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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK
IN AUSTRALIA

by

R.J. Lawrence

The entire thesis is my original work.

R.J. Lawrence

March, 1962.
Corrections

p. vii, line 16: Branch
line 23: N.S.W. C.S.S. New South Wales Council of
Social Service.
line 24: N.S.W. I.H.A. New South Wales Institute of
Hospital Almoners.

p. 8, line 16: standards of behaviour
p. 13, footnote 1, line 8: Henry A. Mess
p. 18, line 10: 1870's.

p. 52, line 15: noted - this
p. 60, line 9: discharged prisoners
p. 98, footnote 35, line 2: sometimes at
p. 104, line 7: ones with
p. 106, footnote 59, line 2: of the
p. 111, lines 2 and 3: Macintyre, Joan Brett and Dorothy
Bethune in Melbourne;

p. 117, line 6: South Wales
p. 127, line 2: of a
p. 132, line 10: the breadth
p. 136, line 5: some mention
p. 152, line 1: casework situations
p. 155, line 10: proposed cadetship
p. 224, line 3: a minimum
lines 12 and 13: to be erased.

p. 229, line 12: bureaux
p. 230, line 7: Bureau
p. 257, line 6: the professional
p. 258: add footnote 39-
39 Educated Universities of Melbourne, Edinburgh and
Marburg; lecturer, Melbourne University; appointed
Hughes Professor of Philosophy, Adelaide University,
1923; Vice-Chancellor 1946-8. He was 75 at his death.
He was not very active on the Board's behalf.

p. 271, line 9: economic, social,
p. 283, line 6: last formal
p. 287, line 8: because of
p. 288, line 3: what were
p. 291, line 6: professional social
p. 302, line 4: Social Studies!
p. 306, line 1: - in psychology
p. 319, line 12: staff spent
p. 330, line 6: on social
footnote 5, line 2: Afford?
p. 333, footnote 13, line 7: of their
p. 334, footnote 17, lines 1 and 2: in New South Wales, six
in Victoria, five
p. 339, line 8: the States
p. 372, line 5: in 143 chapters
p. 382, line 2: only qualified
p. 393, line 14: It argued
p. 399, footnote 91, line 4: a 'Social
p. 403, line 1: the country

p.t.o.
p.418, line 17: the group


CONTENTS

The Main Argument iv
Abbreviations vii
INTRODUCTION 1

THE EARLY YEARS

1. MEETING THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY 12
   In Search of Individuals' Welfare
   The Training Movement
   The Methods of Social Work
   Professional Association

2. SOCIAL PROVISION IN AUSTRALIA 55
   Early Patterns
   'The Social Laboratory of the World'
   The Case for Training Social Workers

3. TAKING UP THE TRAINING CHALLENGE 85
   The Creation of Training Bodies
   Forming an Australian Council
   Financial Insecurity
   The Nature of the Training Bodies
   The Pioneers

4. TRAINING STANDARDS 125
   The Curriculum
   The Teachers
   The Teaching Materials
   The Students

5. A NEW OCCUPATIONAL GROUP 163
   A Stirring of the Social Conscience
   Ready but Uneven Employment
   Professional Association
   The Quality of the Work
CONTENTS (cont.)

THE WAR YEARS

6. AN EXPANSION OF OPPORTUNITIES
   New Social Policy
   Social Workers in Demand
   Collective Activity

7. UNDER UNIVERSITY CONTROL
   From Independent to University General
   Training Bodies
   New Forms of Control?
   Training Standards

THE POST-WAR YEARS

8. AN IMPROVING EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK
   Comprehensive University Schools of Social
   Work
   Changing Curricula
   Teachers, Teaching Materials, and Students

9. THE EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKERS
   Meeting Basic Social Needs
   Helping Special Groups
   Co-ordinating Social Services
   The Broad Scene

10. TOWARDS EFFECTIVE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION
    A National Comprehensive Professional
    Association
    Protecting Social Workers' Interests
    Social Action
    Educational Opportunities

THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY
The Main Argument

There are certain features which tend to be strong in the established professions - external and internal recognition of collective rights and duties, a generally acceptable common purpose, shared intellectual techniques, fundamental knowledge, an ethical code, and community service. Important in establishing and maintaining these features are training bodies and professional associations.

Within the upsurge of social provision in modern industrial urban societies a characteristic has been the development of institutions to train some of the people involved in its administration, and the forming into professional groups of people so qualified. In Britain and the United States, this phase of development occurred earlier than in Australia, and their experience subsequently influenced Australian developments.

In the thirty year period from the late 1920's, a period which witnessed a depression, a war, and a post-war reconstruction, social provision in Australia was greatly extended. While this occurred, an Australian social work training movement was established, and the people who were trained by it became organized professionally.

Social work training began in the largest urban communities. It moved into the universities in the early 1940's. Medical social work, the only independent specialized training which was established,
became absorbed within the university courses. The university training was largely generic in character. Preparation of students for work in a specialized field, when it was given at all, was additional to the generic training. Over the thirty year period changes in the curricula, the teachers, the teaching materials, and the students of the training bodies effected improvements in the professional education.

By 1960, social workers qualified by the professional education were employed in many fields of Australian social provision, but the development was limited and uneven, to a considerable extent because of the continued overwhelming preponderance of females. Questions of status, numbers, and sex were closely connected.

Parallel with the growth of the social work training movement, and the spread of qualified social workers in employment fields, was their movement towards more effective professional organization. By 1960, they were banded together in the one general nation-wide professional association, the Australian Association of Social Workers. This also catered for specialist interests, including those of the medical social workers who were formerly in an independent national association.

For the professional association to be fully effective it had a three-fold function - to provide educational opportunities for its members, to take action on their behalf on social issues, and to protect their employment standards. Despite the generally weak
administration of the professional association, there was some achievement on all three counts, although relatively the third function was under-developed.

After thirty odd years, this new occupational group was demonstrating in varying degrees of strength all the features which tend to be strong in the established professions.
Abbreviations

A.A.A. Australian Association of Almoners
A.A.H.A. Australian Association of Hospital Almoners
A.A.S.W. Australian Association of Social Workers
A.C.O.S.S. Australian Council of Social Service
A.J.S.W. Australian Journal of Social Work
A.M. Annual Meeting
A.R. Annual Report
A.S.W.C. Australian Social Welfare Council
A.U. B.S.Sc. Adelaide University Board of Social Science
A.U. B.S.S.Sc. Adelaide University Board of Studies in Social Studies
A.U. B.S.S.Sc. Adelaide University Board of Studies in Social Science
Cttee. Stds. Committee for Studies
Exec. Executive
M.U. B.S.S. Melbourne University Board of Social Studies
ms. manuscript
N.S.W. A.A.A. New South Wales Branches of the Australian Association of Almoners
N.S.W. A.A.H.A. New South Wales Branch of the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners.
N.S.W. A.A.S.W. New South Wales Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
N.S.W. B.S.S.T. New South Wales Board of Social Study and Training
N.S.W. C.S.S. New South Wales Institute of Hospital Almoners
N.S.W. S.W.A. New South Wales Social Workers' Association
Q. A.A.S.W. Queensland Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
Q.A.S.W. Queensland Association of Social Workers
S.A. A.A.A. South Australian Branch of the Australian Association of Almoners
S.A. A.A.H.A. South Australian Branch of the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners
S.A. A.A.S.W. South Australian Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
S.A. B.S.S.T. South Australian Board of Social Study and Training
S.A. C.S.S. South Australian Council of Social Service
S.A. S.W.A. South Australian Social Workers' Association
S.M.H. Sydney Morning Herald
S.U. B.S.S. Sydney University Board of Social Studies
S.U. B.S.S.W. Sydney University Board of Studies in Social Work
Tas. A.A.S.W. Tasmanian Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
V.A.H.A. Victorian Association of Hospital Almoners
V.A.S.W. Victorian Association of Social Workers
V.C.S.S. Victorian Council of Social Service
V.C.S.T. Victorian Council for Social Training
V.I.A. Victorian Institute of Almoners
Vic. A.A.A. Victorian Branch of the Australian Association of Almoners
Vic. A.A.H.A. Victorian Branch of the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners
Abbreviations (cont.)

Vic. A.A.S.W.  Victorian Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
V.I.H.A.      Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners
W.A. A.A.S.W. Western Australian Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers
INTRODUCTION

In the late 1920's, a start was made in establishing a new profession in Australia. Some thirty years later, it had made substantial progress.

The profession was concerned with helping individuals, groups, and communities to make the most constructive use of themselves and their environment in the solution of their personal and social problems. By 1960, other professional groups, universities, and employers recognized its existence, and its remuneration was beginning to reach that of the lower professional levels. Its members were joined in the one association. It had its own university training bodies which now provided a training of a minimum of three years. Furthering the community's social welfare, through individual practice and through joint action, was its avowed purpose. Its members shared certain techniques and knowledge, and they were beginning to make explicit the ethical code implicit in their practice. Their clients were largely city dwellers of all ages, suffering from a great variety of social and psychological disabilities. Their functions, although unevenly distributed, included work with individuals, with groups, and with communities, administration, policy-making, teaching and research.

From its inception the group had two characteristics which had widespread effects on the nature of its development - it was largely female, and it depended upon social agencies for its
employment. The first characteristic, in what was still very much a man's country, had important status repercussions for the group and its work. Towards the end of the period this was beginning to be realized, and further, there were indications that the general depressed status of women in public life in Australia was becoming a matter for concern. The second characteristic, employment by social agencies, to some extent limited the group's freedom of practice and kept remuneration relatively low, but there was no apparent desire for private practice. This was mainly because members of the group were more effective agents for social welfare working in agencies, and because the group's clientele were not accustomed to paying a professional fee, and many, particularly in the pre-war period, would not have been able to do so in any case.

Among the social work fields, medical social work for many years took the lead. It had its own training bodies and its own specialist professional association, but both of these were additional to, not substitutes for, the general training bodies and the general social workers' association. In Australia, as in the United Kingdom and the United States, a concentration of the community's social problems was found in the large public hospitals. The connection, in many instances obvious, between the patients' health and social

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1 The Australian Social Science Research Council, in 1959, invited Norman MacKenzie, a British sociologist, to study the role of women in public and professional life in Australia. His book will be directly relevant to this thesis.
conditions forced the early recognition of the need for medical social work. It was not surprising, therefore, that the medical social work group tended to advance first along the road of professionalism. And this tendency was reinforced by the close association of medical social workers with the fairly tightly organized and well established medical profession.

Among the three basic social work methods - social casework, social group work, and community organization - social casework, used for work with individuals, retained its dominance throughout the thirty years, although the other methods were gaining some ground towards the period's end. This dominance may be traced to a natural early concentration upon the units of social breakdown, to the greater theoretical formulation of casework, and to the continued identification of social work with women who, primarily for culturally determined reasons, tended to leave the broader aspects of the community to men.

Why, in general terms, did professional social work develop in these thirty years in Australia? Briefly, the answers are urbanism, industrialization, social and economic change, a large social service expansion particularly in the government sector, overseas example, and the stimulation provided by qualified social workers themselves.

In Australia, as in the United States and the United Kingdom, professionalism in social service work began in the larger cities,
and by the later 1920's, Sydney and Melbourne each with at least a million inhabitants were large by any standards. People with problems abounded in large industrial urban communities, and the inadequacy of ill-informed, usually part-time or spare time, attempts at helping them was obvious earlier than in smaller communities. The resources of a large city could maintain social agencies employing trained social workers, and also sustain a training body.

Further, the need for the co-ordination and rationalization of social services in a large city was evident, and trained social workers were seen, among other things, as instruments of co-ordination.

As part of each community's social service system, or series of systems, professional social workers, with trained observation and working full-time, were in the best possible position to know the actual needs of individuals and groups, and the extent to which the community's social services were meeting these. This generally meant the professional social workers were keen to co-ordinate and rationalize the social services, to extend them to all needy sections of the community and remove the stigma of charity from them, to broaden the concept of need to include things other than material want, and to emphasize preventive rather than palliative measures. They were not, of course, alone in furthering these things. The depression years, war, the post-war reconstruction, unprecedented industrial growth with concomitant inflation, a large scale immigration program creating a more culturally diverse society, a population growth of over three million during the thirty years and its
even greater concentration in the capital cities, and a beginning of scientific enquiry into the precise nature of Australian society—all these played a part in stimulating interest in social conditions and the adequacy of social provisions. In the three decades there was an enormous expansion of social services. The professional group, despite its limited numbers, played its part in stimulating this expansion.

The earlier growth of professionalism in social service work in the larger and more industrialized communities in the United States and the United Kingdom provided the emerging Australian group with useful experience, and they used it freely. In the early stages, this tended to be a source of strength, for already, overseas, the basic training issues had been thrashed out, a modern framework for social work had been developed, and teaching material which had at least a rough relevance for any Western industrial society was in existence. The great part of the published experience was American, which meant the Australian group was very strongly influenced by American ideas, as well as British ones. Towards the period's end, reliance on overseas experience was tending to be an impediment—a local literature was very slow in emerging, questions of the degree of cultural relevance of much of the overseas material were still being left unanswered, and, in addition, the constantly unfavourable comparison of Australian professional conditions with American ones was causing, in some quarters, despair
rather than stimulus.

As they grew in numbers, the group were status conscious, and this was closely linked to the question of salaries. They did not look for high professional remuneration, for the voluntary service past of their work was not far distant and lived on in many parts of the community. The idea of becoming rich in such work repelled them. They began to realize, however, that salaries had to be competitive with other professional salaries to attract sufficient people with the requisite talent, particularly men, and they found, especially in public service circles, that low salaries and low status for themselves and their work were closely linked. In addition, they could see no reason why, in the practice of such stressful work of direct social usefulness and requiring a difficult and expensive preparation, they should not enjoy at least a comfortable standard of living.

The development of professionalism in social work during this thirty-year period was no isolated phenomenon. Because of the growth in population, its concentration in cities, easier communication, greater specialization of function, and rapid industrial expansion, other aspiring professional groups appeared and existing professions were strengthened. ²

² So far, little has been written on the professions in Australia. As larger, more industrialized societies overseas have become increasingly dependent upon professional and aspiring professional groups, study of the professions has been prompted. A similar process is beginning in Australia. The first major Australian study in this area is - R.D. Goodman, Teachers' Status in Australia, Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.
The recognized professions rank relatively high in the social structure of modern Western societies. A number of factors contribute to this. The cost of the basic training and the need for a certain level of intellectual ability restrict entry to them. Professional people are generally in the higher income groups. A certain mystique surrounds their practice. Members of the ruling and propertied classes tend to make greater use of their services; and so on.

There is no simple answer to the question 'What is a profession?' The most profitable procedure is to try to identify features which tend to be strong in the accepted professions. Any one profession will not measure up fully on all the points of the resultant list, but it should do so rather more adequately than a non-professional group.

The following are features found in the recognized professions (medicine, law, architecture, engineering, dentistry, and so on):  
1. Members of the profession and the rest of the community recognize that it is a distinct occupational group with certain privileges and responsibilities.
2. A general common purpose, e.g. healing the sick, guides the members' work. The purpose is in reasonable accord with the goals of the wider community.
3. There is a shared intellectual technique, or series of techniques, which is acquired only after a prolonged training at a
tertiary educational level. The application of the technique demands originality and judgement, and is not a routine, rule of thumb matter. The group recognize a responsibility to maintain and develop the technique which is peculiar to their practice.

4. The fundamental knowledge, or theory, at the basis of the group's practice is capable of being set forth systematically, and is at a level of difficulty requiring tertiary education. The group recognize a responsibility to define, develop and systematize their fundamental knowledge, and have relative freedom to do so. This is a direct responsibility with regard to their own clinical or practitioner experience. For the part of fundamental knowledge borrowed and adapted from other groups, it is the indirect responsibility to support and encourage the activity of those groups. In a scientific age, fundamental knowledge usually means science-based knowledge.

5. To safeguard both clients and themselves, members of the group conform to certain stands of behaviour in their relations with their clients and among themselves. The safeguard is needed on two counts. Their practice involves them in details of a private and sometimes intimate nature, and they are experts advising non-experts.

6. In their dealings with their clients, service to the client and the community rather than gain to the practitioner or the group is stressed in the ethical code.

7. The group as a whole accept responsibility to use their knowledge for the benefit of the community, over and above services to
individual clients.

Two kinds of institutions are characteristic of the professions - training bodies and professional associations. The training body usually transmits the relevant intellectual techniques, fundamental knowledge, and ethical code, and formally tests the initial competence of a person for professional practice. The professional association watches over the rights and duties of the profession, and is concerned, generally, with the professional competence of its members. It plays an important educational role, for the intellectual basis of professional practice calls for a continued mutual interchange of ideas and information.

For the occupational group with which this study is concerned to acquire the features mentioned above, training bodies and professional associations had an especially important part to play because of the nature of social work. Very different ideas could exist on what constituted an adequate training for social work. In Australia, however, the main training bodies started with courses of roughly the same length and content, and tended to lengthen and develop their courses in much the same way. Qualified Australian social workers received, then, with some local variation, a similar kind of basic training and this encouraged them to think of themselves as a distinct occupational group.

Of equal importance to the initial common knowledge, skills and attitudes imparted by the training bodies to prospective social
workers were the professional social work associations, which eventually became incorporated in the one national association. Qualified social workers were scattered throughout the community in a great number of different agencies and they could be submitted to strong centrifugal influences. It is apparent that to counter these, there needed to be a common association which concerned itself with general professional standards of practice, which spoke for the group as a whole, and which protected the rights and functions of qualified social workers.

This study concentrates on three main things - the development of training bodies and their courses, the spread of qualified social workers into various fields of employment in Australia's expanding health and welfare services, and the growth of professional associations and their programs. It is roughly divided into pre-war, war and post-war, since each of these periods had its own set of influences.
CHAPTER 1

MEETING THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

In Search of Individuals' Welfare

In the half century or so before 1930, a feature of industrial societies was the extension of social provision, both government and non-government. By 1930, these societies contained a great number of specialized social agencies helping selected categories of people who were seen to need outside assistance. Their particular concern were the destitute, deprived children, legal offenders, the physically and mentally handicapped, the physically and mentally ill, unmarried mothers, migrants, the poorly housed, the aged, the idle, the ignorant, the lonely. Often the provision was, by later standards, inadequate or misguided, but it was in this period that the foundations of the modern welfare society were laid, for increasingly, corporate responsibility for the personal well-being of all individuals within national boundaries was recognized. From one point of view this was modern mass urbanized society, subject to continuous economic and social change, establishing the specialized institutional equipment to meet its social responsibilities.

Many related factors influenced this development. In briefly discussing these the United Kingdom in particular is kept in mind, because industrialization began there, and because British experience
was especially significant for the English-speaking world.¹

The emergence of political democracy, closely linked with the rise of labour movements and the elimination of illiteracy, brought in its train an emphasis on democracy as a social philosophy. Equality of treatment and a sense of togetherness were stressed in the face of intolerable differences between the conditions of life of citizens and in the face of the new extreme social separation between citizens, both features of the huge

¹ The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences contains numerous articles relevant to the modern growth of social provision.

There are many British books, wholly or partly concerned with this subject, e.g. the writings of the Webbs, the Hammonds, G.D.H. Cole, and William Beveridge, and works like:
A.F.C. Bourdillon (ed.), Voluntary Social Services - Their Place in the Modern State.
Henry A. Moss (ed.), Voluntary Social Services Since 1918.
Mary Morris, Voluntary Organisations and Social Progress.
Hardy and Margaret Wickwar, The Social Services - an Historical Survey.

Three very recent books shed light on the process in the United States:
Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare.

In addition, much relevant American writing is under way. See The Social Worker, No. 2, April 1958.

An Australian historian, Kathleen Woodroofe, is currently engaged upon a comparative study of social work in Britain and the United States.
urban agglomerations of industrial society. The social and
cultural poverty, as well as the harsh economic poverty, demanded
agencies to combat it, for individuals could not fight it alone.
A rash of organized groups, humanitarian in purpose and mixed in
motive, arose.

Many problems demanded broader, stronger, and more continuous
action, and the State was the only agency with the authority and
the potential resources to combat them. The Church had lost its
medieval dominance. It had neither the internal strength, the
material resources, nor the mass allegiance to respond to the
challenges of the new industrial age, although helping people in
distress was still strong in the Christian ethic. Much of its
welfare work with sectarian strings attached was suspect to an
essentially secular society, just as much of the welfare work of
the upper classes which helped to maintain the established social
order was suspected by those who wished for a basic reform of
society.

