown to disadvantage the voluntary sector. However, views of social work policy development drawn from within the Board of Social Responsibility contrast with the views expressed by others. Indeed interviewees from within other service-providing voluntary

organisations have been shown to reflect more positive interpretations of the development of social work policy in Scotland and, perhaps as a result, those other service-providing voluntary organisations have demonstrably prospered during the period in question. As such, some voluntary organisations are shown to have increased the scale and range of their work during the period in question, e.g. Barnardo's, Quarrier's and Jewish Care Scotland, while others are shown to have maintained the scale but not the range of their work, e.g. the Salvation Army. However, still others are shown to have responded to the development of social work policy in Scotland by withdrawing completely from social work service provision, e.g. the Scottish Episcopal Church. The conclusion is that the views of social work policy development which exist within the Board of Social Responsibility are not indicative of the full array of views of social work policy development that exist within the Scottish voluntary sector. This thesis finds that views of the different aspects of social work policy development within the Scottish voluntary sector tend not to represent conflicts of interest, tensions and partialities.

This thesis has shown that the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services are reflected in the changing patterns of work undertaken by the Board of Social Responsibility between 1948 and 2000. In considering how the Board of Social Responsibility's service provision has contributed to advancing the objectives of social work in Scotland and why the organisation's pattern of work has changed, this thesis has reflected upon the organisation's claim to have played a leading role in developing social work services for those who have been most vulnerable in Scottish society. Implicit in this claim is the view that the changing patterns of work undertaken by the Board of Social Responsibility between 1949 and 2000 have been reflected in the extension of state control, the development of professional skills and service specialisation, and the erosion of unco-ordinated local services. This case study analysis of the Board of Social Responsibility's role in the development and

implementation of social work policy in Scotland has focused therefore upon constructing an understanding of the organisation's contribution to the legislation and related plans of action that has controlled and regulated the provision of social work as a form of social intervention between 1948 and 2000 to establish that the organisation cannot sustain its claim.

In constructing an understanding of the Board of Social Responsibility's contribution to the legislation and related plans of action that control and regulate the provision of social work as a form of social intervention, this thesis has also contributed a broadened perspective on the nature of a particular set of issues, as they occurred at particular points in time, to the developing body of literature that seeks to understand Scotland's distinctive voluntary sector. It is hoped that this study will provide those with a specific interest in the Board of Social Responsibility with a deeper level of understanding that will allow them to build on the contribution that the organisation has made to the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland between 1948 and 2000. It is also hoped that this study will provide those with a policymaking role within the wider social work environment with new insights and an enhanced appreciation of indicators of the voluntary sector's role, which will allow them to develop the positive views that exist in relation to the significant contribution that Scotland's voluntary organisations can make to the development and implementation of social work policy in Scotland.

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Appendix I.

Facsimile of the application submitted to the E.S.R.C. by Professor Cherry Rowlings and Mr. Ian Baillie, C.B.E., for a collaborative studentship award.

POSTGRADUATE TRAINING DIVISION ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL POLARIS HOUSE NORTH STAR AVENUE SWINDON SN2 1UJ TEL: (01793) 413041	APPLICATION FOR ESRC COLLABORATIVE STUDENTSHIP, 1999	CSA1 99
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SECTION 1 To be completed by the principal applicant

1. Principal applicant Department of Applied Social Science
 Address University of Stirling, Stirling, FK9 4LA
 Contact name Cherry Rowlings Tel 01786 467710 Name of proposed supervisor Cherry Rowlings

2. Collaborating body The Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility
 Address Charis House, 47 Milton Road East, Edinburgh, EH15 2SR
 Contact name Mr Ian Baillie Tel 0131 657 2000 Name of proposed supervisor Mr. Ian Baillie

3. Please give a brief description of the nature of the non academic organisations work
 The Board of Social Responsibility is the social care arm of the Church of Scotland. Since being set up in 1869 the Board has played a leading role in developing care services for those who are most vulnerable in society.
 The Board operates the largest voluntary social work programme in Scotland with over 90 units and projects. It employs more than 1,600 staff with an annual budget of £31 million to provide care, counselling, and support for over 4,000 people every day of the year.

4. To be completed by both Partners

(i) **Non-Academic Partner**
 I confirm that this application is made with my full knowledge and approval. Should a studentship be awarded, the company will provide the support indicated at (9a) under the project. I accept the conditions set out in the accompanying notes on Collaborative Studentships.

Name IAN D. BAILLIE
 Signed Ian D Baillie Position held Director of social work

(j) **Academic Partner (To be completed by the Head of Department or equivalent)**
 I confirm that this application is made with my full knowledge and approval. Should a studentship be awarded this academic department accepts arrangements for students as set out in the accompanying notes on Collaborative Studentships. I also confirm that an appropriate agreement is in place regarding Intellectual Property Rights.

Name DR CHRISTINE HULLITT
 Signed Christine Hullitt

(k) **Academic Partner (Registrar's Office)**
 I confirm that this application is made with the full knowledge and approval of the University authorities. Should a studentship be awarded the University accepts the arrangements for students as set out in the accompanying notes on Collaborative Studentships.

Name DONALD M. YELLOCK
 Signed Donald M. Yellock
 Position held DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF FINANCE

Please return completed application form (and 10 copies) by 1 December 1998.