The organizational demands of a changing mass society as well
as political developments caused the downfall of the supremely opti-
mistic 'laissez-faire' doctrine; depressions and war hastened the
process. The increasing national income, achieved by technological
change, greater division of labour, and specialization, made its more
even distribution both necessary and possible. Increased taxation,
especially of personal income, strengthened the sinews of State
action by its encouragement of the growth of an effective public
But without insight into the true nature and extent of the problems of the new society, neither private nor State action was likely to be effective. The Royal Commissions, and towards the nineteenth century's end, the charity organization societies, the social settlements, the social surveys, the growth of statistical analysis - all contributed to the diagnosis of the ills of society and the prescription of treatment for them. The application of scientific method to human affairs was seen, rightly or wrongly, as the key to social progress. Commenting on his times, a prominent Victorian clergyman said:

Among the many characteristics of a remarkable age, not the least noteworthy is the rise and progress of Social Science. Practically speaking, this is the science of doing good and preventing evil in our social system.

A further significant factor in the growth of social provision in these countries was the interchange of ideas between them. The spread from Britain of the charity organization society, the social settlements, the social survey, and certain kinds of social legislation, and from Germany of social insurance schemes, are examples of a widespread willingness to use the experience of other countries in the meeting of similar problems. It is often difficult, however, to

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tell whether these attitudes and institutions would have emerged spontaneously.

The twentieth century terms, 'social service', 'social welfare', 'social administration' and 'social work', began to supplant the older terms 'charity', 'philanthropy', 'benevolence', 'alms-giving', and 'poor relief'. This change in terminology was closely connected with changed attitudes to the recipients and the altered nature of the service given them. It was now the society's duty to ensure for all its citizens certain minimum standards of welfare, and each citizen had a right to expect this. The condescension, pity, and implied superiority of the giver to the receiver with which the older terms had become encrusted were not to be condoned in the new democratic society.

The Training Movement

With the growth of social provision went increasing numbers of men and women involved in its administration. The complexity of effective social provision in the mass industrial society forced

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3 The whole field of social provision is peculiarly prone to verbal confusion because of the number and variety of people using the terms, and the different nature of social provision from place to place and from age to age.

A long-standing meaning of 'social work' has been any work useful to human society, but particularly work with people who fall below the accepted standards of well-being. In the twentieth century the term has often been used merely as a shortened version of 'social service work'. In communities where a professional group of social workers have emerged, the term has increasingly been confined to the functions they perform, and 'social welfare' has been used to cover all activity relevant to the community's well-being.
these people to realize that full-time, trained work was needed. It was wasteful not to use the accumulated experience of previous workers, or the new insights about men and society gained from scientific study. The training movement was therefore a feature of the growth of social provision in all these countries. When it began in any one country was partly determined by the chance of personalities and the existence of overseas models, but more by the society's degree of complexity, the size of the cities, and the level of social provision.

What has been described as the first real school of social work in the world began in Amsterdam in 1899. By the mid-1920's there were schools in Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The growth of the training movement in the last two countries needs examination, for the subsequent training movement in Australia was strongly influenced by the experience of both of them. Being overwhelmingly British in heritage, Australia tended to look to British experience. On the other hand, in the United States, the training movement gained root more firmly than anywhere.

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else in the world, and this, together with the connected factors of size, wealth and vigour, produced a snowballing quantity of American social work literature. Further, though its population dwarfed Australia's population much more than did Britain's, its geographical size, the comparative newness of the society, and its federal system of government, gave Australians and Americans things in common additional to their broad European heritage and language.

Included in Octavia Hill's activities for improving slum housing areas in the United Kingdom was a training scheme for housing managers, begun in the 1870's. Managers were carefully selected on grounds of maturity, and willingness to give regular time and to receive training. They had to learn to deal with people, to understand the conditions under which they lived and the ways in which these could be improved; and they had to be familiar with the various agencies for helping people. Octavia Hill, however, was aware of the need for more systematic training than that provided, and pointed to an analogy with the nursing and teaching professions.

6 For some indication of the size of the output see: Sydnor H. Walker, 'Privately Supported Social Work', Recent Social Trends in the United States, Report of the President's Research Committee, pp. 1191 -1192. In 1931, the Russell Sage Library, the most complete collection of American social welfare literature, contained 32,000 bound and 106,000 unbound volumes, and there were at least 25 periodicals with a national circulation and specifically in the field of social work.
7 Young and Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century, p. 124.
8 Moberly Bell, Octavia Hill, p. 121.
9 Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, p. 147.
The beginning of the movement for systematic training of social workers in the United Kingdom has been attributed to Margaret Sewell who, as the Warden of the Women's University Settlement at Southwark in London's East End, arranged a training scheme in the early 1890's. She herself has described the circumstances surrounding this early training experiment:

The end of the nineteenth century saw the foundation of Councils and Societies, of College Missions and Settlements, the beginning, in fact, of serious, thoughtful, and organized efforts to tackle social ills, not only as a part of personal religion, but as a social obligation; not merely as an expression of sympathy, but as a recognition of difficulties urgently presenting themselves to be solved, and demanding for their solution gifts of the head as well as of the heart.

It is significant of this new aspect that the universities took a leading part in the reorganization of so-called charity, and that the leading movements were largely recruited and in many instances initiated by men and women from the universities, and it followed almost of course that the need of some sort of specialized educational equipment was speedily recognized.

In writing on social work training for a Conference on Settlements held in Chicago in the 1890's, she set down arguments which, with variation in phrasing, were to find their echo in community after community in the following decades.

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10 Elizabeth Macadam, The Social Servant in the Making, p. 22.
11 Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, p. 25.
In drawing up the course both of theory and practice, weight will be given to the importance of affording to all workers an opportunity of seeing the various sides of philanthropic and social work, and of studying the life of the people in several aspects. It is misleading to know the poor only at such times as they are in need of relief, or to see one class of them only. Preventive work should be shown in its relation to relief work, the work of the State should be coordinated with the work of the individual, and so on. We believe that much mistaken work has been undertaken from insufficient knowledge and one-sided experience, and intend therefore to discourage specialization till comparatively late in the course of training.

She stated that training was no substitute for personal devotion but it gave fuller effect to it. The demand for mere knowledge and guidance was a sign of 'a deepening sense of social responsibility, a truer brotherhood, a more vital sympathy.'

The Southwark Settlement's training scheme was extended in 1897 when lectures in parts of London and in some of the provinces began to be sponsored by the Settlement, the Charity Organisation Society, and the National Union of Women Workers (later the National Council of Women). From 1901, the Charity Organisation Society alone controlled the training until in 1912, its School of Sociology was absorbed by the London School of Economics, and a Department of Social Science and Administration was established.

The London developments were soon matched by similar developments in other parts of the country, mainly in connection with the

12 Ibid., pp. 28-9.
13 Ibid., pp. 31-2, 34-5.
newer universities in the large industrial centres. The University of Liverpool was the first university to become directly associated with the training of social workers.\(^\text{14}\) The School of Social Science (later Social Studies) established in 1904 under its auspices was a joint venture with the Victoria Settlement for Women, which had previously run a training scheme, and the Liverpool Central Relief and Charity Organization Society. The new School's connection with the University was 'rather that of a poor and uninteresting relation than an honoured member of the University family group,' but from the first it became closely identified with the University in the eyes of the public.\(^\text{15}\) In 1917, the School became fully incorporated in the University under a Board of Social Studies. Five years later, its position was further consolidated by the creation of the Charles Booth Chair of Social Service, in memory of the author of the monumental survey of the life and labour of the people of London, 1889-1903.\(^\text{16}\)

The University of Birmingham from the start accepted full responsibility for training for social service when it entered the

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14}}\] The initial suggestion that universities should become responsible for training social workers has been credited to Charles Loch, the extremely able and energetic Secretary of the C.O.S., 1875-1914. Macadam, The Social Servant in the Making, p. 23.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{15}}\] Young and Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century, p. 97.


\[\text{\textsuperscript{16}}\] Ibid., pp. 40-1.
field in 1908, and the Universities of Bristol, Leeds and Manchester followed suit. At Edinburgh in 1911, and Glasgow the following year, courses were begun which in time became university courses. In 1919, Oxford University took over a social work course which Barnett House had been running for six years. At the same time Bedford College in London opened a Social Studies Department, and shortly after, the University of St. Andrew's was sponsoring the Dundee School of Social Study and Training.

Until the first world war, progress of the training movement was slow.

The early years of the century were characterized by a rapid stream of legislation, and workers were required in increasing numbers as salaried organizers for the new forms of public and voluntary effort, but the methods of appointment and standards of qualifications required were uncertain, and only very partially did social training become recognized as desirable still less necessary. Unfortunately the uncertain prospects of a remunerative career weighed with those responsible for careers of prospective students and reacted adversely on the progress of the newly formed schools... for the most part the number of students attracted was small, and consisted mainly of women attracted to voluntary social work, or of those who were willing and able to risk the chance of not receiving suitable posts.

The war gave considerable stimulus to the training movement. Social study departments gained government recognition; the demand

17 Ibid., p. 34.
19 Idem, Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, p. 34
20 Ibid., pp. 42-4.
21 Ibid., p. 35.
for trained workers for the first time exceeded the supply; and training for social work began to be fashionable, resulting in a variety of new training schemes.

In April 1918, a Joint University Council for Social Studies was constituted with the object of co-ordinating and developing the work of social study departments in connection with the universities of Great Britain and Ireland. It subsequently sponsored conferences, consultations with administrators of the social services, and reports and memoranda, which did much to advance knowledge of 'a new and little understood venture'. The Council, with representatives of all the existing university schemes of social training, provided for the first time the opportunity for cooperative action and influence.\(^\text{22}\)

Though there were differences in the names and circumstances of schools of social study, Elizabeth Macadam was able, in the mid-1920's to set down a number of common features of social study courses as they then existed in the United Kingdom.\(^\text{23}\) In summary form, they ran as follows:

Students, generally older than the average undergraduates, fell into three classes - graduates, experienced workers with little or no previous academic training, and students who desired to train for some career for which a university degree was not necessary. Some schools granted diplomas to graduates only.

In each school, the length of the course, except for graduates, was two years. It consisted partly of attendance

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22 Ibid., pp. 36-7.

23 Ibid., pp. 44-8.
at lectures or tutorial classes and partly of actual participation under supervision in various activities which gave the candidate some first-hand acquaintance with working-class life, the operations of public departments and of voluntary organizations for social work.

There was variation in the names and arrangements of subjects, but such subjects as economics, economic history, social and political philosophy, psychology, and public administration were included. Generally lectures from regular university degree courses were used for at least some of the academic requirements of social study courses, but several schools were large enough to have their own staff of lecturers. The Joint University Council had stressed the importance of securing teachers who had more than mere academic knowledge of social questions. The term 'school of social study' had come to refer to a department of a university, in which different subjects, which could be grouped together under the comprehensive heading 'social science', were taught not only in close relation to each other but to actual social and economic conditions.

From the beginning practical work had been considered an essential part of the course. It now included, where possible, training in public administration in connection with health, housing, employment and unemployment, administration of justice, adult and continuation education, juvenile organizations of all kinds, relief work, voluntary organizations for social welfare, as well as investigation into social conditions. Before a diploma or certificate was awarded, a student had to satisfy examiners in both academic and practical work.

Visits of observation were arranged to introduce students to relevant social organizations.

Research into social problems was recognized as an indispensable function of a school, but largely owing to lack of funds, little had been accomplished.

Most of the schools tried to meet the needs of officials in new forms of social service or of social workers already in the field. Glasgow and Dundee had provided systematic evening courses leading to a certificate. Other schools insisted that social training required full-time work, but provided periodi-

24 Ibid., p. 197.
'Social studies' was often preferred to 'social science' as a more accurate term since some of the subjects were concerned primarily with values, not scientific knowledge.
cally lectures for those who had received no professional training, and 'refresher' courses for trained workers.

The courses were under the direction of a Committee or Board on which were representatives of those university departments which offered subjects included in the course, and persons of experience in practical social administration.

In a few cases, schools provided teaching for those engaged in other occupations, such as the clergy, district nurses, health visitors, domestic science and continuation school teachers. During the war, intensive courses for welfare workers in factories and relief workers were instituted as emergency measures. In addition, the leading schools opened selected classes to the general public.

Many of these same features were later to appear in the Australian training movement.

In addition to the schools of social training a considerable number of specialist schemes of training, mainly non-academic, came into existence. Each was linked with a particular area of social service work, and tended to provide an apprenticeship training rather than one rooted in general principles applicable to all social service work.

One of the most significant (certainly for Australia) of these independent, specialized training schemes was in medical social service work, or almoning as it was called in the United Kingdom. In the mid-1880's Charles Loch suggested there was need for some kind of social service in hospitals. Ten years later a beginning was

25 U.M. Cormack, 'Developments in Case-Work', Voluntary Social Services - Their Place in the Modern State, ed. Bourdillon, p. 112. Loch wanted 'a charitable assessor or cooperator...well instructed as to all forms of relief other than medical...His (notice the sex!) office should be to supplement the work of the medical officer by obtaining the general assistance without which medical relief will often fail in its purpose'.
made by the appointment of one of the Charity Organisation Society's most capable district secretaries, Miss M. Stewart, to the outpatient department of the Royal Free Hospital in London. A small training scheme for future almoners was gradually developed as the service spread first to other voluntary hospitals and later to a growing number of municipal hospitals. In 1907, control of the course passed from a special committee of the Charity Organisation Society to an independent body, the Hospital Almoners' Council, consisting of almoners, members of the Charity Organisation Society, and other interested people. In 1924, this Council was incorporated as the Institute of Hospital Almoners. The Training of hospital almoners became more systematically organized than most other forms of social work training, but its direct vocational emphasis was tempered by a close link with university courses.

One other development in specialist training for social work should be mentioned. In 1927, with the financial assistance of the Commonwealth Fund of New York, the child guidance movement penetrated the United Kingdom from the United States. The London Child Guidance

29 See Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, p. 123, for details of the Institute of Hospital Almoners' course in the 1920's.
Council was established with the object of encouraging 'the provision of skilled treatment of children showing temperamental disturbances and early symptoms of disorder.' Clinics and training for psychiatric social work followed. The specialist training was provided in the Mental Health Course at the Social Science Department of the London School of Economics, taken after a general social studies course.

The first thirty years of the training movement in the United States resembled these British developments in many respects. The growth in the large cities, the connection with the development of scientific thinking applied to human affairs, the majority of women students, the early reliance on voluntary agencies, the growth of full-time social work, and the leading position of medical social work, were all points of similarity. And later the early Australian training movement was to demonstrate exactly these same features. But there were important differences, arising mainly from the size and strength of the social agencies thrown up by the much larger American society, and from its more democratic temper.

As in the United Kingdom, the beginnings of the training movement in the United States owed much to the settlement and the charity organization society - the voluntary agencies most concerned with understanding causes of social breakdown. Starting in Brooklyn in 1891, courses of lectures were provided for the various charity organization societies. In 1893, at the International Congress

of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, Anna Dawes presented a paper on 'The Need of Training Schools for a New Profession'. She urged that experienced workers should be given a chance to transmit their knowledge to newcomers in the field. Needless mistakes would be avoided to the benefit of the worker, the applicant, and the agency.\(^\text{31}\) Four years later at the National Conference of Charities and Correction,\(^\text{32}\) Mary Richmond proposed a training school of applied philanthropy. Amongst other things, she argued that the definition of the underlying processes common to social work needed the freedom of a school.\(^\text{33}\)

There was a growing recognition of the need for something beyond the apprenticeship training some social agencies were then offering, but it was realized that giving effect to this recognition was not going to be easy. Mary Richmond wryly commented in 1897:

> It seems sheer waste of time to say anything at this late day about the need of training in charitable work, and yet I have learned that philanthropy is still one of those disorganized branches of human knowledge in which he who takes anything for granted is lost...
> In no other field are good intentions permitted to play such havoc.\(^\text{34}\)

The first school of social work in the United States had its rudimentary beginning the following year, when the New York Charity

\(^{31}\text{Bruno, Trends in Social Work, 1874-1956, p. 138.}\)
\(^{32}\text{Esther L. Brown, Social Work as a Profession, p. 25.}\)
\(^{33}\text{See p. 51.}\)
\(^{34}\text{Ibid, pp. 138-9.}\)
\(^{34}\text{Brown, Social Work As a Profession, p. 24.}\)
Organisation Society held a six-week summer training course for practitioners. The course was extended until by 1904, the New York School of Philanthropy offered a one-year course, primarily for students without social work experience. Six years later it became a two-year curriculum. In 1919, the school changed its name to the New York School of Social Work.  

Meanwhile other schools had been founded; at first in the East, then unevenly throughout the country. Arising from training experiments in settlements in Chicago, the Chicago Institute of Social Science was opened in 1903 by the Extension Division of the University of Chicago. In 1908, the Institute became the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, whose purpose was 'to promote through education, training, investigation and publication, the efficiency of civic, philanthropic, and social work, and the improvement of living and working conditions'. It gave up its independent existence in 1920 to become the Graduate School of Social Service Administration in the University of Chicago. Like the New York School, this became one of the foremost in the world. 

By 1910, the American training movement was still largely confined to the five largest cities in the United States - New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. 

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Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and St. Louis. As in the United Kingdom, however, the first world war lent impetus to social work training, and it also encouraged formal cooperation between training bodies. Many universities combined with the American Red Cross to provide emergency home-service training courses. These demonstrated the need for full social work training facilities in new sections of the country and helped to arouse university interest.

In 1919, shortly after the Joint University Council for Social Studies was formed in Britain, the seventeen known American schools of social work met to discuss formal cooperation. From this emerged the American Association of Professional Schools of Social Work which was to become 'the medium for the setting of standards of professional social work education in the United States and Canada and, to some extent, in the rest of the world.'

The older schools in the east of the United States at first maintained only tenuous links with universities, for they wished to develop their curricula unimpeded by academic regulations. At the 1915 National Conference on Charities and Correction the influential voices of both Abraham Flexner and Felix Frankfurter asserted that the only valid basis for professional training was an integral relation with a university. Frankfurter argued strongly for a prepa-

37 Brown, Social Work As a Profession, p. 30.
38 Ibid., pp. 30-1.
40 Ibid., p. 144.
ration for social work equivalent to that of the older professions:

I submit that what has been found necessary for adequate training for... the professions of law and medicine is needed for the very definite, if undefined, profession we call social work.41

Shortly after the Association of Schools was formed, no new non-university schools were admitted to membership. By the mid-1920's of the 23 schools of social work which were members of the Association, only three were independent of universities, and other schools were moving towards membership.42

There was, however, wide variation even among the Association's members. Edith Abbott in 1927 went so far as to say that they seemed to have 'nothing in common except a name - and of course a purpose.' She claimed that a major reason for this was the extreme specialization that the agencies had demanded of schools of social work. They had been asked to provide special training courses for family welfare workers, for child welfare workers, for psychiatric social workers, for travellers' aid work, community chest executives, and so on and on, instead of being allowed to develop 'a solid and scientific curriculum in social welfare.' Specialization was needed in all professions, she admitted, but it should be specialization superimposed on an adequate professional foundation. Only in this

42 Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, p. 174
way could a man be safely entrusted with the responsibility of treating human beings. 43

Yet despite the widely different circumstances of schools and their rather fragmented interests, the Executive Committee of the Association of Schools had earlier in the 1920's managed to agree on a statement of the fundamental principles underlying adequate education for professional social work. This stressed, like Edith Abbott and like Margaret Sewell before her, that the most satisfactory preparation for social work was a broad professional education. There was to be, under unified administration, an organic grouping of relevant courses designed for the purpose. These were to be of four kinds - background or pre-professional, specific knowledge courses providing a broad scientific equipment for social work, technical knowledge courses dealing with branches of social work, and technical training courses concerned with imparting skills largely through carefully supervised field work. 44

In observing the American and British training scenes in the mid-1920's, Elizabeth Macadam found two important points of similarity, the continued large majority of women students 45 and the

44 See Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, pp. 174-6, for the full statement.
and the well-established position of medical social work. 46

But there were two outstanding related differences. First, the American schools were almost invariably more strictly professional, and second, they had developed to a much larger extent a technique of 'social treatment.' 47

The professional character of the schools was explained by the much greater acceptance of social work as a profession. Among the strong, urban, voluntary social organizations in the United States, the idea of trained 'executives' had spread rapidly. The consequent demand for trained professional workers had resulted in professional training courses attracting more students. Similarly, the earlier American schools, being strongly influenced by powerful voluntary social agencies, had placed emphasis upon the growth of a social 'technique.' The later moving into the universities by the American training movement had meant the independent schools had had time to leave their permanent mark on the courses. Even in the Chicago school where there was excellent equipment for advanced study in economics, political theory, psychology and sociology, Elizabeth Macadam discovered that an important place was given to such subjects

46 Ibid., pp. 122, 191. The American development was in fact much more extensive. There were about 74 British Almoners while over 350 North American hospitals had well-equipped social service departments.

For an account of the development of medical social work in the United States see:
Ida M. Cannan, Social Work in Hospitals.