Mr Julian Style, Postgraduate Training Division, Economic and Social Research Council, Polaris House, North Star Avenue, Swindon SN2 1UJ, Tel: 01793 413041

SECTION 2

The role of the Board of Social Responsibility in the development and implementation of
Project Title :
policy and professional practice in the delivery of social work services in Scotland.
.....

5a) Outline of proposed project.

Please give a full description of the proposed project, outlining its aims, objectives, proposed methods, timescales, plans for dissemination and anticipated outcomes. Do not attach additional material in reply to this question.
You are strongly advised to refer to the *Guidance Notes for applicants*, Collaborative Studentships 1999 before completing this section.

This collaboration between the Department of Applied Social Science and the Church of Scotland was initiated by the Church's Board of Social Responsibility. It aims to investigate and evaluate the contribution of the Board to Social Work policy and practice in Scotland.

The Board is a major provider of social work services throughout Scotland. It is active in the fields of residential care for older people, supported accommodation for people with learning disabilities, with mental health problems and with alcohol and drug dependency problems. It provides facilities for homeless people and for offenders, drop-in and counselling centres for parents and children, and residential schools for children with behavioural problems. The extent of its activities, reflecting over time the moral concerns of the Church and the changing role of the state in welfare, makes the Board a significant 'mediating structure' (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977) between the state and the individual in Scotland. The tensions inherent in such a position are exemplified in the current Annual Report (1998) with its account of the challenges facing the Board and its staff both in (p4) 'present[ing] daily the positive face of a caring Church when all around them the financial pressure is increasing' and in considering their understanding of and response to social problems in the light of Christian ethics.

On the occasion of its centenary in 1969, the Board published a history of its work (see Section 9a). It now wishes to collaborate on the production of a detailed analysis of its role as a voluntary organisation with a committed religious ethos. The research will examine what influence the Board has had on service provision, on professional social work practice and on the development of social welfare policy at national and local levels, particularly post 1945.

Voluntary organisations have been described as both 'pivotal' in promoting change and as 'reactive vessels' for maintaining existing power relationships and inequalities (Kendall and Knapp, 1996, p1). Religious belief as a motivating force in the establishment of voluntary organisations has a long history and the role of religion as a determinant of social policy is of interest in two respects, namely 'the influence of religious ideas and beliefs on social policy and...the role of the Church as a provider of welfare' (Higgins, 1981, p73). A case study of the work of the Board of Social Responsibility therefore addresses both political and professional dimensions.

Such a study is important for several reasons. First, it will throw light on the contribution of voluntary organisations in Scotland to social welfare. Theorisation of the philanthropic voluntary sector within the context of Scotland's separate welfare tradition and social legislation has not featured within the major policy texts on the voluntary sector in the UK, which have drawn on Scottish examples but in a narrative based on development in England. The studentship would address this gap in the policy literature. Secondly, the generalist nature of the Board's provision allows an analysis of its relationship to society and to the state across a broad and changing range of social concerns. Finally, and permeating the whole study, is the examination of the influence of religion as a defining factor in social welfare in Scotland, through consideration of the work of the Board as a provider, as an employer defining standards of professional practice, and as an organisation with influence upon the political and social structures of the country.

The research will be undertaken through an analysis of the archives of the Church of Scotland and the Board of Social Responsibility, through interviews with relevant past and current staff and members of the Board and the Church, and through interviews with 'significant others'. The latter would include staff at the Social Work Services Group at The Scottish Office who have professional and policy responsibilities for the voluntary sector, staff with policy development and purchasing responsibilities in local authority agencies and representatives from organisations such as the Association of Directors of Social Work and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities. The research questions would be:

- how has the position of the Board as a provider of welfare provision changed over time and what have been the major factors behind decisions about where and for whom its services should be developed
- to what extent can the work of the Board be understood and theorised in terms of innovation, replication or complementarity, as meeting a residual demand or in partnership with the state
- what has been the contribution of the Board to social policy development at national and local levels and to changes in the professional practice of social workers

- how far have the activities of the Board been shaped by its religious ethos, by activity on its own initiative and by external forces such as changing social and economic conditions, demographic change and, latterly, the development of the social market, reform of local government and pending devolution.

The research timetable is as follows:

Year 1 October - December: Induction to the Board - familiarisation with archival material - identification of key people whose experience or current responsibilities will inform understanding of how the Board has progressed its work - identification of training needs. January - June: Review of UK and international literature on voluntary organisations as providers of social welfare and on the significance of religion on social policy development, drawing on historical, policy analysis and welfare economics sources - attendance at relevant research or Board training - refinement of research questions and identification of appropriate methods of enquiry.

Year 2 Data gathering from documentation within the Board and relevant other Church committees, from parliamentary sources, Royal Commissions etc. - interviews with current and past employees, members of the Board and significant others - preliminary analysis, referenced back into the literature review.

Year 3 Completion of analysis - write up of thesis - presentation of thesis.

References

Berger P and Neuhaus R (1977) To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy, Washington DC, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility (1998) Report to the General Assembly, Edinburgh, Saint Andrew Press

Higgins J (1981) States of Welfare, Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Martin Robertson.

Kendall J and Knapp, M (1996) The Voluntary Sector in the UK, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

5b) Does this project require ethical approval? If so has this been obtained?

The project does not require ethical approval and at this stage, no ethical problems are anticipated. In discussion with the Board, it has been agreed that should these arise in the course of the research, the director (who is the non-academic supervisor) will be made aware. The Social Interest Committee of the Board, which provides advice and comment on moral issues, would be an appropriate body to consider any ethical problems and, if necessary, the Director can call upon the services of the Board's solicitors should there be legal considerations.

Please enter the 'Subject Area' appropriate to this project (see Section 2, *Project description, Guidance notes for applicants, Collaborative Studentships 1999*)

Social Policy

Please indicate whether or not the proposed project is relevant to the ESRC themes by inserting the identifying number of relevant themes in the boxes below or ticking the 'no overall theme' box (see Section 2, *Project description, Guidance notes for applicants, Collaborative Studentships 1999*)

Primary theme	Secondary theme	No overall theme
8	9	

SECTION 3

6a). Supervisor (s) details

	Name of Supervisor	Position Held	Total number of students supervised	Total number of CASE students supervised
Principal Supervisor	Chery Rowlings	Professor of Social Work	2	0
Other Supervisor(s)	Angus Erskine	Senior Lecturer in Social Policy	3	0
	Ian Baillie	Director of Social Work Board of Social Responsibility		

- b) Where the principal academic supervisor will be responsible for more than three students (standard or collaborative) please provide an explanation of how workloads will be managed to provide adequate supervision levels.

N/A

7. Please give recent and relevant expertise of the academic supervisor(s) relevant to this project. Please support your answer by identifying the last three relevant publications of the supervisor (s).

The principal academic supervisor is a qualified social worker who was a practitioner and manager within social work before moving into social work research and education. Her particular interests are in social work services and practice with older people and in community care policy and practice, both of which have been informed by international contacts with social work educators (eg. At Laurentian University, Canada, University of Lapland, Finland and University of Bremen, Germany).

Examples of publications are:

Rowlings C (1998) Social work perspectives from Scotland, in Pritchard J (ed) Elder Abuse in Britain and Canada, London, Jessica Kingsley

Melvor G, Rowlings C, Skinner K and Campbell V (1997) Evaluation of the STOP Programme at HMP Peterhead, Edinburgh, HMSO

Hunt L, Marshall M, Rowlings C (1997) Past Trauma in Late Life: European Perspectives on Therapeutic Work with Older People, London, Jessica Kingsley

The second academic supervisor, Dr Angus Erskine, is a senior lecturer in Social Policy with expertise in researching issues of social protection and in cross-national analysis. He is currently director of the RT recognised MSc in Applied Social Research and has experience of successful PhD supervision.

8. Please give details of any previous experience of collaboration between the two partners either through CASE studentships or in other ways (e.g. research contracts)

The Board of Social responsibility regularly provides assessed practice placements for postgraduate and undergraduate students undertaking professional Social Work training at the University of Stirling. It also has a long-standing link with the University's Dementia Services Development Centre which is part of the Department of Applied Social Science. The Studentship would therefore be building upon existing collaborative arrangements.

9a) Please give a detailed description of the intended role of the collaborating partner within this research project and the benefits it can offer to a research student. This should include materials/facilities offered. (Please see Guidance notes)

The Board of Social Responsibility is committed to professional and in-service training, the latter receiving accreditation whenever possible. The Board offers a number of secondments for professional training each year, and has considerable in-service training and staff development opportunities in both social care and computer skills. The Studentship is seen as an integral part of such a commitment and the student would be given opportunities to share in appropriate induction and in-service training courses, currently numbering about 30 per year. The Student would be located in the headquarters office at Charis House, where office space and administrative facilities would be made available. This would allow easy access to office records, archives, and both staff and Board Members (who are members of the Church of Scotland and serve on the Board for periods of from one to four years). It would therefore open the Board to the student, maximising the opportunity for informal as well as formal contact.

The idea for this piece of work came from the discussions within the Board about a follow-up book to one produced when the Board had given 100 years service - "A history of social service by the Church of Scotland 1869-1969". That book, entitled The Challenge of Need was written by Rev. Dr Lewis L Cameron OBE after he retired as Director of Social Service with the Board. It was agreed that rather than produce an up-date of that history, it would be more helpful to produce a commentary on how the Board's development had fitted with the development of social services in Scotland. The Board sees the benefits of such an appraisal in contributing it to its own understanding of the part it played in the promotion of social welfare in Scotland and the guidance this may offer for the future.

The present Director of Social Work, Ian D Baillie CBB, who is the most senior staff member of the Board, will provide supervision of the student. Mr Baillie is a qualified Social Worker who has 30 years of service in Social Work, as a practitioner and a manager in both the statutory and the voluntary sectors. He is a member of the Scottish Committee of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work and Chair of the UK Social Care Association (Education).

b) **Annual financial contribution from the non-academic partner.** This should be in accordance with the guidelines set down by the ESRC (see accompanying notes).