There was some resistance in the United Kingdom to the latter type of courses. This resistance if pushed too far went close to inconsistency on the subject of the need for training for social work. Elizabeth Macadam herself said 'the best type of "case worker" is endowed with inborn gifts, and will gain her experience in actual work, not in the class-room dissection of case papers'. But she did admit that in some American schools the proportions of scientific and academic instruction to more purely vocational and technical subjects were admirably estimated, and the latter were treated in a philosophical and scientific spirit. She also pointed out that American observers would probably say that the United Kingdom schools of social study were too little vocational, and devoted inadequate attention to scientific study of actual social administration and its methods.

In the United Kingdom there had been some reaction away from the individual family or person to emphasis on the treatment of environment and economic circumstance in their broad aspects. Increasingly attention was focussed on wide social and economic

48 Ibid., pp. 176-8.
49 Ibid., p. 190.
issues. In spite of a rudimentary integration of theory and practice at the beginning of the training movement, the two became separated. The teaching in the universities became less related to actual practice in social agencies. The non-university specialist schemes of training, on the other hand, suffered from too much practice and too little theory.\footnote{See United Nations, \textit{Training for Social Work - Third International Survey}, pp. 118-9.} The aim of university social training in the United Kingdom had become the sending out of future workers of all grades with 'the right outlook on life and its problems'.\footnote{Macadam, \textit{The Equipment of the Social Worker}, p. 65.} Above all else, the social worker was to be a socially educated person. The social studies departments were offering a university education rather more relevant to effective participation in the modern industrial society than the traditional classical or general Arts education, but the degree of its relevance was a matter for debate.

In the United States many of the early social workers were also social reformers, but by 1930, attention had been diverted from social reform, a function (often a cause) shared by numerous citizen groups and individuals, to 'the profession' and its technique, its methodology or know how.\footnote{Cohen, \textit{Social Work in the American Tradition}, p. 151.}
The Methods of Social Work

One of the continual difficulties in coming to an agreement on the content and emphasis of training courses was the problem of defining the field of social work. A study in the 1920's considered the following possible methods of delineation:

1. The field defined as that of aiding certain disadvantaged classes.
2. The field defined by aim and process.
3. The field defined by historical approach.
4. The field defined by its relation to the various social institutions and to the social process. 53

By 1930, there was considerable emphasis on 2, and upon one process or method in particular — social casework. This was an emphasis which was to have an important influence on the Australian training movement.

In recent years from the experience of social agencies, schools of social work, and professional associations, it has been realized that there are a number of methods, each with a clustering of techniques, which enable professional social work aims to be attained. Briefly these methods are social casework, social group work, community organization for social welfare, social welfare administration,

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social action or planning, social welfare research, and teaching social service personnel. The last four of these methods—administration, planning, research and teaching—are not peculiar to professional social work, but it is being recognized that unless these activities are effectively performed, the professional performance of the methods peculiar to social work—social casework, social group work, and community organization—is jeopardised.

In the United States by 1930, the stage of development reached by each of the three methods now seen as peculiar to professional social work differed markedly. Social work with individuals (social casework) was far in advance of social work with groups (social group work) or social work with communities (community organization) in terms of numbers engaged in it, and as a systematic field of practice and study. In the following brief account of these methods' historical development, it needs to be remembered that in both countries at any point of time, there was a wide range of practice in the use of each method. This account will tend to deal only with the changing 'best' practice. Where there were no minimum professional standards for all social work practitioners, practice in many organizations

Herbert H. Stroup, Community Welfare Organization, p. 126.
55 Some think this is a method not peculiar to social work; others think it indistinguishable from group work.
tended to be decades behind the 'best' practice.

Social Casework

Social casework grew out of a reawakening of communal responsibility in nineteenth century England. The social duty of citizens to help members of the community through collective action, as well as by face-to-face giving, reasserted itself after two centuries of neglect. The new humanitarianism had to find a method appropriate to changing social and economic conditions.

When Thomas Chalmers went to the Parish of St. John's in Glasgow in 1819, there were innumerable unrelated charitable societies

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58 An historian of social work in the United States said, 'Historically speaking, social work might be viewed as humanitarianism in search of a method.' Cohen, *Social Work in the American Tradition*, p. 3.
in existence. Chalmers' ideas on poverty and visiting, circulated through his writings and given effect in his parish, provided some unifying force until the Charity Organisation Society was founded. He freely used the term 'case', and the gradual unfolding of the concept of social casework may be traced back at least as far as his work. His viewpoint was later developed by Octavia Hill, Denison and Loch, and the whole Charity Organisation Society movement. He insisted that voluntary visitors, allotted small districts to enable them to take an individual interest in the poor or potentially poor, were effective helping agents; he taught the evils of promiscuous and sentimental giving; he pleaded for adequate understanding of all applicants for relief; he preached the necessity of exhausting all possible avenues of help (self-help, help of relatives, help of the poor for each other, or help from the rich) before recourse to public funds; and finally, he recognized the need for careful selection and instruction of his district supervisors.\(^{59}\)

In London in 1869, a 'Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity' came into being. The Charity Organisation Society, as it was called the following year, had a profound influence on social service work throughout the world in the following decades.


Its main principles were cooperation and organization in charitable work; help for deserving cases only; strict adherence to cases covered by the resources and aims of the agency; and help adequate to regenerate the individual and his family and to promote independence. Many of the elements of casework method - the interview, the visit, the case committee, the sifting of evidence and consideration of the needs of the whole family before deciding on what to do - were used before the Charity Organisation Society came into existence, but the Charity Organisation Society gave them coherence and spread their application. In addition, recording of cases came as a corollary of careful investigation; collateral contacts were encouraged in the investigation; home visiting was undertaken only for a specific purpose and with the consent of the client; and 'follow-up' of cases was undertaken to learn about the success or otherwise of methods used.

The general position of the Charity Organisation Society was in a direct line of descent from Chalmers. One point of difference was a grudging acceptance by the Charity Organisation Society of the need for state provision for complete destitution; Chalmers would have wished no state aid. 60

60 Young and Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 81 - 105.
By the last decade of the century, attention in Britain was turning increasingly to broad government action to combat the social evils of the industrial society. The Charity Organisation Society leaders became enmeshed in political controversies. Socialists lost patience with the insufficiently comprehensive and radical methods of the social workers who could not see that it was like sending a man to fight a Leviathan with his bare hands to expect a casual labourer to meet industrial unemployment by self-help.  

The case-work movement in nineteenth century United States was fertilized from the London Charity Organisation Society, and the moralistic stage of casework was evident in both countries, with exaggerated individualism being even more evident in the United States. Among those who practised casework in both countries, however, there was a growing realization that social conditions, not character defect of the poor, caused widespread distress. In the United States by 1896, the New York Charity Organisation Society decided to strike out the word 'deserving' from its constitution. At the turn of the century, the scientific findings of the so-called 'school of environmental determinism' in anthropology, biology, sociology, and economics supported this view.  

Though both countries then passed through a social reform phase, the United States also paid attention to the development of social casework and took over leadership in individual case study and treatment - a leadership which they have not yet lost.

Social reform measures raised basic living conditions but many families remained in distress, their individual problems untouched. They needed

understanding help, people to listen to them and to advise them so that they might make the right use of such community services as clinics, hospitals, employment bureaus, legal aid, training facilities, and adult education. 63

Social agencies came to realize that the richer the community resources available, the greater the chance of helping many individuals through social casework.

Up to the first world war social casework had been largely focussed upon the rehabilitation of clients in economic distress, but by then, agencies dealing with delinquency, illness, physical or mental, and underprivileged childhood were paralleling the charity organization societies (or, as they came to be called, family welfare societies) in the use of social casework as their basic method. Material relief often had no place in the help in these new settings, education, guidance or psychological support of the client being the main service provided. 64

63 Ibid., pp. 169-170.
64 Klein, in Contemporary Social Theory, pp. 762-3.
In the various agencies social caseworkers became specialists in their knowledge of environment and how to change it, and casework passed through a 'sociological' phase. The effect of the environment on the individual became the main emphasis. Adjustment was to be achieved through re-establishing a socially acceptable relationship between individual and environment.

In 1915, Abraham Flexner decided social work was not a profession, the major reason being its lack of a transmissible professional technique. American social work set about rectifying the deficiency, at least with regard to work with individuals. In 1917 appeared Mary Richmond's classic 'Social Diagnosis', based on a systematic study of large numbers of case records and upon her extensive knowledge of other disciplines. This was the first major definitive work on social casework. Rapidly, despite Mary Richmond's protests, it became the social work method, and, moreover, her recommended casework procedures were not used with discrimination. An almost ritualistic, excessive history-taking often occurred which actually interfered with an understanding of the client and his problems. The sociological dimension was there, but not the psychological. The caseworker still tended to consider he knew what was

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68 Ernest V. Hollis and Alice L. Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States, p. 7
best for the client even though in theory he was now working with, not for him. The client was persuaded, albeit tactfully, to accept the plans made for his good.  

The first world war ushered in a new phase. The Home Service Divisions of the American Red Cross brought a new clientele for casework help. This together with a more democratic viewpoint, which did not look upon the poor and those in need of help as outside the general community, encouraged a shift away from paternalism. The growing knowledge of psychology, and particularly psychiatry, was given considerable impetus by the war. In the following decade psycho-analytic theory of human behaviour was incorporated into casework theory and practice, to the partial exclusion of the social sciences. 

At least three main reasons have been given for this swing away from the social sciences towards psychoanalytic theory. First, psychiatrists were developing practical techniques for dealing with the immediate problem of adjustment of the individual, and social work was in a technique-hunting mood. Second, the social sciences were becoming highly specialized, and social workers could not be expected to play a synthesizing role which the social scientists themselves were not in a position to undertake. Third, there was a

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a reaction after the war from attention to broad social measures towards consideration of the individual and his personal problems.

Dynamic psychology offered new insight into people and their problems and emphasized the importance of the relationship between social worker and client. It also provided a theory which was consistent with the democratic philosophy of self-determination, or acceptance of the individual and of his freedom of choice, upon which the ethics of the social work profession were then being built. The client's own ideas and feelings became the core of the diagnosis and treatment, and 'process' became one of the most used words in the social worker's vocabulary.

The long-term implications of these developments were revolutionary. In Britain, social work had been largely a 'class' activity - the upper orders helping the lower orders to maintain their stations in life in a fairly rigidly stratified society. In the United States social work had tended to be more the successful helping the unsuccessful to copy their solutions in adapting to 'the great American way of life'. The genuinely client-centred approach was to bring a change in all this.

One other major development in social casework in the United States before 1930, took place with the publication in 1929 of 'Social Case Work, Generic and Specific', the Report of the Milford

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72 Octavia Hill's slogan, 'not alms but a friend', was an early recognition of the importance of the helping relationship. See Bell, Octavia Hill, p. 85.

Conference. Social work's growth through practice in separate fields has been observed. In spite of the tendency to create specialized forms of social casework under different agency auspices, 'the outstanding fact', said the Report, 'is that the problems of social case work and the equipment of the social case worker are fundamentally the same for all fields'. This was in agreement with the movement of social work education from specialization toward a common base.

Social Group Work

Unlike modern agencies for social casework, social group work agencies - the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the university settlements, boys' clubs, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, and a multitude of other agencies under church, private and government auspices - were institutions without direct historical antecedents. Their common characteristic was the offering of opportunities for social gathering and recreation. The undesirable social conditions which they were designed to remedy have been described in this way:

75 Hollis and Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States, p.21.
76 For material on the historical development of social group work see:
Klein, in Contemporary Social Theory, pp. 772-780.
Young and Ashton, British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 223-258.
In the first place, these were practically all urban conditions of life - in fact, conditions created by industrial urbanization: the breaking up of the family as a complete economic and social unit, the rapid change of relations between family and neighbouring family, and the practical disappearance of the village community as the center and framework of social life. With these developments went a large part of the social control exercised by family, neighbours, and community, and perhaps a still larger part of the opportunities which they had provided for social life and recreation for young and old. Aggravating this change were the reduced opportunities for outdoor life, the artificial, stimulated contacts in crowded city streets, city housing at its worst, and the proximity to criminal haunts, commercial amusements, and vice.\textsuperscript{77}

While initially casework agencies tackled problems of material impoverishment, these group work agencies tackled problems of social impoverishment. An analysis in 1928 of the common activities of leading group work agencies in the United States found

\textit{(Group work's) underlying philosophy maintains that normal and satisfying group activities tend to develop in the individual a richer personality, emotionally sound, and effective in its adjustment to the group relationships of life; also that group life is the means of passing on the social patterns, customs and conventions by which society is organized...}\textsuperscript{78}

The techniques employed by the group worker to achieve group work's ends, as in casework, passed through an early paternalistic stage when programs were arranged by the group worker for the members of the group. Gradually, however, direction of this kind was giving

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{77} Klein, in \textit{Contemporary Social Theory}, p. 772
\item \textsuperscript{78} Margareta Williamson, \textit{The Social Worker in Group Work}, prepared for the American Association of Social Workers - quoted by Klein, in \textit{Contemporary Social Theory}, p. 774.
\end{itemize}
way to the indirect stimulation of the initiative, the group consciousness, and the self-direction of the group.

Social group work crystallized as a professional social work field much later than social casework. Not until the 1920's was there a discovery of common professional interests among group workers. Many of the organizations employing these workers did not consider themselves social agencies and were outside the influence of social work education. Much of such theory as was slowly evolved came from the writing of John Dewey and the progressive education movement, and was adapted for use in informal educational settings. When group work began to be taught in the American schools of social work in the second half of the 1920's, there existed only rudimentary theory about group processes, in contrast with the well-developed psychoanalytic theory of individual behaviour being taught in the casework courses.

Community Organization.

The third of the modern social work methods, community organi-

79 Grace L. Coyle, Social Science in the Professional Education of Social Workers, pp. 30-1.
80 In the 1920’s, however, leisure-time agencies, tending to serve a cross-section of the general public, began to become identified with other welfare agencies through participation in unified welfare financing and planning programs. (Hollis and Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States, p.20). The identification was assisted by the traditional social work agencies securing a wider clientele.
81 Coyle, Social Science in the Professional Education of Social Workers, p. 31.
zation for social welfare, may be traced to the activities of the charity organization societies in the nineteenth century. In their attempt to promote cooperation between social agencies, to avoid duplication, and to use funds as productively as possible, lay the source of community organization as a process of social work. This process subsequently came to be defined as that of 'establishing a progressively more effective adjustment between the social welfare needs and the community welfare resources within a geographic area.'

Councils of social agencies arose separately from the charity organization societies. In this way, responsibility for setting standards was placed upon the whole group and not upon a single agency. A description of different functions of councils in the United States in 1921 mentioned passing on new projects, reorganization of old agencies, abandonment or combination of existing agencies, improvement in relationship between agencies, advice to agencies on publicity, and advancement of standards. Closely linked with the development of councils of social agencies in the United States was the 'community chest' movement given great impetus during the first world war. Social agencies combined to make one, not a multitude of appeals for funds, they used expert solicitation methods and they tapped new industrial sources. The allocation of

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83 Idem.
the funds once raised was done as justly as possible, and was an effective means of raising standards of individual agencies.\textsuperscript{85} In addition to councils of social agencies there were also coordinating 'functional' organizations, often at a national level, concerning themselves with the needs of a particular section of the community - e.g. the adolescents.

In the United Kingdom the community chest idea was not generally accepted,\textsuperscript{86} but councils of social service, general coordinating bodies equivalent to the American councils of social agencies, were established in numerous British communities. The National Council of Social Service grew out of the work of a number of local councils of social service and local guilds of help. In 1919, it was formally inaugurated. From the beginning it was a widely representative body - government departments and local government organizations, national voluntary organizations in every field of social endeavour, and local cooperative social service agencies such as councils of social service, community associations, and rural community councils were all represented.\textsuperscript{87}

By 1930, however, community organization, even in the United States where techniques were being studied, was even less advanced

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., pp. 199-206.
\textsuperscript{86} Mess, \textit{Voluntary Social Services Since 1918}, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., pp. 81-2.
in its systematic theory than social group work. Yet five years later, the United States National Conference of Social Work, in reorganizing its program, indicated its acceptance that the four major functions of social work were social casework, social group work, community organization, and social action. This Conference, in providing a national forum for the discussion of all social welfare matters, was itself an important enduring community organization tool.

Formal and informal conferring between the diverse parties engaged in welfare work became a feature of Western countries, and the conferring was not confined to national boundaries. International conferences of representatives of private and public charities began in the mid-nineteenth century. These conferences, meeting in Europe and later in the United States, were concerned with particular areas of social service work. The holding of the International Conference of Social Work in Paris in 1928 provided for the first time a general international social welfare forum. Because of the growth

89 Until 1917, it was called the National Conference of Charities and Correction; from 1956, the National Conference of Social Welfare.
of the social work training movement in over a dozen countries, it was not surprising that one of this Conference's main sections was devoted to training for social work, and that an outcome was the formation of an International Committee of Schools of Social Work.

**Professional Association**

So far, various ways in which by the end of the 1920's the social welfare field in Western countries was getting itself organized have been described. Training bodies had arisen and were to some extent cooperating on a national and international level. The various methods of achieving social welfare were being examined and defined. And social agencies were sometimes cooperating both formally and informally on a local, national and international level. One other major institutional development remains to be noted that this is the growth of professional association between paid, trained employees of social agencies. Again, American developments need to be referred to.

Professional associations of social workers arose in the United States as training, social workers' clubs, and the National Conference of Social Work encouraged a group consciousness among

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92 See p. 17.
93 Macadam, *The Social Servant in the Making*, p. 27.
In 1921, the American Association of Social Workers was formed with the 'Compass' as its journal. Its purpose was to develop professional standards and organization, and its membership was restricted to paid social workers. By 1930, it had 5,030 members. Three years later, however, it was to restrict entry to only those with a qualification from an accredited school of social work, which meant mainly a casework qualification.\(^9^5\)

While this general association was emerging, associations arose according to the social work setting. The first of these was, not unexpectedly, the American Association of Hospital Social Workers (later the American Association of Medical Social Workers) formed in 1918. Initially it covered psychiatric social workers, but in 1926, the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers became a separate association. By 1930, this body's membership was 364; that of the American Association of Medical Social Workers approximately 1,700. The National Association of School Social Workers at the same time had approximately 275 members.\(^9^6\)

In Britain, some specialist associations, notably the almoners', were in existence by 1930, but the British Federation of Social Workers, the general professional association in the United Kingdom, was not formed until 1935.\(^9^7\)

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97 Macadam, *The Social Servant in the Making*, p. 27.
By the end of the first third of the twentieth century, then, Western industrial societies were in the process of a revolution in the nature of their social provision. Among these societies the larger and more industrialized of them, responding to their social challenges, tended to evolve characteristic institutions, methods and attitudes ahead of the smaller societies like Australia. This provided a series of models for the latter to adopt or adapt when they too moved into a more complex phase of social provision.
CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL PROVISION IN AUSTRALIA

In the late 1920's, some 140 years after the first European settlement, the Australian population was approaching six and a half million. Over the previous forty years it had doubled and had become even more concentrated in the six capital cities, which now contained close to half the total. Melbourne with a million persons and Sydney with just over a million had reached a size and a complexity in their social provision which made them ready for the subsequent growth of a social work training movement and full-time, trained social work. The social and economic ferment of the depression years of the 1930's was to make the ground the more fertile, and even to encourage the movement to take precarious root in Adelaide, a city only a third the size of Melbourne.

This chapter will briefly trace the development of social provision within Australia up to the late 1920's, and will conclude with the arguments voiced in the 1930's in support of the infant social work training movement.

Early Patterns

Much more work is needed before an adequate history of health and welfare services in Australia can be written. There has been

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1 Commonwealth War Book, No. 22-1929, pp. 888, 891.
2 Professors R.M. Crawford and Ruth Hoban have begun a long-term study of the history of the social conscience in Australia. Their work and the work of others prompted by this gap in Australian historical writing should change this situation within the next few years.
some writing on government provision, but very little on non-government provision, either church or secular, or on social reformers.³

3 Examples of existing writing are:


Constance M. Davey, Children and Their Law-Makers.

Robin Gollan, 'The Foundations of the Welfare State', Ch.9, Radical and Working Class Politics.


Ronald Mendelsohn, 'Social Services', Public Administration in Australia, ed. R.N. Spann.


Catherine Helen Spence, State Children in Australia - A History of Boarding Out and its Development.