Cash contribution to the academic department (minimum £1,375 pa)	£ 1,375	
Cash contribution to the student (minimum £1,375 pa)	£ 1,375	
Estimated cash value of other materials and facilities outlined at (c) (include consumable, e.g. paper, photocopying, stimulus materials etc. and any capital items purchased exclusively for the student, but not other capital items, overheads and personal costs)	£ 1,200 (accommodation costs, p/copying, telephone, stationary and postage)	
Students travel and subsistence incurred as a result of travelling between the two partners (estimate)	£ 850 (on basis of journeys x2 per week)	
TOTAL	£ 4,800	pa

10. Specify (or if appropriate attach) a clear statement of actual or intended provision for agreement between the two partners on intellectual property rights (IPR) arising from the research. Please see the Guidance Notes before completing this section. In particular give details, where appropriate, of arrangements for maintaining confidentiality of information while providing the necessary opportunity for the student to publish material suitable for a PhD. (We strongly advise the IPR issues are clarified and that a formal agreement is signed by all parties before the start of the studentship)

Both the Department of Applied Social Science and the Board of Social Responsibility are committed to publication of the student's work and Saint Andrew Press has been identified by the Board as a likely publisher. The IPR of this work will be the student's and in discussion, it has been agreed that "the student has a right to publish, including material that may be critical of the Board. However, the Board has the right to see and to comment on material prior to publication and within a timescale that is reasonable for comment to be provided. Published material will carry the disclaimer that it does not represent the official position of the Board". A formal agreement to this effect will be signed by the academic and non-academic partners and the student.

The issue of confidential archive material has been discussed. In principle, the Board supports unfettered access to material and much is already in the public domain (eg. committee minutes, reports). Where material (eg. correspondence or internal memoranda) is not identifiably public and especially where protection of staff or service users may be important, the basis on which the student has access will be made clear by the Director and in conjunction with other colleagues as necessary.

There has also been discussion of steps to be taken should the student come across material that gives rise to concern about the practice within the Board or any of its units. The Director would expect to be notified promptly of any such concerns, so that necessary action can be taken.

- 11a) Please specify any jointly agreed policy on selecting students

The Studentship will be advertised openly and within the Board and the Church of Scotland. Selection will be on the basis of academic qualifications and likelihood of successful completion within the required time span. Two members from the Board and two members from the Department will constitute the selection panel and the successful candidate must be acceptable to both parties.

- b) Please specify how the training requirements for the selected student will be identified and training needs met

The Student will receive the Board's induction programme for senior staff and will be given the Board's handbook of training programmes available. Within the Department, any appropriate research methods or computer skills training will be identified, such as particular units within the RT recognised MSc in Applied Social Research. Decisions about required or desirable training will be made in the early weeks of the Studentship, following discussions between supervisors and the student, and will be kept under review in supervision and especially at progress meetings. If the student has not completed a recognised RT course, he or she will be expected to complete all the taught units within the MSc in the first year of studies.

- c) Please specify the arrangements for the supervision/monitoring of the student's progress, and regular formal meetings between the student and their academic and non-academic supervisors.

The following represents minimum levels of supervision and review:

Supervision: at least monthly with academic supervisor
at least bi-monthly with the non-academic supervisor
at least 3 times a year with a joint meeting

Review: Biannual reports by student and supervisor are required by the Faculty of Human Sciences

Annual progress review is required within the Department.
This meeting would also involve the non-academic supervisor and an external assessor from within the Department. Permission to proceed with the study is dependent upon satisfactory review.

At any time, one of the parties can request an additional meeting if concerns or circumstances indicate such a need.

Appendix II.

Transcript of presentation made to interview selection panel on Wednesday 9th June 1999.

Ultimately, I believe the quality and success of the collaborative project to investigate and evaluate the contribution of the Board of Social Responsibility will be dependent on the informal acceptance of the researcher's presence by the Board and its staff. Accordingly, and being mindful of the fact that the efficient exchange of information is always a two way process, I believe it will be important for the researcher to ensure that appropriate working relationships are developed with personnel at all levels within the Board.

My initial approach to this project would therefore concentrate on generating the theoretical sensitivity necessary to communicate with personnel at the informal level. This approach will also allow one to cultivate and further an objective understanding of the Board's mechanics and identify opportunities for the research to actively contribute to the work of the Board, and therefore reciprocate the exchange of information. Plainly, internal induction and training programmes could facilitate these aims and I would envisage maximising one's participation on such programmes. In short, my initial approach would be directed towards securing the functional integration of the research within the Board without compromising one's objectivity.

My second objective would be to develop a suitable methodology to further the aims of the research project. Plainly, the diffuseness and extent of the Board's work, together with the project's broader interest in practice and policy development, will require the adoption of an eclectic perspective capable of considering and explicating theory from diverse sources. Perhaps above all, the outlook of the research must be flexible and capable of ultimately producing a non-reductionist case study of the Board. I would adopt a similar position with regard to research methods. Here, the distribution of the Board's work across Scotland will require that the research has the ability to elicit information from a range of sources.

It will be essential to systematically deploy research methods which have the capacity to build upon a thorough literature review. As such, I would anticipate utilising both deductive and inductive methods to assemble a satisfactory account of the Board's role which incorporates comparative evidence of working practice alongside relative evidence of the Board's overall efficacy. Accordingly, I believe the development of an eclectic theoretical outlook combined with the integration of research methods would allow the four stated research questions to be addressed.