The particular lack of writing on non-government social provision and social reformers may be due to a comparative weakness of voluntary social effort in earlier Australian communities. It has been commented that, unlike nineteenth century England, few groups and individuals were striving to mitigate the rigours of the economic system, because there were few factories or workshops until the last quarter of the nineteenth century: poverty was not so grievous, and the climate softened its rigour; social service was not supported by two of its main pillars in Europe - the Church, and ideas of stewardship.4

In addition, the Australian colonies were without a leisured class to devote their time and money to helping the less fortunate.5 Yet Australians were not free from the hazards of old age, unemployment, sickness, widowhood, orphanhood, the cost of a large family, and overcrowded, insanitary housing conditions.6

3 (cont.)
K.S. Inglis, Hospital and Community - A History of the Royal Melbourne Hospital. (There are histories of a number of public hospitals).
Gerard K. Tucker, Thanks Be.
Edith C. Onians, Read All About It.
Margaret Kiddle, Caroline Chisholm.
Jeanne F. Young, Catherine Helen Spence.
4 C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900, p. 603.
6 Mendelsohn, 'Social Services,' Public Administration in Australia, ed. R.N. Spann, p. 129.
The large proportion of British working class migrants who had an abiding hatred of the harsh 1834 English Poor Law, and general nineteenth century distrust of positive government activity, led colonial governments to subsidize private charity, rather than provide relief directly themselves. Most forms of social need, in so far as they were met, were met by voluntary organizations. Apart from secular activity, there is some evidence that both directly and indirectly the Church did sponsor welfare work, even if it was not a 'pillar' of social service. Deeds of mercy and good works have a long history in various branches of the Christian Church.

Because a great amount of voluntary provision in a complex society tends to disappear without trace, it is easy to underestimate the extent of non-government provision and to exaggerate the part played by government and government-subsidized agencies. And it is made easier when, as in Australia, the earliest phase of settlement depended so obviously upon government provision. It is

8 A difficulty with church welfare activity is to know whether to classify it as primarily social provision. Wherever a religious organization is engaged in welfare activities, religious rather than welfare ends are likely to take precedence. See Cecil C. North, The Community and Social Welfare - A Study in Community Organization, p.14.
possible that the number of non-government groups striving to mitigate the rigours of the economic system, not by influencing social legislation, but by direct giving of aid to people in distress was fairly considerable.

In 1887, the Melbourne scene was complex enough to warrant the formation of a charity organization society. Three years later, it sponsored the First Australasian Conference on Charity, followed by a Second in 1891. Many voluntary agencies were represented at these two conferences, and a significant proportion of the delegates were women and clergymen.

A list of topics connected with the field of charity which were proposed for discussion at the first Conference suggests the scope of Australian social provision towards the close of the century. These were grouped under seven headings. The first was 'Principles of Charity Organization' (cooperation in charitable work, discouragement of indiscriminate giving, enquiry before relief, compilation of records, and both local and intercolonial exchange of information). Under 'Hospitals and Treatment of the Sick' were mentioned the hospitals' management, the election of medical officers, central or local government subsidies, special,

9 Inglis, Hospital and Community, p. 150.
10 First Conference - 137 delegates: 47 women, 16 clergymen.
Second Conference - 204 delegates: 95 women, 19 clergymen.
provident, and municipal hospitals, convalescents' homes, and the
treatment of the insane. The third and fourth groups consisted of
'Indoor Relief' (benevolent asylums, refuges, night shelters, free
meals, local relief) and 'Outdoor Relief (ladies' benevolent
societies, district visiting and friendly visiting, loan funds,
assistance to widows, special charities). Under 'Treatment of the
Dependent' were included wards of the State, neglected children,
deserted wives, and the blind, deaf, and dumb. Under 'Reformation
of the Criminal' came discharged pensioners, reformatories, and
technical training. Finally there was a general group of topics
which included the responsibility of relations, work for the
unemployed, workmen's colonies, the liability of masters, and
public health.11

It was proudly claimed at the time that vigorous and kindly
charitable work had always been characteristic of the colonists,
hitherto there had been a lack of intercommunication between
them. The Conference would, it was hoped, begin 'an important era
in the history of philanthropic effort in the lands of the Southern
Cross.' The key lay in the principles of charity organization.
Without these, the benevolent would be imposed upon, some would be
helped many times over, while the deserving poor would often remain
unassisted.12

11 Proceedings, First Conference, pp. x-xi.
12 Proceedings, First Conference, Preface and p. 4.
The idea that each man could be master of his personal destiny was strong in the colonies. If he became destitute, it was attributed largely to his moral defectiveness. One of Australia's most notable early social workers wrote,

We may lay down as a general rule that it is vice and extravagance and improvidence that brings people to destitution.\(^\text{13}\)

The first two Conferences on Charity met in the shadow of a deepening economic depression, and papers on 'The Unemployed' were presented. One of these\(^\text{14}\) expressed views ahead of its time. It stated that it was not the fault of the unemployed that they were without work; it was the fault of the social system under which depressions periodically recurred. Moreover the validity of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' distinction was challenged,

yet how many pitiable cases there are, when one is familiar with their history, of which you feel doubtful if you would yourself be any better had you been subject to similar influences.

Even if it were a valid distinction, 'we should not rest satisfied until our charities are so regulated that every case can be met and provided for.' Significantly, the author praised the work of the Salvation Army, which tended to be classed as indiscriminate charity by the more 'advanced' charity workers.

\(^{13}\) C.H. Spence, *The Laws We Live Under*, p. 105. She did recognize that misfortune and bad health could bring people to want, but these were seen as being exceptional circumstances among the destitute.

'The Social Laboratory of the World'

The 1890's did usher in a new era for Australian philanthropy and charity, but scarcely in the way the sponsors of the First Conference on Charity anticipated.

During the twenty years 1880-1900, two related general developments took place which were to have a lasting effect upon provisions for those in, or likely to be in material distress. First, the Australian people, or rather a vigorous vocal section of them, became conscious of their nationhood, and at the turn of the century a federal system of government was inaugurated. Second, a working-class industrial and political movement, the Australian labour movement emerged.15

It has been pointed out that at the heart of Australian nationalism was an equalitarian social doctrine, a belief in equality of opportunity, and a conviction that in Australia men had a right to a good life.16 Those who accepted their 'appointed stations' were ridiculed. Joseph Furphy referred to 'compulsory-contented poverty'; those who accepted it, he wrote,

vote Conservative, work scab, and are rightly termed the 'deserving poor', inasmuch as they richly deserve every degree of poverty, every ounce of indignity, and every inch of condescension they stagger under.17

16 Ibid., p. 146.
17 Quoted - ibid., p. 147.
This outlook was not kindly disposed to private charity no matter how much distress needed alleviating. It was insisted that self-help through political and industrial action was the only self-respecting course. The depression of the 1890's brought into question the previous optimistic faith in the young country's unlimited progress and prosperity. It highlighted the inadequacy of private charitable provisions for those in material distress and witnessed the failure of direct industrial action. The arguments of those advocating political action therefore won increasing support.

As Australia moved into the twentieth century the state's role in ensuring the material well-being of its citizens was generally accepted. From the more negative aspect of regulating harmful environmental conditions, it was moving towards redistribution of wealth, and a minimum standard for all.

At federation, 'residual powers' on all matters not specified as Commonwealth matters were left with the States, including services of such social significance as education, health, housing and general care of the destitute. The only powers directly given to the Commonwealth in the social service field were in relation to quarantine and invalid and old age pensions. Yet it was the performance up to the first world war of the Commonwealth Parliament

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18 These they handled in a highly centralized way with little devolution to local governmental bodies.
in passing socio-economic legislation, as well as of the State Parliaments, that earned Australia the reputation of being 'the social laboratory of the world'.

The Commonwealth Parliament's performance has been summed up in this way:

Humanitarian liberalism, whether of the Deakin or Fisher variety, was in the ascendant until the war of 1914. Liberal and Labour governments testified in action to their belief in the efficacy of State enterprise. Their social and economic principles were worked out in the field of public policy, and by experimentation they endeavoured to forge new instruments of social and economic justice, of which arbitration, the basic wage, and "new protection" were perhaps the most striking. Social aims, however, touched almost all legislation, as may be seen in the fields of immigration, taxation, social services and defence.19

Although it has recently been challenged,20 the usual interpretation of this comparatively early extending of the functions of the state for social purposes is that it was the product not of theory but of circumstances.

The first major period of government social experimentation ended with the first world war.21 In the 1920's, the emphasis was much more upon material development.22 The economy became more

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21 Cairns relates this to the long-term relative impotence of the labour movement after its split over the conscription issue.
22 Even in 1919, however, it was being said that Australia's achievements in social legislation, were 'commonly exaggerated both in their scope and their novelty.' Meredith Atkinson, The New Social Order, pp. 273-4.
diversified, real wages increased and agriculture expanded, but already by 1928, growing unemployment was causing concern.  

The stage reached by government social policy in Australia by the end of the 1920's was briefly this:

As yet, effort to achieve minimum material standards of well-being had been concentrated on wages and working conditions rather than on social services. With the three-fold purpose of preventing sweated labour, holding industrial disputes in check, and providing a living wage for the average Australian family, a complex system of wage regulation had come into existence. Acting under Federal and State Arbitration Acts, industrial tribunals decided on what should be the basic wage and what margins for skill should be paid, taking into account factors like the cost of living, the size of the family unit, and the capacity of the industry to pay. One effect of the wage-fixing system had been to encourage unionism amongst a people already inclined to collectivist industrial action. About one Australian in seven was now a trade unionist, a proportion unequalled.

in any other country. 25

In the previous few years, the idea of supplementing wages by payments for dependent children had received attention by both Commonwealth and State Governments. Since 1920, the Commonwealth Government for its own officials, and since 1927, the New South Wales Government for the general public, had been running limited child endowment schemes. Two Commonwealth Royal Commissions - on the Basic Wage in 1920, and on Child Endowment in 1927 - and premiers' conferences had considered a national child endowment scheme, but no action had been taken, because of difficulties over finance, and because the Commonwealth had been unable to secure full control over wage-fixing machinery. 26

By the end of the 1920's, Australia's population policies already had had a long history. Colonial Governments since the 1830's, and the Commonwealth Government since 1920 had used assisted passages to capture their share of British emigration. 1861-1929, the average rate of growth of Australia's population had been amongst the highest in the world. A quarter of this growth had come from immigration in three main periods - up to 1891, 1907-13, and 1920-9 -

25 W.K. Hancock, Australia, p. 166.
and much of this had been assisted immigration from the United Kingdom. No vigorous government action had been taken, however, to assist the rapidly declining birth-rate which had become a feature of Western industrial societies. Since 1912, there had been a universal Commonwealth maternity allowance but this was not envisaged as a baby bonus. Also the existing very limited child endowment schemes only made a small contribution to the economic costs of child-rearing.

Early in the life of the colonies, the political and social concept of 'White Australia' had begun to appear. At federation, the exclusion of non-European or coloured people had emerged as a fully fledged national policy to protect the Australian way of life, in particular its material standard of living. By the late 1920's, for more than a generation Australian society had been sheltering behind this policy and also behind a tariff wall. The Australian

28 Ibid.
The first official enquiry in the English-speaking world into the decline of the birth rate actually took place in New South Wales in 1904. It was not that Australians were unaware of the trend.
29 Kewley, in *Economic Papers* No. 7, p. 15.
standard of living had become sacred, at least as far as the wage earners were concerned. But what government provision was there when earnings were interrupted or ceased?

Some measure of income security in old age and disablement had been provided by the Commonwealth Government since its 1908 Act. £10 million annually was now being paid to 145,000 age pensioners and almost 60,000 invalid pensioners. The limited non-contributory principle was still being used. Contributory schemes had been spasmodically considered, however, since 1910. In particular, a full-scale enquiry by a Royal Commission on national insurance covering not only old age and invalidity, but also casual sickness, maternity and unemployment, had recently been held.

This Commission had found existing systems of mutual and other assistance very inadequate. Their recommended compulsory national insurance scheme covering sickness, invalidity, maternity, and old age; their national health scheme; and their proposed unemployment insurance scheme and national system of employment bureaux, had not, however, been implemented. The major obstacles had been Commonwealth-State relationships, political change, and difficulties

32 This had superseded the old-age pensions introduced by N.S.W. and Victoria (1901) and Queensland (1908), and the invalid pensions introduced in N.S.W. (1908).
33 Commonwealth Year Book, No. 23-1930, p. 268.
over finance as the depression began. The only government-sponsored social insurance scheme, one for unemployment insurance, had been in operation in Queensland since 1923. In 1925, the New South Wales Government had introduced a widows' pension, but like the Commonwealth age and invalid pensions it was on a limited, non-contributory basis. Only in relation to a special section of the community, ex-servicemen and their dependants, had the Commonwealth Government's social provision been extended since the war. War pensions, medical treatment, assistance with surgical appliances, living allowances, vocational training, help with children's education, with settlement on the land, and with home building, all had come to be included in the Commonwealth repatriation scheme.

Already by the late 1920's, there had come into existence an extensive array of health services, many of them government-run or government-subsidized. Yet the Royal Commission on National Insurance had found them deficient in a number of respects - hospital accommodation in the capital cities was generally insufficient; the middle income groups received inadequate hospital care; local government authorities were responsible for much of the detailed administration of public health measures but were ill-equipped for it; in some States

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maternal welfare was not connected with the State Health Department; the medical examination of school children was an under-developed service; Australia was far behind in preventive medicine despite its low mortality rate; and so on. Increasingly, however, a national viewpoint on health matters had developed. In 1921, the Commonwealth Department of Health had been formed. Five years later after a Royal Commission on Health, a Federal Health Council had been established 'for the purpose of securing closer cooperation between the Commonwealth and State Health Authorities.'

From a long-term point of view, one of the most important trends which was taking place was a general shift of governmental power, particularly financial power from a State to a federal level. Already in the fields of loan policy and credit policy, federal authorities had the whip-hand over the States. Many important social policies, for example, in connection with education and child welfare, which were still theoretically entirely in the hands of the States, were now likely to be influenced by the Commonwealth's economic policy.

While government social policy and provision had been built up over the past couple of generations, there had been a parallel growth in non-government provision. In fact, 'the welfare society'

Birch, Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation, pp. 210-211.
41 J.D.B. Miller, Australian Government and Policies, pp. 147-150.
of which 'the welfare state' was just a part had been emerging, encouraged by the urban and industrial expansion, a recognition of new categories of need (some of them not confined to material things), a community response to a nation at war, and an increase in the numbers of middle-class citizens, women in particular, with time and money to devote to 'charity,' or 'welfare work,' or 'church work,' or whatever else they called it.

The 1925-7 Royal Commission on Social Insurance had found that numerous charitable relief-giving organizations were then operating throughout the Commonwealth. Some had existed for many years. Many had been founded by the principal religious denominations 'to relieve the poor, the distressed, and afflicted and also to assist in the suppression of begging and the encouragement of self-help.' Special investigation officers visited applicants' homes regularly to ascertain their 'character and general circumstances.'

The outdoor relief provided was usually in the form of food, fuel, clothing, bedding, financial aid, finding employment, purchasing tools for employment, starting small businesses, and arranging for a rest and change in the country; cash was seldom given. Single men were provided with food and shelter, but there was an unwillingness to assist able-bodied men. Some temporary assistance was given, however, to 'the deserving unemployed.'

The Commission had found that indoor relief consisted of benevolent asylums, even-tide homes for the aged, homes for patients
awaiting hospital treatment, hospices providing free shelter and
food for destitute men, refuges for women in distress, industrial
homes for adults, homes for the care of girls and boys, and homes
for infants and young children. The charges for accommodation were
either small or non-existent.

Many organizations were providing relief for the same class of
person; sometimes in the same area of a city. Several attempts had
been made to establish a central coordinating organization in each
State but many factors had prevented cooperation between the various
societies.

The funds of the charitable societies were privately donated or
collected from charitably disposed people, and generally were sub-
sidized by the State Governments, although some societies had
remained independent of government aid. Appeals were constantly
being made through the daily press for assistance in special cases
of extreme distress. Most of those employed by the charitable organi-
zations dispensing outdoor relief were unpaid. 42

There was, then, in the 1920's a fair measure of voluntary
social welfare activity concerned with basic material needs. In
addition, there were a growing number of voluntary groups concerned
with other aspects of the community's social welfare - health,

42 Third Progress Report, Royal Commission on Social Insurance,
p. 6-7.
recreation, education, the reformation of legal offenders, and so on. 

It is probable that many of the Australian social agencies had been moulded by overseas, particularly British example. Few of the Australian agencies were large and well endowed; however, and they would therefore have been but pale reflections of overseas models. Two distinctively Australian agencies, Legacy Clubs and the Flying Doctor Service, had recently appeared on the social welfare scene, but such novelty was rare.

Of extreme importance to the social work training movement which was about to take root was the nature of the people already involved in the administration of social provision. Paid Commonwealth and State male public servants, drawn from the general public service pools, were administering social legislation. There was little recognition that persons working in this or any other part

43 Some indication of the general growth of voluntary activity, at least in Sydney, is given by a comparison of J. Carlile Fox, The Social Workers' Guide for Sydney and New South Wales, 1911, with N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Directory of Social Agencies, Sydney, 1933.

44 Composed of ex-servicemen whose principal aim was to assist the dependants, and particularly the children, of fallen comrades.

45 This Service began modestly on a denominational basis in 1928. Thirty years later it covered two-thirds of Australia, its radio network affording a means of social and business intercourse as well as medical coverage. Together with the Country Women's Association it greatly encouraged family life in the Australian hinterland.


Royal Flying Doctor Service of Australia, Royal Flying Doctor Service, Australia, 1957.
of the public service needed any special ability or training. Most non-government social agencies relied upon unpaid, voluntary work, which tended to mean women doing the greater part of the execution of policy, and men, employed elsewhere, sitting on boards and committees in their spare time helping with financial and general policy matters.

Attitudes to women in early twentieth century Australian society channelled them into this work. Despite their early political recognition, women were still not expected to be active in the business world or in the affairs of the nation. The woman's place was in the home, but it was acceptable for her to undertake welfare work — indeed, in some circles, membership of certain welfare organizations became a badge of social respectability. This was, then, one of the few areas outside the home in which women could use their talents. A woman supported by her husband or by a private income was, from a financial viewpoint, the ideal worker for agencies which were not financially robust. In addition, some felt that women had greater sympathy and understanding of people in trouble, particularly women and children.

46 Women were enfranchised in South Australia as early as 1894.  
47 By the late 1920's, Australia had only a slightly greater number of males; ninety years earlier, males outnumbered females by more than two to one. (Commonwealth Year Book, No. 23-1930, p.664.) The early imbalances of the sexes helped to determine lasting sex roles in the emerging society. It also encouraged Australia's 'mateship' doctrine; the imbalance was greatest in the bush.
The general public were not excited by social problems without obvious political overtones. Their view was, as in other matters, 'there will be a government department dealing with that.' Those few problems which were not covered by government departments could well be left to the gentle ministrations of womenfolk and, to a lesser extent, clergy. Whatever the reasons, and cause and effect are peculiarly difficult to untangle in this question, non-government executive social work had become strongly identified with women.

At the end of the 1920's, there was, then, this cleavage in Australian social administration. On the one hand was an approach through broad legislative measures, sponsored by political parties and administered by government, largely male officials; on the other was an approach through numerous small voluntary organizations, catering for individual needs, sponsored by a wide variety of citizen groups or churches, with detailed work largely in the hands of unpaid women in the higher income groups.

The Case for Training Social Workers

The movement for training persons administering social provision began in Australia in the late 1920's. In the following decade, a period which witnessed a far-reaching breakdown of the economic life of the country, the case for training social workers was presented in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Its arguments dealt with community trends favourable to social work training, with the defects of un-
trained social workers, and with the advantages of trained social workers. In composite form the case was this —

The problems which concern social workers are becoming more complex. Social problems old and new, associated with the increasing industrialization and urban congestion call for 'continuous and persistent study.' 'The attack upon social inefficiency has not kept pace with the improvement of industrial technique.' Industrial society creates tension and anxiety, and the present economic depression has thrown into sharp relief the difficulties which many people find in adjusting themselves to their complex civilization. In complicated modern conditions, social service, to be service, needs a new understanding. There is, moreover, much more behind even simple social problems than has been previously realized.

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48 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1929-33.
Age, 22.2.34 - 'New Educational Experiment.'
Age, 27.6.35 - 'Social Work.'
Advertiser, 12.1.38 - 'Marion March tells how Women are Training to be Scientists in Human Aid.'

49 Argus, 3.4.33 - 'Problems of Poverty.'
Also: Advertiser, 28.10.37 - 'Social Study and Training: Sir Stanton Hicks Urges Need: No Limits to Problems.'

50 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R.1933.
Argus, 3.4.33.

51 J.T. Massey and Stella Pines, 'Social Service as a Career,' ms. Radio discussion, Adelaide, 17.2.36.

52 Jocelyn S. Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training,' ms. Article sent to the Hospital Magazine, 27.7.38.
Matching this complexity, continued the case, is a growing fund of useful knowledge which in some places is leading to a revision of older methods and experimenting with new ones. The beneficial pooling of knowledge by professional people—doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists—on particular social work cases tends to occur only if the social worker is also a professional person. The realization that there can be a systematic study of social service work is relatively recent, but not to use available knowledge is wasteful in human and monetary terms. Voluntary social workers, because they usually have other claims on their time, cannot be expected to study the subject in detail, or learn of modern methods and experiments overseas.

There has been a striking growth in social services over the last fifty years. With the increased sense of community responsibility which this reflects, there has come less satisfaction 'with haphazard, and comparatively uninformed tinkering with problems.'

53 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus 1932-33.
Argus, 3.4.33.
Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.'
54 Advertiser, 12.1.38.
55 J. (later Sir John) Medley, Address, A.M., V.C.S.T., 10.5.39, ms.
56 Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.'
57 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus 1929-30.
A. Boyce Gibson, 'The Training of Social Workers,' Age, 12.10.38.
Advertiser, 28.10.37.
Also: Argus, 3.4.33.
Advertiser, 20.1.35; 12.1.38.
This does not just apply to voluntary work. Unless public servants are trained, 'routine administration of social legislation affecting masses of lives' is likely to be detrimental to individual welfare — so it was claimed.

The growth in social provision emphasizes the need for co-ordination and co-operation if it is to be effective.

There has been in the past, particularly in the sphere of Social Service, an immense duplication of effort and consequent dilution and dissipation of valuable energy. There are an almost infinite number of societies, bodies, organisations, leagues, and whatnot engaged in doing substantially the same things in very much the same ways... (It) is just such uneconomical and decentralized activity that forms the foundation of one of the main criticisms that are nowadays being hurled at democracy and democratic institutions.

In time of depression particularly, money available for charitable and welfare purposes is limited.

The voluntary untrained worker still has a part to play, the argument ran, but it should be a more restricted one.

Social Service...has always tended to be the preserve of the amateur who is inevitably apt from the best of motives

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58 Advertiser, 12.1.38.
59 Argus, 3.4.33; 28.11.34 — 'Training of Women for Social Service: Personality Must Not be Overlooked.'
60 Medley, Address, 10.5.39.
61 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1933.
62 Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.' Age, 12.10.38.

Some insisted that voluntary untrained workers would have far more effective work to do, when they accepted the assistance of trained direction, e.g. Medley, Address, 10.5.39.

In general, comment on the performance of existing people in social service work had to be handled with care, for the training movement needed their support not alienation.
to rush in where a professional would tread with some circumspection... (If) there is one department of life in which circumspection is desirable it is that in which people are dealing with the needs and difficulties of others.  

Untrained social workers have to learn through a system of apprenticeship and experience which, it was argued, is slow, haphazard, places a strain on the worker, and costly in terms of mistakes with clients and general inefficiency; and at least a few of them are themselves aware of this. Mistakes in social work are often paid for by human suffering - a high price for humanitarians. Put bluntly, inadequate social work is worse than none.  

Mistakes in relief-giving have come largely from a lack of thorough investigation of the circumstances of applicants. Investigation or study as some prefer to call it (investigation having 'detection' overtones) is a necessary pre-requisite for assisting people, whether with material or other help. Indiscriminate material giving is likely to be harmful to applicants as well as a waste of charitable funds. The untrained worker tends to get immersed in

63 Medley, Address, 10.5.39.  
64 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1931-33; A.R. 1933.  
   Argus, 10.5.35 - 'Council of Social Training: Value of Training for Welfare Work.'  
   Massey and Pines, 'Social Service as a Career.'  
65 Argus, 6.2.35 - 'Training Social Workers.'  
66 With some, the emphasis was mainly on the latter, e.g.  
   Herald, 22.2.34 - 'Work for the Poor: Expert Social Training'; and  
   Leslie M. Henderson, 'Training Social Workers: The Board of Social Studies', Argus, 28.2.34. Significantly here in a description of two cases of imposition, a couple were called 'worthless cadgers,' and a woman was 'known to everyone in the district, including the police, to be worthless, dirty and hopelessly improvident.' This was not the language of modern social work.
'doing' and 'giving.' In progressive modern social agencies, the emphasis now is on 'finding out,' and suspending judgement until the facts are known, the most important aspect being the problem as the client sees it— for after all it is his problem.67 Helping people to help themselves is too little the aim and still less the achievement of untrained workers. If it is true that now the younger generation more often need to earn a living and therefore social workers have to be paid, they should be trained to be worthy of their hire.68 General community arrangements for social welfare are not critically evaluated, ran the case. It tends to be assumed that because social agencies are in existence, social welfare is being promoted. A closer examination of welfare programs would lead to 'a more vivid consideration for other people—a much greater respect for personality.' It is also likely to reveal a 'double-standard' in the community. How many social workers would like to be their own client or patient or case? As far as the so-called 'social services' are concerned, one section of the community is inextricably involved in them, while the rest are aloof from them. Is this what we mean by democratic institutions?69

67 Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.' Also: V.C.S.T., The Trained Social Worker.
68 Actually conception of the causal relationships between training, professionalism, paid and unpaid work, full-time and part-time work, varied. See e.g. V.C.S.T., 'Training for Social Service...'; A.R. 1937. Argus, 22.12.34 - 'Social Workers: Desirability of Training.' Argus, 6.2.35; 10.5.35.
Australians need to think more about social progress. The trained social workers have many advantages over their untrained predecessors or colleagues. They have learned ways of being reasonably efficient in a complex society. They have knowledge of the community's resources for aid and relief, and are aware of the need among the multiplying remedial societies for cooperation on cases to prevent overlapping. This avoids imposture, but more important, it means handling of cases from a social casework point of view is not unnecessarily divided. In addition, a widespread employment of trained social workers by social agencies will help to make apparent a shared general purpose for all social services and make cooperation more of a reality — so ran the argument.

Trained social workers have had an opportunity to broaden their knowledge of social conditions, not only through academic study but through actual observation and experience. This, together with their knowledge of the social services, equips them to be constructively critical of the community's arrangements for social welfare and about

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70 They are organized into groups too well-defined and isolated; they find it difficult to participate, even by criticism, in government which is largely centralized; they are ignorant of the social order and the lives of other citizens; and they are too busy living their own lives, which are comfortable enough. Ibid.

71 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1929-32.

72 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus, 1931-32.

73 Medley, Address, 10.5.39.
the social health of the community in general.74

Instead of being content with palliative measures, they are concerned with finding the root causes of social breakdown, and doing something about them both in individual cases and in community action. It is on this that their claim to be doing 'scientific' work is based. They recognize that they have an important preventive role to play.

For their responsibilities trained social workers are equipped with relevant knowledge about individuals and the community and have skill in tested social work techniques. They are keenly aware of individual differences and are alive to the multiple causes of social maladjustment. Their job is seen to include helping individuals to adjust on a psychological and social level as well as on an economic one, and they are fully aware that their work affects 'the moral and mental welfare as well as the physical well-being of people.'75

The personality of the client is respected by trained workers, continued the case. They are not condescending; neither are they 'Nosey Parkers' nor 'Lady Bountifuls;' and they do not make themselves indispensable. Apart from other considerations, their aim of helping

74 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1929-32. Director, V.C.S.T., to Editor, Hospital Magazine, 29.9.39.
75 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus 1932-33; A.R.1934. Argus, 3.4.33; 28.11.34; 10.5.35; 27.6.35 - 'Psychology for Social Workers: Sympathy with Unemployed.' Age, 27.6.35 - 'Social Work.' Advertiser, 28.10.37. V.C.S.T., The Trained Social Worker. Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.'
the client to help himself precludes these things. Not only are they aware of the personality needs of their clients, but they have a heightened self-awareness which helps them to guard against fulfilling their own personality needs at the expense of their clients.

Social work requires a suitable personality. Training is no substitute for natural aptitude, but it is necessary to develop aptitude fully. All trained social workers have been screened at least to some extent, on the grounds of their personal suitability to do the work.

In short, trained social workers can be a powerful force for helping people with problems. Not only this, but by reducing the number of society's passengers, they reduce the cost of social provision.

So ran the various arguments of the case. They were rooted as much in opinion and hope as in fact, but they do indicate new attitudes in the 1930's to social provision in Australia. They were attitudes nurtured by the size of the cities, the increased

76 Argus, 10.5.35.
Hyslop, 'The Victorian Council for Social Training.'
Age, 12.10.38.
V.C.S.T., The Trained Social Worker.
77 Age, 27.2.34; 12.10.38.
Advertiser, 12.1.38.
Argus, 28.11.34; 29.11.34.
78 Age, 12.10.38.
difficulty of effective social provision despite ever growing funds for the purpose, some advance in psychology and the social sciences in Australia, and by observation of developments overseas.

The stage has now been set for an examination of the immediate origins and early years of the Australian social work training bodies, and of the fortunes of those trained by these bodies.
In the troubled decade immediately before the second world war, five social work training bodies were formed in Australia. Three of these, in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, were general ones; the other two, located in Melbourne and Sydney, were concerned with training for medical social work. This was a period of struggle for the Australian training movement - to find appropriate standards, to gain community acceptance, and to remain solvent - and its tensions, especially in Sydney, were to carry over into more secure times. By the first year of the war, the product of the movement was still only just over fifty qualified social workers in Sydney, the same number in Melbourne, and a dozen in Adelaide. Moreover, only a proportion of these were in social work employment. But a start to an important venture had been made.

In the founding of each of the training bodies, overseas example played a significant part. In the rather later developments, interstate example also played its part.

The Creation of Training Bodies

The suggestion for a general training scheme for social work in New South Wales came from a non-sectarian federation of a large

1 See Appendix 4.
number of women's organizations, the National Council of Women. Several senior members of Sydney University's academic staff subsequently combined with representatives of this Council to draw up a scheme of studies. Since many organizations were needed to assist with practical work in the course, they were invited to participate in its management. In July, 1928, seventeen people, representing fourteen organizations interested in social work, enthusiastically agreed to form a Board 'to establish and control a specialized educational course for social workers.' Early in 1929, a constitution was adopted and the New South Wales Board of Social Study and Training, the first Australian general training body for social work, came into existence.

Meanwhile in Melbourne a series of events was leading to the establishment of a training body for medical social work. In 1927, after an overseas tour, R.J. Love, the Inspector of Charities and Secretary of the Victorian Hospitals and Charities Board, reported

2 The convenor of the Council's Standing Committee on Education, Isabel Fidler, first suggested this in October 1927. She was familiar with the British training scene; was Sydney University's first tutor to women students and Manning House's first President; and was prominent in the university women's settlement at Chippendale. S.M.H., 22.1.30.

For a general account of the founding of the N.S.W. B.S.S.T., see N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1939-40 - Survey of the Board's work 1928-40.

3 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Report 1930.

4 A Hospitals and Charities Act in 1922 set up this Board to act in an advisory capacity in systematizing the work of all agencies giving relief in sickness, distress and destitution, and which derived at least some of their income from private contributions.
to the Victorian Parliament. He had been impressed by the way a hospital was seen in other countries as part of the whole social welfare structure. Hospital almoner departments were instrumental in achieving this and he recommended their adoption in Australia. But they were to be run by full-time, qualified staff. Further, each non-medical society or group of societies was urged to appoint a full-time qualified officer. R.J. Love envisaged one grand scheme of social welfare with overlapping and duplication eliminated through a comprehensive system of referrals.

Shortly after this Report's appearance, the President of the Queen Victoria Hospital for Women and Children, Mrs. Norman Brookes, visited several large hospitals in England. Her scepticism about 'the almoner system' changed to enthusiasm. On her return to Melbourne, she convened a meeting of representatives of charitable organizations to hear R.J. Love speak on the need to establish an almoner system in Victoria. At this meeting, support was given to the idea but there were doubts about the hospitals bearing the cost and the State Government assisting financially; also, the value of existing hospital auxiliary workers was emphasized.

At a follow up meeting held in the office of the Hospitals and

6 Argus, 26.11.28.
Age, 26.11.28.
Charities Board and presided over by an eminent doctor, Sir George Syme, a decision was made to inaugurate a scheme for training almoners. Early in May 1929, it was resolved that a Central Almoners' Council should be formed; that in organization and development it follow the London Institute of Almoners (with modifications to meet local conditions); that it consist of representatives of interested organizations; that it confine its activities primarily to 'the education and training of almoners and to essential propaganda work'; that it try to secure the services of Anne Cummins of the British Institute; that, for efficiency, it be closely linked with the Charity Organisation Society; and finally, that philanthropic trusts and benevolent citizens be asked for financial support (there was to be no public appeal). At the end of May, on a motion of R.J. Love, 'The Victorian Institute of Almoners' was formed.

Early in 1930, these developments joined fully with another development which had centred around the Melbourne Hospital. In 1922, an auxiliary unit run by volunteers had been formed at the hospital and this included a relief section. In 1927, Mrs. Kent Hughes, a member of the unit and formerly a nursing sister at the Hospital,

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7 These resolutions were largely the work of a sub-committee consisting of representatives of the Queen Victoria Hospital, Women's Hospital, Melbourne Hospital Almoner Department, District Nursing Society, Ladies' Benevolent Societies, and Charity Organisation Society; only one of whom was male.

Minutes of the preliminary meetings from 27.3.29 are recorded in the Minute Book, V.I.A.

8 At the last minute, this name was preferred to 'Central Almoners' Council.'
spent a period with Anne Cummins at St. Thomas's in London. On her return, she urged the employment of a qualified almoner at the Melbourne Hospital. The outcome was the appointment in June 1929 of Agnes Macintyre from St. Thomas's, her boat fares and initial salary having been guaranteed by the Hospital's auxiliary. 9

Soon after her arrival in Melbourne she began training three prospective almoners within the Melbourne Hospital. Early in 1930, after the Institute of Almoners had been unsuccessful in gaining Anne Cummins' services, 10 it invited Agnes Macintyre to become its Directress of Training, clerical help being offered to the Hospital to compensate for the time she would spend on Institute affairs. She and the Hospital accepted, and so training for medical social work in Melbourne became centred upon the Melbourne Hospital. 11

In 1933, 'Hospital' was inserted before 'Almoners' in the Institute's name to signify a narrower scope than that envisaged by

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9 Dorothy Bethune, 'An Historical Survey of Almoner Work in Victoria', ms.

The Melbourne Hospital accepted full financial responsibility for the Almoner Department in 1931.

10 She was available for only two months and it was decided, though not unanimously, that the expense involved did not warrant her coming. From 1905 to 1929 she had developed the Almoner's Department at St. Thomas's.

V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 23.10.29; 20.11.29; 22.1.30: A.R.1930.


Argus, 13.3.29; 29.3.29.

Herald, 30.4.29; 8.6.29.

its founders. Until then, certainly it had only trained hospital almoners, but its course had been a two-year one which had included much general social work training. Now that a general social work training of two years under another body was being developed, the Institute decided to provide a one-year specialist training in medical social work following the general training.

As early as April 1930, Dr. Ethel Osborne speculated that the almoner training might be developed into a University School of Social Science. Shortly after, the recently-founded Victorian Council for Mental Hygiene approached the Melbourne University to establish a School of Social Training, but the University Council decided it was not equipped for the purpose. The Institute of Almoners immediately wrote urging the University to develop the course as soon as possible.

In June 1931, the Presidents of the Council for Mental Hygiene, the Institute of Almoners, the Charity Organisation Society, the Central Council of Benevolent Societies, and the National Young Women's Christian Association of Australia, together with the Director of Education, convened a meeting at the Melbourne Town Hall; Sir Richard Stawell, President of the Council for Mental Hygiene, presided.

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13 V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 23.4.30; 26.1.30; 18.3.31; 20.5.31.
Memorandum of the Committee on Training for Social Work, ms., November, 1931.
Beforehand it was decided to use this meeting to stimulate interest, and to make a fresh approach to the University through a selected committee - rather than immediately form a large unwieldy body to promote training. 15

The consequent Committee on Social Training was to investigate developing a general social work course, preferably in association with the University. For a year and a half it did much public relations work, at the same time consulting with the University over a course and its management. The University remained firm. It was willing only to be officially represented on an independent controlling body, not to run a course itself for it considered it could have neither adequate nor expert control over the practical work, nor could it provide teaching in psychology. 16

To make a start in the 1933 academic year, the Committee on Social Training appointed a Board of Studies to supervise a course. It also decided to have a direct link with many more organizations than those originally responsible for its own formation. 17 So at a meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall in June 1933, a widely-representa-

15 Agnes Macintyre to Dr. J. Newman Morris, 3.6.31.
16 Jean Brett, Honorary Secretary of the Victorian Board of Social Studies, to Edith Eckhard, Social Science Department, London School of Economics and Political Science, 10.5.33.
17 Memorandum and Constitution sent to potential members of the V.C.S.T. by the Committee on Social Training before the meeting on 16.6.33, (typescript).
tive Victorian Council for Social Training was formed, and Australia's second general social work training body came into existence.

Meanwhile events in Sydney were moving towards the founding of Australia's second specialist training body for medical social work. In October 1931, the Directress of Training and the Secretary of the Victorian Institute of Almoners went to Sydney to discuss the establishing of training for medical social work there with representatives of the Rachel Forster Hospital and the Board of Social Study and Training. Their conferring ended with a meeting attended by 'many prominent citizens' who were addressed by the Board's President, Professor Tasman Lovell, and Dr. R.B. Wade.

Soon after this, the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children sent one of the first people trained by the Board, Stella Davies, to do the British Institute of Hospital Almoners' course. In 1932, the Rachel Forster Hospital did the same with its former secretary, Katherine Ogilvie. In 1934, both these people, now qualified almoners, assisted in the training of three students who were taking

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18 This hospital was situated in Redfern and provided 'medical care by medical women for necessitous women and children.' N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Directory of Social Agencies, Sydney, p. 82.
19 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1932.
   In 1932, Dr. Wade became President of the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, 1935-37, he was President of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons. Who's Who, 1938.
20 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1932.
a specialist course in medical social work established by the Board. This course followed the Board's general one and was organized by a sub-committee. Its management was severely criticized by the two qualified almoners, Katharine Ogilvie in particular, and a strong case was made for setting up a separate Institute of Hospital Almoners, as in Melbourne and in London. The Board's Director expressed disapproval of the English-type apprenticeship almoner courses run by independent specialist bodies, but the move for a separate Institute gathered strength. In October 1935, the Hospitals Commission appointed a committee to explore the possibilities of forming an Institute, to make preliminary arrangements, and to appoint an experienced Almoner-in-Charge of Training who was to work in a general hospital.

The Medical Superintendent of the Sydney Hospital, Dr. C. A. Telfer, had recently returned from abroad, and was keen to have an Almoner Department in his hospital. Mainly through him, the Sydney Hospital and the Hospitals Commission appointed Helen Rees, an experienced English almoner who had been the Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners' Directress of Training, to open an Almoner Department at

21 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1934.
22 Katharine Ogilvie, 'Points to be Considered in Favour of the Formation of an Institute,' ms.
23 Significantly the Board always used the American terminology 'medical (or hospital) social work,' 'medical social worker,' and 'social service department.'
24 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1936.
the Sydney Hospital and to establish a training scheme. She took up her post in June 1936.

In November of that year, the Minister for Health presided over a meeting of sixty people - representatives of the Sydney University, the Board of Social Study and Training, the hospitals and public health services, prominent members of the medical profession, and people interested in social work. Dr. R.B. Wade, after tracing the growth of the almoner movement in the United Kingdom, successfully moved that the New South Wales Institute of Hospital Almoners be formed, to act as a training body, and, like the Victorian Institute, to keep a register of trained almoners and to develop their work and employment opportunities. In April 1937 a constitution was adopted.\(^{25}\)

The general training body, the Board of Social Study and Training, was not happy about this development:

> In view of the trend everywhere towards coordination of social services, the Board, which has had experience and has given much thought and investigation to (training for hospital social work)...can only regret that the Hospitals Commission should have taken independent action.\(^{26}\)

But it gave the Institute grudging cooperation when it saw there was no real alternative. Relations between certain members of the two training bodies remained very strained, however.

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25 N.S.W. I.H.A., Minutes, 26.11.36; 29.4.37; A.R.1938.
26 Katharine Ogilvie, *Twenty Years A'Growing,* ms.
26 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R.1936.
The four training bodies already considered arose in Australia's two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne. A fifth emerged in the mid-1930's in the much smaller city of Adelaide. The main immediate reason for the training movement's appearance in Adelaide was the energetic promoting of Stella Pines.  

In April 1935, she began to enlist the interest of people connected with philanthropic and educational organizations. In September, on her prompting, the Lord Mayor presided over a meeting at the Adelaide Town Hall, and the 25 people present formed themselves into a Committee to draw up a constitution and a curriculum. This Committee immediately called itself a Board of Social Service Training. A sub-committee of the Board subsequently successfully approached the University of Adelaide for its cooperation, and at

27 A nursing sister of the first world war, she spent some years in North America, including a period in Ida Cannon's social service department at the Massachusetts General Hospital. In the early 1930's she was in Sydney, then was connected with the beginning of the Victorian Centenary College of Nursing in Melbourne. In 1934 she was not accepted as a trained almoner by the Victorian Institute. She was unsuccessful in her application to become the Director of the South Australian training body she did so much to create. Her next move was to Brisbane where again she attempted to promote social work training, but this time without success. In 1943, she was connected with the forming of an Institute of Occupational Therapists in Melbourne.  