It is certain that if the results of the project are to be reliable, valid and generalizable then data must be collected from sources around Scotland. Specifically, I believe the quality of the inquiry will benefit immeasurably by gathering data from research participants in all of the Board's divisions. Indeed, a consideration of the extent to which the Board has influenced welfare policy, provision and practice at the local level will require an analysis of each division's work relative to the formal policies of statutory agencies in each area. This of course will be a complex, though engaging, task given that the majority of the Board's divisions do not mirror the local

council boundaries. Similarly, at the national level the task is complicated by the relative uncertainty accompanying social policy formation and development post-devolution.

I believe the project must take account of political developments at both Westminster and Holyrood in the analysis of the Board's historical and contemporary influence on the state. In summary, I would intend gathering information from all areas of Scotland in order to adequately address the research aims. My approach would be to elicit information from as many individuals as practicable within the Board, the Church and from relevant outside organisations and agencies. I believe this approach would also allow discrete evaluations of the influence of religion on social policy at both local and national levels.

This extensive and ambitious case study of the Board's work and influence will produce a wealth of data. I believe it would be foolhardy to leave the analysis of the gathered data to the later stages of the student's term. Rather, my preference would be to continuously evaluate and regulate both the data itself and the means of inquiry. This approach will facilitate the project's performance management, the efficient compilation of progress reports and allow the academic thesis to be successfully completed within the given timescale.

The timely completion of the work will be important not least because the work will be contemporary and of immediate relevance in furnishing an account of Scotland's separate welfare tradition. It would be lamentable to delay dissemination of the findings. Furthermore, the ongoing collection and analysis of data will also permit the researcher to contribute to the work of the Board by enabling the exchange of information.

At this time, I would like to specifically consider the project's commitment to publish the student's work. I see this project producing a work of some import, capable of contributing a broad understanding of welfare provision in Scotland through the examination of the Board's work with potential to provide insight to service providers and, perhaps, policymakers. This, I believe, represents a marvellous opportunity and one that absolutely must be maximised. However, I believe the thesis may be too dense, with a narrative unsuited to a wider audience. Accordingly, while any publication would, of course, be based on the thesis, the style, presentation and prose will undoubtedly require adjustment.

My approach to this project would be ever mindful of the desire to publish and, following discussion with supervisors, I would expect, therefore, to open a dialogue with any likely publisher at the earliest opportunity. This dialogue would be initiated to allow the original aim of the Board to be furthered alongside one's academic obligations with a view to ensuring the early completion of both thesis and book. In summary, I see the student as having clear obligations to both the Board of Social Responsibility and the University. My intention would be to proactively work towards the simultaneous completion of both written works.

To sum up, this presentation has briefly considered my approach to this research project. I have noted both my intent to maximise one's participation on the Board's training programmes and the importance I would place upon securing the integration

of the researcher within the Board. These aspects of my approach would be directed towards establishing the efficient exchange of information. My outline has also drawn attention to the requirement for an integrative and eclectic methodology. Here, I highlighted the need to explicate both the diffuseness and extent of the Board's work whilst addressing broader interests in policy and practice at local and national level. Using both deductive and inductive methods, I would plan to build upon a thorough literature review by assembling a non-reductionist account of the Board's position and deploy the overall strategy to address the four stated research questions.

Plainly this work will require gathering data from diverse sources and I have drawn attention to the potential for increasing the reliability and validity of results by accounting for each division's work relative to statutory agencies and formal policies. I have also emphasised the importance I would place on the need to account for political developments in Scotland post-devolution and the influence of religion on welfare policy.

This is an extensive and ambitious project and I have suggested that the timeous completion of the work will require a flexible approach with data being collected and analysed on an ongoing basis. I am mindful of one's obligations to both institutions and I share your desire to publish the work. My overall approach, then, would be directed towards ensuring completion within the three year term.

Thank you very much.

Appendix III.

List of interviewees.

Mr. Ian Baillie, C.B.E. (Ret.), Director of Social Work, Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility. Formerly Deputy Director of Social Work at Strathclyde Regional Council.

Mr. Peter Bates, Chairman of Tayside N. H. S. Board. Formerly Deputy Director of Social Work at Strathclyde Regional Council, Director of Social Work at Tayside Regional Council and Director of Social Work at Dundee City Council.

Mr. Neil Buchan, Social Work Manager at Jewish Care Scotland. Formerly Principal Social Worker with Strathclyde Regional Council and Deputy Director of Social Work at Inverclyde Council.

Mrs. Joyce Buchanan, Deputy Director of Social Work - Planning and Development, Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility.

Mr. Alexander Cameron, C.B.E., Director of Social Work, South Lanarkshire Council. Formerly Deputy Director of Social Work at Central Regional Council and Director of Social Work at Borders Regional Council. Past President of the Association of Directors of Social Work.

Rev. James Cowie, Convener of the Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility.

Mr. Kenneth Darroch, Acting Director of Social Programme, West Scotland Division, The Salvation Army.

Mrs. Harriet Dempster, Chair of the Association of Directors of Social Work Committee on Children and Families and Director of Social Work at Highland Council. Formerly Inspector of Social Work Services at the Scottish Office.

Mr. Harry Garland, M.B.E. (Ret.), Chairman of the Scottish Executive Working Party on Travelling People. Formerly Director of Social Work at Paisley Burgh Council, Director of Social Work at Western Isles Council and Director of Social Work at Central Regional Council. Past President of the Association of Directors of Social Work.