Advertiser, 20.12.35  
S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 24.1.36.  
V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 21.2.34; 21.9.43.  
Registrar, University of Queensland, to Registrar, University of Sydney, 3.3.38. (Fisher Library Archives).  

28 Its influential Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Mitchell (see A.P. Rowe, If the Gown Fits, p. 36), showed particular interest in the idea, but declined to become the Board's President because of his University position.  

Secretary, B.S.S.T., to Dr. F.W. Richards, 2.4.36.
the end of November a constitution was adopted. In April 1937, the name of the training body was changed to 'Board of Social Study and Training.'

**An Australian Council**

During the early period of these training bodies, occasionally correspondence passed between them and their officers met unofficially, but they had no formal machinery for cooperation. With models in Britain and the United States very much in mind, the three general training bodies agreed in 1938 to form an Australian body.

Early in 1937 came a suggestion from Sydney that an 'Australian Council for Social Studies', similar to the Joint University Council for Social Studies in England, be formed. At the same time it was mentioned that for two years the Sydney Board had been considering an Australian Conference of Social Work and the next year's 150th anniversary celebrations of Australia's founding would be an appropri-

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29 S.A. B.S.S.T.'s Minute Book records all the early meetings.
30 In October 1936, it was decided the name should be 'Board of Study and Training for Social Service,' but the Director and others opposed this and the decision was not implemented.
   S.A. B.S.S.T., A.M., Minutes, 26.10.36; Exec., Minutes, 9.11.36; Minutes, 6.4.37.
   W.R. Bayly to Dr. H.A. Powell, 11.3.37.
31 Especially the Directors of the Adelaide and Melbourne general training bodies, for at first the Adelaide Director's home was in Melbourne. Aileen Fitzpatrick to Amy Wheaton, 26.11.36 - 'I am quite envious that you and Miss Hyslop are able to foregather so easily.'
ate time to hold it.\(^{32}\)

Three months later, the Sydney Board had decided to hold an Australian Conference of Social Work, provided the Adelaide and Melbourne schools cooperated, and it mooted a preliminary conference of the schools to consider this. In November it suggested there were many matters the schools should discuss together. By the end of March 1938, Sydney had prepared an agenda for a conference of schools of social work in Sydney near the end of May.\(^{33}\)

Its object now was not planning an Australian Conference of Social Work (this idea lapsed), but a discussion of common problems, and consideration of a federal organization of the schools. A strong reason for holding it in May was that Gertrude Vaile, a Committee member of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, could attend.\(^{34}\)

The Conference was held, but only after last-minute cooperation.

\(^{32}\) A. Fitzpatrick to S.A. B.S.S.T., 18.2.37.

The Adelaide Director considered the Council an excellent idea and the Conference would be most interesting if sufficient numbers could be induced to attend. 'There is not sufficient coordination of efforts or exchange of ideas in Australia - partly on account of the distances.'

\(^{33}\) Director, N.S.W. B.S.S.T., to Director, S.A. B.S.S.T., 19.5.37; 9.11.37; 28.3.38.

\(^{34}\) She was Associate Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. For a few months in 1938, she was in Australia, mainly in Sydney where she lectured for the Board and visited agencies, government ones in particular.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R.1939.
on the part of the Melbourne and Adelaide schools. At the final session, a constitution for a formal association between the schools was discussed. By the end of 1938, a constitution had been decided upon, and the 'Australian Council of Schools of Social Work' formally came into existence. It was to promote the education and training of social workers, to provide for cooperation between members, to encourage them to attain standards which would ensure reciprocity with recognized schools abroad, and to act on an interstate, Commonwealth and international level with these objects in mind. Before the Australian Council had had time to become more than just a name the war intervened.

Financial Insecurity

A strong factor in the formation of the Council was hope of

35 Correspondence between the States before the Conference was heavy and sometimes at cross purposes. The Directress of Training of the V.I.H.A. attended the Conference, but as a member of the V.C.S.T.'s Executive; the Almoner-in-Charge of Training of the N.S.W. I.H.A. was not invited. N.S.W. I.H.A., Council, Minutes, 17.5.38.


37 One of the main obstacles to agreement had been the name. The N.S.W. B.S.S.T. and the S.A. B.S.S.T. (though less strongly) preferred the one adopted, which was the American terminology and in line with the 'International Committee of Schools of Social Work.' The V.C.S.T. wanted 'Australian Council for Social Study and Training, for 'school of social work' was not in regular use in Australia or Britain. Correspondence on the issue is plentiful.

38 Australian Council of Schools of Social Work, Constitution, (typescript).

The Council's first President was the V.C.S.T.'s President; its Secretary, the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.'s President; and its Treasurer, the S.A. B.S.S.T.'s Director.
of financial assistance from the Federal Government. The general training bodies experienced extreme financial insecurity in their early years. A comment of the Director of the Melbourne school in 1936 that the work was being crippled by poverty, and that 'the constant anxiety about money (sapped) the energies of the staff;' could well have been made on all three general training bodies in the 1930's.

The Melbourne Director quickly saw that another professional staff member was needed, additional to herself. Not until 1939, however, was a second appointment made, and even then it was financed not by the training body, but, through the Almoners' Institute, by the Anti-Cancer Council who wanted to increase the output of trained almoners. A second staff member was appointed in Sydney, also in 1939, not because there was money available, but because of the insistence of the local almoners' Institute. In Adelaide, additional staff was completely out of the question because of the cost.

Generally, then, for most of the 1930's, the general training bodies employed only a Director with some secretarial assistance.

40 V.C.S.T., A.R.1935.
42 See pp. 141-2.
43 In 1941, the Board's Secretary wrote, 'We should long ago have appointed a supervisor (of practical work) but had no money.' Dr. H.H. Penny to Dr. K.S. Cunningham, February 1941.
Yet even so, salaries were still the largest item of expenditure. For a brief period, the Sydney and Melbourne training bodies did rely upon voluntary Directors, but in 1932 and 1934 respectively, each paid its Director a full salary. The Adelaide Board offered only £100 for its Director's initial salary, and eventually did little more than double it, which meant the Adelaide Director gave the greater part of her time voluntarily. All three training bodies depended on non-paid assistance in the overall planning and supervision of the course, in some of the general office work, and in the supervision of students doing field work inside social agencies. Accommodation was inexpensive; in Sydney and Melbourne, because much of it was given free of rent.

Although costs were kept to a minimum, students' fees usually covered only between a third and a half of the total expenses. This meant outside financial assistance was vital. In Adelaide, the State Government provided a small subsidy, but State Government financial

45 S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 24.1.36.
46 From July 1929, the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. was well housed in City Chambers, Hamilton Street, Sydney. At first, the V.C.S.T. suffered from cramped quarters sharing some of the premises of the C.O.S. and the Children's Welfare Association, but in July 1936, it moved to Regency House, Flinders Lane, Melbourne. The S.A. B.S.S.T. was housed in Masonic Chambers, North Terrace, Adelaide.
47 In 1936, the Board approached the State Government through the Department of Education and received £150. Chairman of Executive, and Acting Honorary Secretary, S.A. B.S.S.T., to Hon. S.W. Jeffries, Minister for Education, 7.7.36. S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 9.10.36. This grant was renewed annually.
assistance was not forthcoming in either Melbourne or Sydney, despite deputations seeking it.\footnote{These deputations took place on a number of occasions. See: \textit{N.S.W. B.S.S.T.}, A.R.\textup{1940.} V.C.S.T., Financial Sub-Ctte., Minutes, 23.9.37. Assistant Secretary, V.C.S.T., to Frank Beaurepaire, 8.3.40. E.g. President, V.C.S.T., to Arthur L. Baillieu, 11.3.36. President, V.C.S.T. to Miss A. Danks, 30.4.36. Also to 11 others. Assistant Secretary, V.C.S.T., to Trustees Executors Co. of Aust. Ltd., 4.3.40. President and Honorary Secretary, S.A. B.S.S.T.; to Hon.T. Playford, Acting Minister of Education, 22.6.39 - 'Although our students are helping to expend Trust and Charitable Funds, the work of training them to do this scientifically has, in itself, no charitable appeal.'}

Each of the three training bodies had to rely upon private contributions, and this was made the more difficult because already abnormal claims were being made upon giving sources. As a rule they did not make appeals to the general public. A recurring theme in written approaches to possible donors was that the work had little emotional or general appeal, but that 'it must touch the imagination of thoughtful citizens.'\footnote{The Board's President, Professor Lovell, was largely responsible for securing the Corporation's general support. It was perhaps no coincidence that he was a member of the Executive Committee of the recently founded Australian Council for Educational Research which had been endowed by the Corporation.}

Only one really substantial gift came the way of any of the training bodies, and this was to the Sydney Board from outside the country. In 1932, the Carnegie Corporation of New York provided this Board with 10,500 dollars and 2,000 dollars for an overseas tour by its Director. Three years later it gave an additional but final 15,000 dollars.\footnote{Only one really substantial gift came the way of any of the training bodies, and this was to the Sydney Board from outside the country. In 1932, the Carnegie Corporation of New York provided this Board with 10,500 dollars and 2,000 dollars for an overseas tour by its Director. Three years later it gave an additional but final 15,000 dollars.} Shortly after, the Melbourne Council applied
to the Corporation for help but was told that the policy was now to make grants only to university training bodies. From 1936 to 1940, the Sydney Board's accumulated funds dwindled rapidly. Not even a Finance Committee sponsored by the General Manager of the Bank of New South Wales could find support, and by 1940, the Board was faced with imminent financial extinction.

The Melbourne Council had a more constant struggle for funds. The salary of the Director for the first three years was guaranteed by a handful of people prominent in the business and industrial world. The Council's officers had to continue to approach Trusts, Estates, industrial concerns, and individuals, to keep the body in existence, yet by 1940 its donor list was still small and, though individual contributions were usually much larger than in Sydney, it was still only just remaining solvent.

The Adelaide Board in a much smaller city faced an even harder situation, and almost certainly without the State Government grant and the honorary services given to it, especially by the Director, it would have collapsed. Its donors were mainly people connected directly

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51 B.S.S., V.C.S.T., 'Statement submitted to Mr. Keppel, Carnegie Corporation, April 1935,' ms.
In 1934, the Corporation had granted 500 dollars to the Council's newly-appointed Director to spend some weeks observing schools of social work in the United States on her way from England to Australia. Secretary, B.S.S., V.C.S.T., 'Statement for the Press,' ms., 3.12.34.

52 Dr. Harvey Sutton to Dr. H. Powell, 4.4.40.

53 Dr. G.L. Wood of the Commerce Department of the University was largely responsible for obtaining this money, the Council's new accommodation in 1936, and a car for the Director's use.
with it.

Compared with the general training bodies, the two almoner Institutes were more financially secure. The person directing the training was employed in and paid mainly by a hospital. The Melbourne Institute made a small contribution to the Melbourne Hospital for her services; a similar though larger contribution was made direct to the Sydney Hospital by the Hospitals' Commission. Students' fees again did not cover total costs, but usually the deficit was covered fairly comfortably - mainly by gifts from charitable trusts and similar bodies in Melbourne, and by private individuals and one trust in Sydney. 54

The character of these early training bodies - their structure, the way they functioned, and the people with influence in them - was as important as any financial limitations they experienced.

The Nature of the Training Bodies

Each of the general training bodies consisted of representatives of a large number of organizations 55 and of a few interested individuals. The organizations varied in aim, scope and resources.

55 See Appendices 1A, 2A, and 3A for the actual organizations represented. In 1929, the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. had 21 organizations represented on it; in 1934, 38; in 1935, 53. 38 organizations were suggested for initial representation on the V.C.S.T. in 1933. (Sub-Committee of Committee on Training for Social Work, 'Suggested Personnel of Council of Study and Training,' ms.) In 1937, 61 were represented; in 1940, 81. The S.A. B.S.S.T. had 24 member organizations in 1936; in 1941, 32.
For example, on the Sydney Board were represented churches and sectarian agencies; religious, non-sectarian agencies; State Government departments; a public administrative commission; a local government department and a municipal council; government-subsidized bodies; voluntary associations, citizen bodies and women's organizations; educational institutions; an embryonic professional association; and a student group. There were coordinating agencies, one with a general welfare purpose, others with a specific welfare purpose. A few covered the State, others the city, and still others local districts. Their services ranged over formal education, informal education, recreation, relief (material, financial, and medical), child welfare, the welfare of handicapped groups, the sick, immigrants, the aged, legal offenders and former offenders, ex-servicemen, the mentally disturbed. For the most part, the representatives held senior positions in their organizations, and they came from various walks of life - the church, teaching, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, law, the army, nursing, the public service, social work, home duties. With such large and diverse membership, general membership meetings were unsuited for the effective making of policy, and in fact they were not held frequently. The Sydney Board held roughly quarterly meetings; the Adelaide Board and the Victorian Council

56 A brief description of each of the organizations on the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. appears in the Board's Directory of Social Agencies, Sydney. 57 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs. and Prospectuses.
rarely met other than annually. Why then have the unwieldy membership?

For the training to survive it needed to gain widespread acceptance and support - in social service circles especially. Membership of a training body at least implied support of the idea of training, and a large membership had a public relations value. Further, it was thought that existing agencies should have at least some say in the training.

The great bulk of each body's work and the actual control over its affairs was in the hands of an executive group. No executive group exceeded twenty in number, and usually was more like a dozen. In Sydney and Melbourne meetings were normally monthly, supplemented occasionally by meetings of sub-committees. In Adelaide, the executive group really consisted of two groups with overlapping membership; the Executive proper which met rather less than monthly, and a Committee for Studies which met about seven times a year.

People in the executive groups of the training bodies tended to be as much the interested parties as any organizations they happened to be connected with. They fell into four categories - university

58 Details of the frequency of meetings come from the various A.Rs. and Minute Books.

In 1936, an unsuccessful attempt was made to make the general membership of the V.C.S.T. rather more active. V.C.S.T., A.R. 1936.
staff members who usually taught in the course; members of other professions, notably medicine sometimes law; office-bearers of welfare organizations; and people actually practising social work. 59

Particular emphasis was placed upon the first category. This was primarily an educational venture, and connection with the highest educational authority had a prestige value. Moreover, the more university people of good standing who were closely associated with the course, the more chance there was of it being taken over by the university. Arguments to support training for social work had a strong intellectual appeal, and this activity gave university people an appropriate opportunity for fairly direct community service. 60

Some members of the established professions had become aware of the importance of social conditions in the health and welfare of their patients or clients, and had recognized that neither they nor other existing professional people were equipped to cope in this area. 61 Apart from bringing relevant knowledge from contingent fields,
members of the accepted professions, especially doctors, were high in community standing. In the early years it was essential that social work training be connected with people respected for their integrity and ability in an orthodox discipline.

The main purpose of the training bodies was of course to produce qualified social workers. At first, the executive groups contained no qualified social workers, but later in Adelaide and Melbourne, though not in Sydney, there was a sprinkling of them, mainly almoners. 62

Within the executive group, the Chairman, a person of community standing, and the training body's Director, the person with the greatest knowledge of social work education, played the most influential parts. Because of the dearth of others with specialized knowledge of social work education, a particular responsibility rested with the Director.

Inside the executive groups of the two almoner Institutes, again special influence lay with the person directing the training and the Chairman, and again the real work and control of the bodies was in the hands of the executive group. 63 Naturally the character of these

62 See Appendices 1B, 2B and 3B.
63 Each Institute's executive group tended to meet monthly. The N.S.W. Institute's general membership met annually, the Victorian Institute's Council, only slightly more often.
specialist training bodies differed from that of the general bodies, but also, reflecting the time and nature of their origin, they were different from each other.

Few on the Victorian Institute's Executive of about a dozen members had medical qualifications. Many, including a number of married women, were lay members of hospital and other boards. In contrast, the New South Wales Institute's executive group, its Council, had a high proportion of medical practitioners amongst its seventeen members. It was, however, a Training Sub-Committee of this Council which controlled the training in detail and this was dominated by qualified almoners. In general, the New South Wales Institute placed a much greater emphasis on the participation of qualified almoners than did the older Victorian Institute.

The membership of the New South Wales Institute consisted of the representatives of the specified organizations represented in the executive group, except that here the almoners' professional

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64 The Institute's first president, Mrs. Norman Brookes, came into this category.
65 The Institute's first executive Council contained eight doctors, most of them with higher degrees; also three almoners, a King's Counsel, a matron, and the principal of the University Women's College. See Appendices 1E and 2E for the actual membership of the executive groups of the Institutes.
66 Only once at its twenty-odd meetings mid-1937 - 1940 was there not a majority of almoners present.
67 N.S.W. A.A.H.A. (3 representatives); the N.S.W. Hospitals' Commission, N.S.W. B.S.S.T. (2 representatives each); the B.M.A. (N.S.W. Branch) and Sydney University (1 representative each).

Memorandum and Articles of Association of the New South Wales Institute of Hospital Almoners, Sydney, 1937, pp. 11, 12, 16.
association was entitled to up to one third of the total number of members; and in addition, of interested persons elected by the executive Council. Initially, the Victorian Institute's Council had 21 separate organizations represented on it - eight hospitals, a further four organizations medical in character, four sectarian welfare bodies, two central relief-giving agencies, two educational institutions, and a professional association. The size of the Council was reduced, however, in 1933 when a few general welfare organizations, now represented on the new general training body, were excluded. In almost every instance, the Institute found relevant organizations willing to be represented, but there was one important early exception - the Alfred Hospital. Not until 1936 did this large, general, teaching hospital agree to cooperate fully.

Except for a short period at the beginning of the Victorian Institute, both Institutes had at their head a medical man prominent in his profession and in the community. The identification of these

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68 See Appendix 2D.
70 The officers of the Institute spent much time and effort achieving this cooperation. A difficulty was the long-standing rivalry between the Alfred and the Melbourne Hospitals.

V.I.A., Sub-Cttee., Minutes 6.6.29; 13.6.29; Council, Minutes, 6.6.30; Exec., Minutes, 23.10.29; 20.11.29; 17.2.32; 16.3.32; A.R.1931.
V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 18.4.34; 17.10.34; 21.11.34; Council, 16.12.36; A.R.1934.
and several other influential members of the medical profession with the Institutes helped to give the movement for training medical social workers respectability in the eyes of other members of the medical profession, and of related professions, hospital administrators, and the general public.

Perhaps one of the greatest assets in the Australian training movement's early struggle for recognition was the association of men of community standing with all the training bodies. Significantly at the head of each was a man; equally significantly, each Director was a woman. For these men, this was a serious activity, but it was a spare-time one. They could not be expected to be experts in social work education.

The Pioneers

In any small new development, especially when it is concerned so much with human relations, individual personalities tend to play a dominant role. A handful of people carried the main burdens of the Australian training movement in its early years; and some of them were to have a long association with it.

Individuals who may be singled out for the part they played are Professors H. Tasmah Lovell and Harvey Sutton, Aileen Fitzpatrick, and Katharine Ogilvie in Sydney; Helen Rees in Melbourne and Sydney,

71 Apart from a short time at the beginning of the V.I.A.
and Dr. John Newman Morris, Professors G.L. Wood and A. Boyce
Gibson, S. Greig Smith, Jocelyn Hyslop, Agnes Macintyre, and
Joan Brett in Melbourne; and Amy Wheaton in Adelaide. All of
these people had at least some overseas experience - in either
Britain, North America or both.

For the first nine years of the Sydney Board, Professor
Tasman Lovell was its President. Its accommodation and most of
its money came from his efforts, and in 1937 when pressure of other
work forced him to resign, it was said:

He has given unsparingly of his thoughts and his time to
(the Board's) affairs. It is due to his foresight and
tact, his wide and sympathetic understanding of problems,
his leadership and his untiring efforts that the Board
stands where it does today.

The child guidance movement in the United States had captured his
imagination, and child welfare in general was one of his keenest
interests. In 1934, while President of the Board, he visited the
United States.

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72 See Appendices 1B, C, E; 2B, C, E; and 3B and C, for their
positions in the training bodies.
The following sketches are based upon records and interviews
with those who have known the people concerned.
73 Educated at Universities of Sydney and Jena; lectured in philo-
sophy; Associate Professor of Psychology, Sydney University,
1920-9; appointed to Australia's first Chair of Psychology, 1929.
President of N.S.W. Council of Social Service, 1943-50.
N.S.W. C.S.S., A.Rs.
74 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1937. Professor Harvey Sutton's tribute
on behalf of the Executive Committee.
Professor Harvey Sutton was the Sydney Board's President in the difficult period 1937-40. His professional experience had made him well aware of the influence of social conditions on public health. Both Professors Sutton and Lovell continued until 1947, as members of the body controlling the general training in Sydney.