Rev. Dr. Frank Gibson (Ret.), Director of Social Work, Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility.

Ms. Sue Horne, Convener of the Board of Social Responsibility of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Mr. David Kellock, Deputy Director of Social Work - Operations, Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility. Former Principal Social Worker with Lothian Regional Council.

Mr. Hugh Mackintosh, Director, Barnardo's Scotland.

Mr. James Maguire, Deputy Director of Social Work – Central Services, Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility.

Mr. David McCann, National Co-ordinator, National Commission for Social Care, The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. Former Senior Social Worker with Strathclyde Regional Council.

Mr. John Murphy (Ret.), Chairman of the Scottish Commission for Mental Welfare. Formerly Inspector of Childcare at the Scottish Education Department, Chief Inspector of Approved Schools at the Scottish Education Department, Director of Social Work at Stirling County Council and Director of Social Work at Central Regional Council. Author of 'British Social Services : The Scottish Dimension'.

Mr. Phil Robinson, Chief Executive, Quarrier's.

Mr. Rob Whiteman, Development Officer, The Scottish Episcopal Church.

Mrs. Ethne Woldman, Chief Executive, Jewish Care Scotland. Former Principal Social Worker with Strathclyde Regional Council.

Declined to participate:

Ms. Mary Hartnoll, Chairperson of the Scottish Commission for the Regulation of Care. Formerly Director of Social Work at Grampian Regional Council, Director of Social Work at Strathclyde Regional Council and Director of Social Work at Glasgow City Council.

Mr Leslie McEwan, Director of Social Work at Edinburgh City Council. Formerly Director of Social Work at Lothian Regional Council.

Rev. Andrew MacLean (Ret.), Convener of the Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility.

Appendix IV.

Questions from the semi-structured interview schedule used within the Board of Social Responsibility.

1. How long have you now been with the Board and have you always worked within the voluntary sector?
2. To what extent do you maintain an awareness of the social work activities of other voluntary organisations and statutory agencies operating in Scotland?
3. From your own knowledge and experience, do you think the work and activities of the Board have exerted any influence upon the development of social work policy in Scotland?
4. Standard setting and codes of professional practice have become prominent features of social work practice. Do you think the standards of professional practice adopted by the Board have influenced the standards of professional practice within other voluntary organisations and statutory agencies in Scotland?
5. The Board is a generalist organisation in terms of providing a range of services to a variety of client groups. Do you think the range, or style, of social work services delivered by the Board have influenced the activities of other voluntary organisations or statutory agencies operating in Scotland?
6. More generally, do you think the Board could be described in any way as an influential body?
7. Setting aside for the moment the final 10 to 15 years or so of the last century, what factors, or events, would you identify as having exerted the greatest effect on the social work activities of the Board since the end of WWII?
8. How do you think these factors, or events, affected the Board and do you think the Board responded to these factors, or events, differently in anyway from that of other voluntary organisations?
9. Turning now to the 1980s and 1990s, what would you say were the key challenges that faced the Board during that period?
10. Compared with other voluntary organisations, do you think the Board was more or less affected by these particular factors, or events, and how would you say other voluntary organisations responded to those challenges?
11. Do you think the position of the Board as part of the Established Church in Scotland influences the work of the organisation?
12. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of the Board's members being appointed by the Presbyteries and the General Assembly?

13. In what practical ways do you think the Board's members exert an influence upon the work of the organisation?
14. What benefits do you think the Board has secured by adopting a devolved management structure?
15. What are the benefits of organising and managing internal training programmes for your staff?
16. How would you say the Board's employment policy benefits the work you carry out and the users whose needs you serve?
17. How would you define the overall aims and objectives of the Board?
18. Can I ask you what you think faith-based organisations bring to the services they provide that other, secular organisations and agencies either do not or cannot, and what do you think might be the practical benefits of faith-based provision for service users?
19. What do you consider to be the main benefits other agencies receive from working in partnership with the Board?
20. What do you consider to be the main benefits to the Board of partnership working with other agencies?
21. What factors do you think have influenced the Board to attend to the range of social needs that it does?
22. What do you consider to be the relative advantages and disadvantages of unearned and earned income and how significant are these respective sources of income to the Board in terms of; a. surviving as an organisation, and; b. furthering the Board's aims and objectives?
23. Finally, the Board's policy precludes applying for lottery funding and this might be considered to place the Board at a disadvantage relative to other voluntary organisations. How do you believe the Board benefits from this policy?

End of interview.

Appendix V.

Questions from the semi-structured interview schedule used within the statutory social work sector.

1. Do you have any detailed knowledge of the Board's work or indeed any contact with the Board of Social Responsibility?
2. From your own knowledge and experience, would you say the work and activities of the Board have exerted any influence upon the development of social work policy in Scotland?
3. Standard setting and codes of professional practice have become prominent features of social work practice. Do you think the standards of professional practice adopted by the Board have influenced the standards of professional practice within other voluntary organisations and statutory agencies in Scotland?
4. The Board is a generalist organisation in terms of providing a range of services to a variety of client groups. Do you think the range, or style, of social work services delivered by the Board have influenced the activities of the statutory social work sector, or indeed any other organisations and agencies operating in Scotland?
5. More generally, do you think the Board could be described in anyway as an influential body?
6. What historic factors, or events, would you identify as having exerted the greatest effect on the social work activities of the statutory sector in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s?
7. How do you think these historic factors, or events, affected the role of the statutory sector and to what extent would you say the responses made to them by statutory agencies throughout Scotland can be considered consistent?
8. From your own knowledge and experience, what would you say were the key influences that affected the statutory sector during the 1980s and 1990s?
9. How do you think these factors, or events, affected the role of the statutory sector and to what extent would you say the responses made to them by statutory agencies throughout Scotland can be considered consistent?
10. What do you consider to be the key affects of the further development, during the 1990s, of the mixed economy of welfare in terms of the role of the voluntary sector, and in what ways would you say the sector has benefited, or otherwise, from the Act?
11. In your view, do you think the statutory funding of voluntary organisations erodes the autonomy and flexibility of voluntary organisations and how do you think the relationships between voluntary and statutory social work agencies have been affected by the N.H.S. and Community Care Act 1990?

12. Can I ask you what you think faith-based organisations bring to the services they provide that other, secular organisations and agencies either do not or cannot, and what do you think might be the practical benefits of faith-based provision for service users?

End of interview.

Appendix VI.

Questions from the semi-structured interview schedule used within the voluntary social work sector.

1. Have you always worked within the voluntary sector?
2. Do you have any contact with the Board of Social Responsibility or indeed any detailed knowledge of the Board's work?
3. From your own knowledge and experience, would you say the work and activities of the Board have exerted any influence upon the development of social work policy in Scotland?
4. Standard setting and codes of professional practice have become prominent features of social work practice. Do you think the standards of professional practice adopted by the Board have influenced the standards of professional practice within other voluntary organisations and statutory agencies in Scotland?
5. The Board is a generalist organisation in terms of providing a range of services to a variety of client groups. Do you think the range, or style, of social work services delivered by the Board have influenced the activities of your own organisation, or indeed any other organisations and agencies operating in Scotland?
6. More generally, do you think the Board could be described in anyway as an influential body?
7. Setting aside for the moment the final 10 to 15 years or so of the last century, what factors, or events, would you identify as having exerted the greatest effect on the social work activities of the voluntary sector since the end of WWII?
8. How did these factors, or events, affect your own organisation and would you say the response of your organisation to these factors, or events, differed in anyway from that of other voluntary organisations?
9. Turning now to the 1980s and 1990s, what do you think were the key challenges that the voluntary sector faced during that period?
10. Compared with other voluntary organisations, do you think your organisation was more or less affected by these particular factors, or events, and how would you say other voluntary organisations responded to those challenges?
11. Could you possibly outline for me, please, the governing structure of your organisation?
12. Moving away from the governing structure, could you describe the management structure of your organisation?
13. How would you define the overall aims and objectives of your organisation?

14. Can I ask you what you think faith-based organisations bring to the services they provide that other, secular organisations and agencies either do not or cannot, and what do you think might be the practical benefits of faith-based provision for service users?

15. What do you consider to be the relative advantages and disadvantages of unearned and earned income and how significant are these respective sources of income to you in terms of surviving as an organisation, and of furthering the aims and objectives of your organisation?

End of interview.

Appendix VII.

List of statutory agencies submitting evidence.

1. Aberdeen City Council
St. Nicholas House
Broad Street
Aberdeen
AB10 1FT
2. Aberdeenshire Council
Woodhill House
Westburn Road
Aberdeen
AB16 5GB
3. Angus Council
The Cross
Forfar
Angus
DD8 1BX
4. Argyll and Bute Council
Kilmory
Lochgilphead
Argyll
PA31 8RT
5. Clackmannanshire Council
Lime Tree House
Alloa.
FK10 1EX
6. Comhairle nan Eilean Siar
Sandwick Road
Stornoway
Isle of Lewis
HS1 2BW
7. Dundee City Council
Floor 7, Tayside House
Crichton Street
Dundee
DD1 3RE
8. East Lothian Council
9-11 Lodge Street
Haddington
East Lothian

9. Falkirk Council
Denny Town House
Glasgow Road
Denny
FK6 5DL
10. Glasgow City Council
Nye Bevan House
20 India Street
Glasgow
G2 4PF
11. Highland Council
Kinmylies Building
Leachkin Road
Inverness
IV3 8NN
12. Inverclyde Council
Municipal Buildings
Greenock
PA15 1LY
13. North Lanarkshire Council
Scott House
73-77 Merry Street
Motherwell
ML1 1JE
14. Renfrewshire Council
4th Floor, North Building
Cotton Street,
Paisley
PA1 1TZ
15. Scottish Borders Council
St. Boswell
Melrose
TD6 0SA
16. Shetland Council
91/93 St Olaf Street
Lerwick
ZE1 0ES
17. South Lanarkshire Council
Freepost SCO 1876
Hamilton
ML3 6BR

18. Stirling Council
Viewforth
Stirling
FK8 2ET.
19. West Lothian Council
West Lothian House
Livingston

Statutory agencies contacted but from which no response was received.