Professor G.L. Wood was the first Chairman of the Board of Social Studies of the Melbourne general training body, and had taken an active part in the discussions leading to its formation. He spent a period in 1934-5 visiting centres of social work in the United States. Shortly afterwards, pressure of university affairs forced him to resign his position as Chairman, but at his death in 1953 tribute was made to 'his interest in training for social work, undimmed by the expanding calls of his other University and governmental duties'. He believed in close ties between the university and the community and saw this exemplified in the social studies course. His own close relationships with the commercial life of Melbourne proved of financial advantage to the early training body.

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75 Educated at Universities of Melbourne and Oxford; Chief School Medical Officer, Victorian Education Department, 1910-5; Principal Medical Officer, N.S.W. Education Department, 1920-9; appointed Director of the School of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Sydney University, 1929, and Professor of Preventive Medicine, 1930. Who's Who, 1938.

76 Educated at University of Tasmania; school teaching; Commerce Faculty, Melbourne University, 1925; appointed Commonwealth Grants Committee, 1936, Myer Chair of Commerce, 1944. Who's Who, 1938.

Professor Boyce Gibson, his successor as the Board's Chairman, had been associated with the social studies course at Birmingham University. He was Chairman for six years, and his skill in negotiation was an important factor in the Melbourne training body eventually being absorbed by the University. From 1943-7, he was again the training body's Chairman, and not until 1958 did he sever connection with it.

In a special position of influence was Dr. John Newman Morris. In a report he wrote in 1930 after observing hospital social work in the United States, he declared:

I went to America interested but uninformed as to the extent to which hospital almonry or social service had grown and as to the exact scope of its work. In common with many others, there were many misconceptions in my mind, most or all which have been removed.

I feel that this service has justified its place in modern hospital work but its workers require careful selection and training, and they should be paid as adequately as possible for their service.

In the following years, he worked to support not only medical social work but all qualified social work. In 1931, he became President of the Victorian Institute of Almoners and remained in this position until the Institute's end in 1950. From 1933 he was also President of the Victorian Council for Social Training until its end ten years later.

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79 V.C.S.T., AR.1935.
M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 31.3.58.
later, when it was said:

He has done so much to put social work on the map, here and in other States, to get its value recognized by State and voluntary bodies, and to bring its usefulness before the Commonwealth Government. He has lost no opportunity of assisting a very young profession, safeguarding its salary scales, interpreting its aims, and giving always that understanding and encouragement which are so needful in the early stages.

He was a member of the university general training body 1941-56, and it will be remembered that, in addition, he was the first (and only) President of the Australian Council of Schools of Social Work.

A man of high community and professional standing, he was deeply involved in community affairs. To have his sustained active interest meant a great deal to the infant training movement.

In 1932, on one of his many trips abroad, Dr. Newman Morris attended the Second International Conference of Social Work held at Frankfurt in Germany. In 1936, another person closely connected with both the general and the medical social work training movement

81 V.C.S.T., A.R.1942 and 1943.
82 M.U., B.S.S., Minutes, 5.12.56.
83 In 1931, he was, inter alia, Vice-Chairman of Federal Cttee. of B.M.A.; former President, B.M.A. (Victorian Branch); Chairman, Queen's Memorial Infectious Diseases Hospital; member of Victorian Cttee. of Royal Australasian College of Surgeons, Charities Board, Exec. Cttee. of Lord Mayor's Fund, Standing Cttee. on Convocation of Melbourne University. Who's Who, 1933-4.
In the following seven years his activities expanded. He became a member of the National Health and Medical Research Council, Medical Board of Victoria, and Council of the Australian Red Cross Society (Victorian Branch); President of Federal Council of Australian Aerial Medical Services, and the Council of St. John Ambulance Association; and Vice-President of the Victorian Society for Crippled Children. Who's Who, 1938. In 1938, he was made a C.M.G.; in 1948 he received a knighthood.
84 V.I.A., A.R.1932.
in Melbourne attended the Third International Conference of Social Work, held in London - S. Greig Smith. Like Dr. Newman Morris, he was in a special position of influence although of a different kind.

Greig Smith was Secretary of the Melbourne Charity Organisation Society (Citizens' Welfare Service from 1947), 1908-57. Throughout the 21 years of life of the almoners' Institute, he was its Secretary. He was the first Treasurer of the Victorian Council for Social Training, and was on the governing body of the general training course until 1958. In 1935, he convened the meeting which led to the formation of the Victorian Association of Social Workers, and was its first President.

Early in 1929, Greig Smith considered that importing an experienced English almoner for training purposes was not necessary, yet he gave unswerving and vital support to the three successive English qualified almoners who were subsequently appointed as Chief Almoner and Directress of Training of the Victorian Institute. The success of these three appointments - Agnes Macintyre 1930-1, Joan Brett 1931-3, and Helen Rees 1933-5 - in the Hospital, the Institute, and

85 V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 20.5.36.
86 See pp. 186-7.
87 S. Greig Smith, 'Notes on Hospital Almoner System', submitted to the Charity Organisation Society Exec. Ctte., 11.2.29, ms..
Early the following year, Dr. Newman Morris suggested that the appointment of an American such as Antoinette Cannon, be considered. V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 22.1.30.
the community, laid solid foundations for medical social work in Melbourne. Their experience and personal qualities were different, but what they shared was an effective public presence. Agnes Macintyre was the first qualified social worker to work in Australia, and she proved a worthy ambassador of the British training movement. Her two successors, particularly Joan Brett, played important parts in founding the general training course in Melbourne.

The Victorian Institute passed a notable milestone when one of its former students succeeded Helen Rees in 1935 after a year's experience in England arranged through the British Institute of Hospital Almoners. For the next ten years Dorothy Bethune steered the fortunes of medical social work in Victoria. On her resignation early in 1945 because of ill-health, she was made a Vice-President of the Victorian Institute. She was highly regarded as a person, although a few thought her early tendency to see medical social work as quite distinct from social work in other settings, and her disinclination to press for higher salaries and status for almoners, as

88 Agnes Macintyre, A.I.H.A. - in her forties; from St. Thomas's, London (was in charge of Northcote Trust section of Almoner Department): rich in experience; widely-read; strong sense of vocation; enthusiastic; quietly-spoken; tactful; determined; persuasive; good sense of humour. *Herald*, 8.6.29 (this mentions her as being formerly of Sydney).


Joan Brett, M.A. (Cantab.), A.I.H.A. - in her twenties; attractive; enthusiastic; outgoing. Left to be married; had three children; was a war widow; subsequently returned to almoner work in England. V.I.A., Exec., Minutes 16.8.33; A.M., Minutes 6.9.33. V.I.H.A., A.R.1934.

Helen Rees, M.A. (Cantab.), A.I.H.A. - in her early thirties; an excellent training course; almoner, City General Hospital, Sheffield;
retarding a broad professional growth. She did, however, serve on
the university training body's Board from its inception and was
still taking an active interest in general social work developments
in the late 1950's.  

In 1936, Helen Rees opened the Almoner Department at the Sydney
Hospital and became Almoner-in-Charge of Training for the New South
Institute of Hospital Almoners. She returned to England in 1941 at
the request of the English Association of Hospital Almoners to under­
take a survey of their work under wartime conditions. The fact that
she subsequently became Director of Training for the British Institute
of Almoners gives an indication of her quality. She was influential
in the move to establish a university training body in Sydney, her
knowledge of general training schemes being invaluable. Associated

88 (cont.)
Methodist minister's daughter; conscientious; pleasant appearance;
highly intelligent; particularly able with the pen (her degree was in
English).
89 Dorothy Bethune, A.I.H.A. - directed a kindergarten; qualified
almoner, 1932; Registrar of Public Assistance, Bendigo; assistant
almoner, Melbourne Hospital, 1934; English experience 1934-5;
practical; sedate; humorous; devoted to individuals' welfare; high
ideals of service.
V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 21.2.34, 18.7.34, 15.8.34, 18.9.35,
21.2.45.
90 She has continued with part-time social work far past the normal
retiring age.
91 The N.S.W. Institute's tribute to her: 'Miss Rees brought to the
service of the Institute outstanding skill as a teacher, most
excellent professional ability and personal qualities which inspired
the affection and respect of her students and of everyone who worked
with her.'
with her in this, and in the Institute's affairs, was Katharine Ogilvie who became a close friend.

The dominant part played by Katharine Ogilvie in the foundation of the New South Wales Institute has been mentioned. In 1941, she left the Rachel Forster Hospital to succeed Helen Rees as the Institute's Almoner-in-Charge of Training and Head Almoner of Sydney Hospital. In 1954, when Sydney University took over medical social work training from the Institute, she became a member of the University's staff. Just two years before, she became President of the New South Wales Council of Social Service and was still in this position some seven years later. Also in the recent period she was a leader in the New South Wales Old People's Welfare Council.

Before she opened, in 1934, the Almoner Department of the Rachel Forster Hospital after training at the British Institute of Hospital Almoners, she already had established herself as a community leader by her work, while still in her twenties, as the Hospital's Secretary. For the next quarter of a century her community and professional standing was extremely high. Her total contribution in Sydney to medical social work and to social work and the community in general

92 From a well-known country family; B.A. (in History) Sydney University; prominent in international hockey circles; Secretary, Rachel Forster Hospital; observation of hospital administration in U.K. and U.S.A. (this aroused her interest in almoner's work); an M.B.E.; member of the Senate of Sydney University 1943-9 (a Fellow elected by graduates).
93 N.S.W. C.S.S., A.Rs...
has been unique. Her intellect, temperament, and education made her a forceful leader. Firm and forthright in her community activities, she was a formidable champion of a cause which had won her favour. A compassionate understanding of sick people permeated her social casework. In 1950-1, she re-visited England and strengthened further her ties with the British almoners.

The directors of the three general training bodies - Aileen Fitzpatrick in Sydney 1931-40, an English person Jocelyn Hyslop in Melbourne 1934-45, and Amy Wheaton in Adelaide 1936-58 - held key positions in the Australian training movement. The first and last of these were not qualified social workers. This did not matter very much with the last because she was so well qualified in other directions, but not so with the first.

It has been said that Aileen Fitzpatrick coloured the whole of the pre-war period in Sydney. There exists a strange letter written by her early in 1940. In it she speaks of the New York School of Social Work as having been her 'own old school of social work,' and later says, 'It has been no light responsibility to have had the background of a good school in beginning training for social work here'.

It is difficult to reconcile this with other evidence. Nothing suggests that she had been to the United States before her appointment

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94 Aileen Fitzpatrick to Dr. Wallace, Vice-Chancellor, Sydney University, 16.2.40. (Fisher Library Archives).
as Director of the Sydney Board in 1931. From September 1932, on money provided by the Carnegie Corporation, she did spend nine months observing schools of social work in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Europe; and in the long vacation of 1934-5, again with Carnegie assistance, she visited many centres in North America in charge of a group of Australian students. But she did not hold a social work qualification, and the quality of her professional teaching was one of the main points at issue with the almoners. She managed, however, to make good professional contacts with American social workers, and until the almoner group challenged her training standards she secured a lot of support for the Board's work.

If the Board had been under different direction, the separate training body for medical social work in Sydney might never have come into existence, and the intrigue and bitterness which characterized the training movement in the late 1930's might never have occurred. Her directorship was not without positive accomplishment - she was influential in forming an association of social workers, in founding

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95 In her early thirties; B.A. (in Classics), a contemporary of Katharine Ogilvie at Sydney University; teaching classics in a High School; voluntary church work; trip to U.K. and Europe; member of National Council of Women; General Secretary of Country Women's Association of N.S.W. for three years: good appearance; self-confident. The position was not advertised before an appointment was made.
96 When Norma Parker, an American-trained social worker, went to Sydney in 1936, she was alarmed by the Board's poor casework teaching. For the almoners' Institute's agitation to have a qualified social worker appointed by the Board to teach casework, see pp. 141-2.
the New South Wales Council of Social Service, and in establishing the Australian Council of Schools of Social Work — but, on balance, her appointment was a mistake.

Jocelyn Hyslop has been described as the most brilliant person social work has had in Australia. Highly intelligent, charming, energetic, attractive, an effective public speaker, and with broad and long perspectives, she commanded attention if not respect and admiration in male as much as in female company. Her fluctuations in mood and cutting wit did, however, occasionally cause difficulties with students and agencies. She was a psychiatric social worker well qualified academically and professionally. Her experience included work with children and this remained one of her keenest interests.

In 1934, on her way from England to take up her post in Melbourne, she spent some weeks in the United States observing social work centres in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago and Minneapolis, and found much to admire there. On her arrival in Australia she was well aware of the different patterns of training in America and

97 Educated at St. Andrew's and London University; B.Sc.(Econ.), Acad. Dipl. of Sociol., Cert. of Soc.Sc.; Cert. of Mental Health; school teaching; lecturer, teachers' training college; organizer, school care committees for London County Council; psychiatric social worker, child guidance clinic, Liverpool, and the Babies Welcome Association, Leeds. Was in Melbourne in 1933, on a world tour. Argus, 18.7.34. Age, 8.12.34. Australian Women's Weekly, 5.1.35.

98 The accepted professional status of social work; the large proportion of men, particularly in administrative positions in Federal agencies; the extension of social work beyond relief-giving and into the middle classes; the community chests whose funds were distributed by qualified social workers. Argus, 8.12.34.
Britain, and said,

Perhaps a better form of training than either may be yet evolved in Australia, but much must depend upon the attitude of the public and whether it demands a professional standard in the field of social administration, whether voluntary or State.\textsuperscript{99}

An important factor in the transference of the general training course to Melbourne University in 1941 was the high academic standing of its Director. In 1944, she resigned under unusual circumstances.\textsuperscript{100} Social work in Australia was the less colourful and effective for her departure.

When Amy Wheaton returned from London to her home city Adelaide, in 1936, to direct the training of the newly-established training body, she brought with her a rare breadth of up-to-date knowledge of the social sciences.\textsuperscript{101} Her academic perspectives did not shrink with the years, and one of the misfortunes of the excessive teaching and administrative load she carried for so long was that she had no time to publish. For the greater part of the 21 years she was Director of the Adelaide training body, she did most of the teaching

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{100} A clergyman's daughter, she was particularly provocative about religion. In 1944, when desperately ill she had a religious experience. She subsequently resigned to enter a religious order.\textsuperscript{101} In her late thirties; M.A., Adelaide University; father's death diverted her from medicine; eldest of 6 children; school teaching; B.Sc., majoring in sociology and social psychology, London School of Economics, periods in Europe especially in France and Germany (she was fluent in German); 1931, went to live in Melbourne; 1935, Women's International Conference at Istanbul, observed social services and social conditions in Germany and U.K., part of Mental Health course in London. \textit{Advertiser}, 25.3.36. An M.B.E. in 1939.
in the course, and it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that she was the training movement. Yet she was also active in women's organizations and reared three children! Her academic ability was very highly regarded by her former university teachers, Sir William Mitchell in particular, and this was a strong influence in the general body being accepted by the Adelaide University in 1943.\footnote{102}

After carrying the course almost single-handed and being underpaid for it - in the immediate post-war years as well as earlier - she found herself confronted with an unsympathic Vice-Chancellor and a few young professors ignorant of social work and the local past. She had no bent for university politics and her health broke. In the last years of her directorship, increased staff and a belated rise in her status made some recompense. Complex as a person, people reacted to her with warm affection, respect, bewilderment, and antagonism.

In 1950, she returned to England for a visit.\footnote{103} She did not go to the United States until after she finished in Adelaide,\footnote{104} but from the beginning was well aware of American social work develop-

\footnote{102} 'The University has been a very good friend to us - Mrs. Wheaton stands high with the men whose opinion will count (in granting full recognition to the course).' Dr. H.H. Penny to Dr. K.S. Cunningham, February, 1941.


\footnote{104} After visiting North America in 1957-8, she became a Professor of Social Work, a temporary United Nations Adviser, in the Department of Social Work of the University of the Punjab, Lahore.
ments, and of the different training patterns of Britain and the United States.105

These, then, were the people who were mainly responsible for breathing life into the training bodies which took up the challenge in the 1930's. Different in experience, age, sex, and temperament, each played a significant part in these formative years. They were, in fact, the pioneers of a new profession in Australia.

While Australian communities were founding social work training bodies, so too were other communities. An international survey of social work schools and training schemes in 1936 could cover as many as 179 schools and 63 non-academic training schemes in 32 countries.106 Increasingly, social work training was becoming a world movement.

106 Alice Salomon, Education for Social Work. This study was sponsored by the International Committee of Schools of Social Work and the Russell Sage Foundation.
CHAPTER 4

TRAINING STANDARDS

The training standards attained by any educational institution depend upon its curriculum, its teachers, the teaching materials available and its students. The early experience of the Australian training bodies in each of these respects is the subject of this chapter. Though their output was small, they were still confronted with basic issues in social work education and many of the problems experienced and the patterns set in this period were to continue into the post-war years.

The Curriculum

How long were the courses to be? At what level? What balance was to be struck between class work and field work, between psychological and sociological subjects, between generic and specific teaching? In designing its curriculum, each of the training authorities had to provide answers to these questions. They did, however, have the experience of the British and American training movements to guide them, and in fact they drew from both sources.

In the 1920's, some British schools granted diplomas to graduates only.\(^1\) This became the established pattern in the United States in the 1930's, largely owing to pressure from the American Association

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\(^1\) See p. 23.
of schools of Social Work. The case for post-graduate education for social work was strong. It gave some chance of professional knowledge, skills and attitudes being taught people with a measure of maturity and who were 'socially educated' by an appropriate degree course. In other words, the American narrow teaching of techniques, and the British broad social education unrelated to agencies' practice could be combined into what was in effect the one long professional course, similar to a medical course, commencing with basic 'background' subjects and progressing to professional ones enlightened by clinical practice or field work. Moreover, a long course gave the student time to work through the various emotional and intellectual problems peculiar to social work education.

The Australian general training authorities were at least to some extent aware of the force of these arguments. At first in Melbourne, it was mooted that the course should be post-graduate, and from 1933, the Sydney Board stated that the most satisfactory educational preparation for its course was a University degree in Arts or Economics. Again, the three schools discussed the question together in 1938, and decided post-graduate courses were not yet

2 Esther L. Brown, Social Work As a Profession, p. 46.
3 Hollis and Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States, p. 29.
4 Report by J. Newman Morris, Convenor of Sub-Ctte. to survey the possibilities of instituting a Diploma in Social Studies, ms., 1931.
4 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus.
Strong factors were operating against the establishment of a post-graduate course. The step from no training to a training of four or five years would have been too great for both the community and the social agencies. The length and cost of such courses would have been comparable with the courses of the established professions, but the monetary returns after qualification only a fraction of what the established professions could offer. When there was no financial help for students, a long, costly course would have been a serious impediment to recruitment. In the early stages, any post-graduate course would have been post-graduate only in a temporal sense, for the quality of the professional teaching could not have been high in many of its aspects. Finally, many practical-minded people would have been excluded. These, it was argued, could benefit from the shorter training, and do adequate, if somewhat limited, work.

Each of the three general training bodies, in fact, followed the then typical British pattern of two-year undergraduate courses. But the British example was not slavishly followed, for the Australian courses included both a wide range of background subjects,

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and class-room teaching of professional skills. Together with considerable field work requirements, this made a very crowded curriculum, which was not conducive to a grasp of either the background subjects or professional skills.

All three general training bodies aimed to provide the one basic course for every type of social worker, which, in the words of the Sydney Board, was to impart 'a knowledge of fundamental principles...essential in all branches of social work.' It is doubtful, however, if the early courses were generic in more than a rudimentary sense. More likely they consisted of an accumulation of pieces of experience drawn from social work's many fields, from which only the gifted student could extract the common core.

Yet this development of the one course was of major importance in producing a unified occupational group. The training movement in Australia in the 1930's was spared the excessive number of claims for specialized educational provision which had been experienced in Britain and the United States. In general, groups in the various social work settings in Australia were too small or without sufficient interest

6 After seeing the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.'s work, the Director of the New York School of Social Work commented;
I think the Board...has shown real statesmanship in avoiding too close a following of British and American patterns, while accepting for adoption to Australian conditions whatever you find serviceable in the experience of these two countries.
N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R.1937.

7 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectus 1934.
to make substantial claims for specialized courses. Practical considerations alone suggested a pooling of educational resources in the one course which pointed up similarities rather than dis-similarities.

Two different kinds of claim for specialized training provision were made upon the general training bodies. One was for further professional training for a particular field of social work after a general course; the other was to provide or help with sub-professional specialized courses which were taken in isolation from the general training.

Early, the Adelaide Board received sympathetically a request for specialized training for psychiatric social work, but it did not have the resources to do other than provide a general course, which anyway it saw as encouraging adaptability - 'too early specialisation does not tend to produce breadth of understanding and sympathy'. At the end of 1936, the Director said: 'We have to think in terms of a future Almoners' Institute'. Until well into the 1950's, however, Adelaide students had to go to Melbourne or Sydney for specialized training in medical social work.