1. Dumfries & Galloway Council
Carruthers House
English Street
Dumfries
DG1 2DD
2. East Ayrshire Council
Council Headquarters
London Road
Kilmarnock
KA3 7BU
3. East Dunbartonshire Council
Tom Johnston House
Civic Way
Kirkintilloch
G66 4TJ
4. East Renfrewshire Council
Eastwood Park
Rouken Glen Road
Giffnock
East Renfrewshire
G46 6UG
5. Edinburgh City Council
Shrubhill House
7 Shrub Place
Edinburgh
EH7 4PD
6. Fife Council
North Street
Glenrothes
Fife
KY7 5LT

7. Midlothian Council
Midlothian House
Buccleuch Street
Dalkeith
EH22 1DN
8. Moray Council
Council Offices
High Street
Elgin
Moray
IV30 1BX
9. North Ayrshire Council
Cunninghame House
Irvine
KA12 8EE
10. Orkney Islands Council
School Place
Kirkwall
Orkney
KW15 1NY
11. Perth and Kinross Council
2 High Street
Perth
PH1 5PH
12. South Ayrshire Council
Holmston House
Holmston Road
Ayr
13. West Dunbartonshire Council
Garshake Road
Dumbarton
G82 3PU

Appendix VIII.

List of voluntary organisations submitting evidence.

1. Aged Christian Friend Society of Scotland
15 Atholl Crescent
Edinburgh
EH3 8HA
2. Archdiocese of Glasgow Social Services
196 Clyde Street
Glasgow
G1 4JY
3. Barataria Foundation
PO Box 5863
Moray
IV36 2WN
4. Barnardo's
235 Costorphine Road
Edinburgh
EH12 7AR
5. British Association for Counselling
1 Regent Place
Rugby
CV21 2PJ
6. Catholic Fund for Homeless and Destitute People
42 – 44 De Beauvoir Crescent
London
N1 5SB
7. Centrepoint
7 Whitechapel Road
London
E1 1DU
8. Church of Scotland
Law Department
121 George Street
Edinburgh
EH2 4NY
9. Church of Scotland
Office of the Principal Clerk
121 George Street
Edinburgh
EH2 4NY

10. Glasgow City Mission
Academy Park
Gower Street
Glasgow
G51 1PR
11. Glasgow Simon Community
69 Dixon Road
Glasgow
G42 8AT
12. Holy Trinity Healing Ministry
61 Brownhill Road
Catford
London
SE6 2HB
13. Jewish Care Scotland
May Terrace
Giffnock
Glasgow
G46 6LD
14. Little Sisters of the Poor
14 Cumnock Road
Robroyston
Glasgow
G33 1QT
15. Mental Health Foundation
20 – 21 Cornwall Terrace
London
NW1 4QL
16. National Institute for Social Work
5 Tavistock Place
London
WC1H 9SN
17. Order of St. John
21 John Street
Edinburgh
EH8 8DG
18. Roman Catholic Church in Scotland
General Secretariat (CC)
64 Aitken Street
Airdrie
ML6 6LT

19. Salvation Army
West Scotland Division
Divisional Headquarters
4 Buchanan Court
Cumbernauld Road
Stepps
Glasgow
G33 6HZ
20. Scottish Christian Alliance
3 Nethercairn Place
Newton Mearns
Glasgow
G77 5SZ
21. Scottish Episcopal Church
Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway
Social Responsibility Committee
5 St. Vincent Place
Glasgow
G1 2DH
22. Scottish Episcopal Church
Forbes House
21 Grosvenor Crescent
Edinburgh
EH12 5EE
23. Scottish National Commission for Social Care
1/2, 15 C Hill Street
Glasgow
G3 6RN
24. Shelter Scotland
4th Floor
Scotiabank House
6 South Charlotte Street
Edinburgh
EH2 4AW
25. Sikh Sanjog
19 Smiths Place
Edinburgh
EH6 8NT
26. Society of St. Vincent de Paul
546 Sauchiehall Street
Glasgow
G2 3NG

27. Quarriers
Quarrier's Village
Bridge of Weir
Renfrewshire
PA11 3SX
28. YMCA
33 Petershill Drive
Glasgow
G21 4QQ
29. YWCA
7b Randolph Crescent
Edinburgh
EH3 7TH

Voluntary organisations contacted but from which no response was received.

1. Care for Scotland
29 Canal Street
Glasgow
G4 0AD
2. Church Army
Independents Road
Blackheath
London
SE3 9LG
3. Drugs Action
48a Union Street
Aberdeen
AB10 1BB
4. Feed The Hungry
1 Deansbridge
Queensferry Road
Edinburgh
EH4 3AF
5. Fast Forward Positive Lifestyle
4 Bernard Street
Edinburgh
EH6 6PP
6. Help The Homeless
78 Quaker Street
London
E1 6SW

7. Homes For Homeless People
Cyrenian House
6 – 7 Union Street
Luton
Bedfordshire
LU1 3AN
8. Jamiat Ittihad-Ul-Muslimin
The Glasgow Islamic Centre
Mosque Avenue
Glasgow
G5 9TX
9. Pastoral Foundation
Counselling Services
12 Chamberlain Road
Edinburgh
EH10 4DN
10. Rock Trust
42 York Place
Edinburgh
EH1 3HU
11. Samaritans
PO Box 9090
Stirling
FK8 2SA
12. Scottish Council for Single Homeless
Wellgate House
200 Cowgate
Edinburgh
EH1 1NQ
13. Scottish Council on Alcohol
166 Buchanan Street
Glasgow
G1 2NH