As has been stated, such a training in Melbourne was in fact established before the general training, but with the advent of

8 S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 23.11.36.
9 S.A. B.S.S.T., 'Reply to Questionnaire of the League of Nations' Social Questions Committee,' ms..
10 Amy Wheaton to Secretary, S.A. B.S.S.T., 11.12.36.
general training it became a third year built onto the two years of the general course. There do not appear to have been moves towards any other similar specialized professional courses in Melbourne, run either by the general training body or by a separate Institute.

The Sydney Board presented a more confused picture. Two of its students in 1932 took a special course in nursery school work, and the Board awarded them a certificate even though this was not primarily a social work field.11 Two years later, three students with the Board's general qualification took a one-year course in medical social work, and the Board awarded them a special certificate, but, as has been described, the Almoners' Institute then took over this function.12 There is no evidence that the Board actually provided any other specialized professional training although some of its statements give a different impression.13

11 The course was arranged in conjunction with representatives of the Sydney Day Nursery Association, the Education Department, the Kindergarten Training College and the Kindergarten Union, and two women with special knowledge. A.Rs., 1932-3, 1939-40.

12 See pp. 92-4.

13 At various times the Board mentioned, sometimes as if it actually made the provision, special training for public health nurses, industrial welfare, child guidance, house property management, medical social work, psychiatric social work, public welfare, child welfare, and recreation.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1932, 1938; Prospectuses.

In 1939, it stated a course for playground supervisors was available. Although it was mainly an educational body, in 1935 it had agreed to administer the Municipal Council of Sydney's new Camperdown Park Children's Playground; in 1936, the new King George V Memorial Playground in York Street; and the Coronation Playground in Prince Alfred Park, in 1939.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1936-40.

Administration of the playgrounds passed to the Sydney University Settlement when the Board ceased to exist.
In 1936, the Presbyterian Church and the Young Men's Christian Association asked the Sydney Board for assistance with sub-professional courses, but were parried because of the Board's limited staff. In this same year, the Board reported that the State Child Welfare Department had asked it to arrange a short course for its officers wishing to qualify as inspectors. Three years later, it provided a course of extension lectures mainly for this Department's inspectors.

When the three training bodies met in 1938, they found that there was considerable uniformity of content between their curricula. The availability of teachers and of existing lecture courses had, however, made for some local variation, and this was possible because any discipline which gave insight into the composition and behaviour of communities, groups, or individuals, had claims for inclusion.

It was expensive, and difficult, to have courses in the background subjects specially tailored for social work education, but if this were not done the degree of relevance of various parts of the

14 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R.1936.
15 Early in the 1930's, this Department decided to accept the Board's diploma in lieu of certain departmental training but it seems the concession was unused. In 1938, representatives of the Board and the State Public Service Board discussed the recruitment and training of new officers for the Department and a system of cadetships allowing potential officers to take the full professional course was worked out. N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1932, 1936, 1939-40.
teaching within a discipline could vary widely. Some sections of, for example, economics, psychology, biology, political science, history and sociology, would be very closely related to professional social work practice, others only remotely. If the total training was short, to spend a proportion of the time on only remotely relevant material was wasteful. Yet there could be advantages. Each of the training bodies used at least some full university degree subjects in its curriculum. In taking these, social work students mingled with students aiming to become lawyers, teachers, psychologists, philosophers, and so on, with benefit to the breadth of their outlook. Moreover, contacts and friendships between students of different faculties often carried over into professional life, with advantage to the discipline trying to become established. Also it could be argued that systematic teaching in a firmly established course would have a greater educational impact upon the student than unsystematic teaching of a new tailored course often by a person outside the university.

The Sydney Board's curriculum included three full university lecture series and part of another, together with a number of specially constructed lecture series. The Victorian Council for Social Training started with five university subjects in its curriculum, but by 1937 only two remained. To these had been added lecture series of

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18 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses.
varying length arranged by the training body itself - Social Philosophy, Australian Social Organisation, Physiology, Nutrition and Family Budgeting, Psychology, Mental Hygiene, Social History, Problems of Society, and Casework. The Adelaide Board's curriculum included two existing university subjects and a new one, Social Psychology, given by the Board's Director. In addition, as with the other training bodies, there were a number of specially designed lecture series.

Of particular importance in each of the courses was the lecture series, usually coupled with discussion classes, devoted to teaching professional skills. Not unexpectedly, this teaching was concentrated on social casework. Broader problems of community welfare were often stressed in the courses, particularly in Adelaide, but the teaching of techniques concentrated upon work with individuals. There were advances in the theory of group work during the 1930's, but still

19 Age, 4.4.33. V.C.S.T., A.Rs., 1935-8.
20 S.A. B.S.S.T., Provisional Exec., Minutes, 8.12.35; Training for Social Work (Voluntary and Professional), 1937.
21 'All (students) have been encouraged to interest themselves in the wider problems of community welfare...(They) will, I think, be well equipped with a liberal education which will enable them to attack problems, foresee the incidence of legislation in terms of human happiness and plan both remedial measures and reforms.' Director's Report, A.M., S.A. B.S.S.T., 27.10.37, ms.
casework dominated the professional literature. Apart from the availability of teaching material, there were fewer Australian agencies concentrating on group and community welfare, and since, where possible in their field work, students were placed under the supervision of qualified social workers, and these worked mainly as caseworkers, the early concentration on casework was reinforced.

From the start, each of the three courses included substantial amounts of practical work and these were subsequently increased. At their 1938 meeting, the schools agreed that practical work should be between a third and a half of the total amount of work done by the student. As in Britain and America, it consisted of supervised work in agencies, and visits of observation to agencies and institutions of social work significance.

Which agencies were chosen for student supervision depended upon their relevance to the course, their willingness to cooperate without payment, the quality of the supervision they could provide, and the time available. Between 1932 and 1940, the Sydney Board

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23 See Chapter 1.
24 H. Tasman Lovell to Vice-Chancellor, University of Sydney, 24.9.28. (Fisher Library Archives).
N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1929-30, 1932-3.
Age, 4.4.33.
S.A. B.S.S.T., Provisional Exec., Minutes, 8.12.35; Cttee. for Studs., Minutes, 18.6.37.
used over thirty different agencies for supervised student placements. The visits of observation did not have the educational potential of supervised work in agencies, but they did give students some idea of the actual nature of social provision and helped to give reality to class-room teaching.

During the 1930's, the International Committee of Schools of Social Work, the British Joint University Council for Social Studies, and the American Association of Schools of Social Work, all stressed the importance of social research. Occasionally, the early Australian social work students took part in research, but there was no regular place for it in the already crowded curriculum.

In 1932 and 1938 respectively, the Sydney and Adelaide Boards became members of the International Committee of Schools of Social Work. The curriculum of each of the three training bodies

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26 From N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1932-40. Strangely, about a third of these were not represented on the Board.
27 e.g. the V.C.S.T., A.R. 1936, mentions that in 1936, students visited the Sustenance Department, the Children's Welfare Depot at Royal Park, the Institutions for the Blind and for the Deaf and Dumb, Travancore, Montague and Bell Street Special Schools, the Newsboys' Club, Tally Ho Boys' Home, Children's Courts and Pentridge Prison; also Baby Health Centres, Nursery Schools, Kindergartens and the State Schools.
28 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1938.
29 They helped in the Commonwealth Nutrition Survey in 1936. In 1938, Sydney students examined housing conditions and child delinquency. Melbourne students in 1935 enquired into family budgets, and in 1936, into juvenile employment conditions. In 1939, they assisted with small surveys connected with two kindergartens, the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, the National Fitness Council, and the Children's Courts. N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs. V.C.S.T., A.Rs.
30 S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 1.8.38; 8.8.38.
was patterned on overseas models. If it had been extended over three or preferably four years, it would have provided a not too inadequate framework for the training.

Before examining the other major determinants of the quality of the training, some mentioned should be made of the curricula of the two Institutes training medical social workers. For almoner students, from 1933 in Melbourne and from the Institute's beginning in Sydney, this was the third year of their training. The most outstanding feature of the Institutes' curricula was the emphasis on practical work, although there was a trend in the later 1930's towards more class-room training. Under the supervision of a qualified almoner, students saw the working of a number of hospitals, and they studied social and economic factors connected with ill-health.

Reciprocity with the British Institute of Hospital Almoners and with each other was a matter of some importance to both the

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31 To meet the demand for qualified almoners, in 1939 an emergency course was offered by the Victorian Institute and the general training body. It covered two years and was open only to selected university graduates. Little use was made of it. V.I.H.A., A.R.1938.

32 In Melbourne, at first only the Melbourne Hospital was used, but in 1932 other hospitals with qualified almoners were included. By mid-1940, five hospitals *in Sydney*; Lewisham, Rachel Forster, Royal Alexandra, and St. Vincent's - had been used in the Sydney course. V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 16.11.32.

33 V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 19.4.33.

N.S.W. I.H.A., A.Rs.


Australian Institutes. Not only did this provide prestige and interchange of knowledge, but it provided almoners with employment opportunities interstate and in Britain. As early as 1932, the Victorian Institute became affiliated with the British one,34 and by mid-1939, the New South Wales Institute had followed suit, which in turn established full reciprocity between the Australian Institutes.35

The Teachers

To put their training schemes into effect, the training bodies required many teachers from a variety of fields. Each teacher was limited by the curriculum, the teaching materials available, and the nature of the students; as well as by his own training, experience, personality, aptitude for teaching, knowledge of social work, and interest.

The teachers were in two main groups, those teaching the background subjects and those doing the teaching directly concerned with social work.36 Those in the first group, apart from the Directors of

34 V.I.A., Exec., Minutes, 17.2.32; 16.3.32; 10.8.32; 16.11.32.
Dr. Newman Morris who visited England in 1932 helped the British Institute to establish the affiliation scheme.
In Sydney in 1938, the question of the status in North America of the local almoner course was raised, but was left unconsidered. N.S.W. I.H.A., Council, Minutes, 18.1.38.
36 Part of the following general analysis is based on indirect evidence, some of it verbal.
the training bodies who did some of this teaching, were not qualified social workers. They were either full-time members of the university staffs or they were people practising another profession, for example, law, medicine, psychiatry, or psychology. In most instances they were the best available in each city. Not always, however, were the university teachers interested in teaching social work students. Some did not like teaching only snippets of their discipline, and some thought the students' practical work an unnecessary distraction from their academic work. Moreover, the teachers from the other professions, being prominent in their professions, tended to have little time for preparing or revising lectures, and were often inexperienced in teaching.

The knowledge of actual social work possessed by the teachers of the background subjects would have been variable. Often, they would have needed outside guidance, usually from the Director, to make their subject as pertinent as possible for social work students. Further, for the course to be a coherent, integrated experience for the student, the work of the various teachers needed to be fitted together. But this was difficult, for a number of busy people were involved, the Directors had many other responsibilities, independent habits of thought were typical of university and professional people,

37 People like the Directors of Maternal Welfare and of the Tuberculosis Division of the Health Department in New South Wales were included. N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R.1938.
and there was an assumption anyway that the students would see where it all fitted together. In addition, it was expected that much of the integration would occur in the teaching on the professional side of the course.

The people doing this teaching were, where possible, qualified social workers, but in the early stages this was often difficult to achieve. The story of the professional teaching is one of a group trying to pull itself up by its bootstraps.

The teaching of the professional discipline proper occurred in the class-room and in the field. The first was largely the responsibility of the Director, although social workers from agencies were regularly used for discussion classes and some lectures. The second was done primarily by social workers supervising students' field work in the agencies, although members of the staff of the training bodies occasionally supervised students' field work directly. 38

Again, the problems of integrating this side of the course were con-

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38 Most of these people practised as well as taught, and therefore had cases of their own from which students could learn. Each of the almoners in charge of the Institutes' training were of course working in a large general hospital. Both the Adelaide and Melbourne Directors were voluntary probation officers. In Melbourne Jocelyn Hyslop and, in 1939, Jean Robertson, had cases referred to them from agencies without qualified staff, e.g. The Camberwell Ladies' Benevolent Society, the F.J. Cato Charitable Fund, the Children's Courts, members of the Queen's Jubilee Fund, the Housing Commission, the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, and three municipal playgrounds. V.C.S.T., A.R.1939-40.
siderable, let alone integrating the background and the professional parts. In these early years theory and practice were often unrelated. At least some of the supervisors used in the general course did not know the theory, and even if they had, their practice and the theory would have been very different.

As the number of qualified social workers increased, there was a marked tendency to use as supervisors inexperienced trained people, rather than experienced untrained ones. One can surmise that the quality of teaching of the former would not have been high, but the alternative was worse. In May, 1933, Joan Brett wrote: 'Very few of the large number of philanthropic societies here, with the exception of the C.O.S. have any idea of constructive casework and are quite incapable of handling training.'39 Some three months later, she confided to the Victorian Council's President that the training of students even at the Charity Organisation Society was unsatisfactory - its officers, all untrained, were not fully aware of students' needs; the students were under-employed, they tended not to handle the following up of their cases, they did not attend committee meetings at which cases were discussed, and there was little case discussion with students at any time.40 In 1935, Jocelyn Hyslop, while speaking to the

39 Joan Brett to Edith Eckhard, 10.5.53.
40 Joan Brett to Dr. J. Newman Morris, 30.8.33.
Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, asked existing workers to look on the students as members of a younger generation preparing to carry on the work of their predecessors, and not as nuisances or as people only to be made use of, which had so often happened to her when she was training in England. When agencies were understaffed there was a strong temptation to use students as extra labour and to spend little time on their supervision. This was even more so when supervisors did not know what the students were being taught in the class-room.

In the 1930's, although the standard of supervision of field work could not have been high except in rare instances, it was continually improving. The Melbourne Director in 1936 called two conferences of supervisors, and these became permanent features in subsequent years. This kind of activity, increasing consultation between the training bodies' professional teachers and the supervisors in agencies, some direct supervision of students' field work by the teachers themselves, and above all the growing experience and number of qualified social workers who could be used for supervision - all these helped to raise the standard of the practical work side of the course.

One of the reasons for establishing the Institute of Hospital Almoners in Sydney was the dissatisfaction of the qualified almoners

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41 *Argus*, 6.2.35.
42 V.C.S.T., A.Rs.
with the quality of professional teaching by the general training body. As soon as the Institute was formed it began negotiations with the Board to raise the amount and quality of the Board's professional teaching. Later it pressed specifically for an immediate appointment by the Board of a tutor in casework brought from North America or Britain. Not until 1939, however, was an appointment made.43

In these early years, then, there were many reasons why the teachers - in the background subjects and the professional subjects, in the academic work and the practical work - would not have provided students with an adequate and integrated education for social work. But there was improvement, particularly on the side of the professional teaching. Also, at least some of the teachers brought to their task enthusiasm for what they saw to be a significant new venture.

The Teaching Materials.

Even if the courses had been longer, and the teachers suitable in all respects, the teachers would still have been impeded by a lack of appropriate teaching materials - in the background subjects, in the professional subjects, and in the practical work alike.

Of particular importance in the education of social workers is

43 N.S.W. I.H.A., Training Sub Cttee., Minutes, 22.12.36; 8.1.37; 8.2.37; 22.2.37; 5.3.37; Council Minutes, 15.6.37; 20.7.37; 16.11.37; 19.4.38; 21.6.38; 5.3.39; 17.5.39.
The person appointed, Elizabeth Govan, was to be in a key position during the war years in Sydney. See pp. 259-260.
the condition of the social sciences in the society in which the education is being given. Some twenty years after the mid-1930's, it could still be written:

The Australian family is a subject which until now has escaped the serious attention of scholars in this country. The explanation undoubtedly lies in part in the fact that there have been few departments in our universities concerned with training in disciplines appropriate to this field of research. Economic and political matters have dominated the study of our past...but it is now time to give more attention to investigating the development and contemporary structure of what is so freely and proudly called "Australian society".44

Similarly other writers could make statements like, 'knowledge about the family system of other communities is far more extensive than knowledge about local systems',45 and, 'empirical material on which to base a study of Australian class structure is extremely meagre'.46

Until well beyond the 1930's, the social sciences, particularly sociology, the discipline most concerned with social phenomena, were in a very under-developed state in Australia.

The lack of knowledge about Australian society is not difficult to explain. In the larger, more industrialized societies, social

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45 Morven S. Brown, 'Changing Functions of the Australian Family', ibid., p. 25.
46 Jean I. Martin, 'Marriage, the Family, and Class', ibid., p. 25.
47 Ambiguity in the term 'social' often causes confusion. It may mean social as distinct from say economic or political, or it may refer to everything relating to society, in other words a synthesis of social (in the first sense), economic, political and other phenomena. Sociology legitimately covers both kinds of enquiry.
research had spread from the study of social problems to the study of the society in which they were found. The Australian communities, however, had not been faced with sharp destructive social divisions. Their populations were solidly British in origin. There was only a small aboriginal group. There were not tremendous extremes in wealth. Political revolution had never been experienced. The society was relatively late in becoming industrialized. There was the myth that it was a classless society.

No local philanthropic trusts were willing to finance large-scale social research. The universities reflected the general lack of interest in social issues. The appropriate departments if they existed at all were small, their members lacking the money, time and often inclination to undertake empirical research. They leaned heavily upon British and American empirical teaching materials. Further, their disciplines often were at a stage of development when arm-chair speculation unsupported by empirical enquiry went unquestioned. The position in Adelaide and Melbourne was less developed than in Sydney.

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48 The Australian Council For Educational Research, founded in the late 1920's, became one of the few sources of social research in Australia. It was endowed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. K.S. Cunningham, 'Education', Australia, ed. C. Hartley Grattan, p. 352.

49 In the early 1940's, the three universities had the following professorial chairs in subjects which could be roughly classified as social and/ or psychological sciences. 1940 - 8 of Sydney's 45 chairs: in psychology, history (2), psychiatry, education, anthropology, economics, public administration. 1941 - 3 of Melbourne's 28 chairs: history, economics, education. 1942 - 2 of Adelaide's 24 chairs: history and political science and economics.

From university calendars.
It has been seen how government departments in Australia early became involved in social provision. Research within them was slow to develop, and when it did it was often of poor quality, concentrating merely upon the collection of statistics in stereotyped categories. The idea that highly qualified people were needed to do social research worthy of the name was difficult to accept in public service circles, and this was not helped by the weak intellectual tradition of the Australian political parties. In political circles, as in the country in general, social questions were frequently considered matters of common sense upon which anyone could pass a judgement.

For many years, then, the teaching of the background subjects in the Australian social work courses was hampered by a lack of relevant Australian material. The same was true of the teaching material in the professional part of the course.

Again long after the 1930's, an American, after teaching in this part of one of the Australian courses could say:

There is a great need to develop teaching materials based on Australian rather than American or English practice. Much of the vitality is lost if one constantly uses illustrative materials from a different cultural context.50

The pattern of relying upon overseas, largely American, professional teaching materials was set in the 1930's.51 At the time there was no

50 Frances Hall, 'Report to the Board of Studies in Social Science,' m.s., A.U. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 15.12.54.
51 This is shown from reading lists. In 1936, the Melbourne Director mentions having a great amount of American literature on almost every topic. Miss J.S. Hyslop to Mrs. A.G. Wheaton, 9.6.36.
alternative to using these materials, and with some modification they could be made at least roughly relevant.\textsuperscript{52}

Few collections of social work and social science literature existed in the Australian community in the 1930's. Each of the training bodies built up its own collection, but general lack of funds kept it small,\textsuperscript{53} especially in Adelaide.\textsuperscript{54} To teach adequately such an eclectic discipline as social work, library facilities for teachers and students needed to be excellent. Because of the variety of the sources of knowledge and lack of text books, the training bodies were often forced to use roneoed lecture notes. This practice, convenient for the overworked student trying to pass examinations, did not encourage wide reading habits.

In the practical work part of the course, the work of social

\textsuperscript{51} (cont.)

In this same year, the Adelaide Director mentions having ordered material from America and having used the cases at the back of Mary Richmond's \textit{Social Diagnosis}.

Director, S.A. B.S.S.T., to Miss J.S. Hyslop, 22.9.36.

\textsuperscript{52} The question of the cultural relevance of all the overseas teaching materials is complex and cannot be settled until a great deal of Australian social and social work research has been done. It is quite possible that much of the material has a universal application in Western countries.

\textsuperscript{53} V.C.S.T., A.R.1936; \textit{The Trained Social Worker}.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., including Financial Statements, 1930-40.

\textsuperscript{54} It was initially estimated there that £50, followed by £20, per year was required to cover the need for a large number of library books and technical magazines then unobtainable in Australia.

S.A. B.S.S.T. to Hon. S.W. Jeffries, 7.7.36. Actual expenditure on the library was only a fraction of this.
agencies provided students with experience from which to learn. Many of the agencies were small and almost all were not accustomed to careful self-examination. Students would have seen much, particularly in the early years, which was at variance with what they were taught was good practice. A spectacular, if somewhat educationally misguided, attempt to show good practice to students was made when the Sydney Board's students visited American centres in the long vacation of 1934-5.55

The Students

Of importance to the early training standards and subsequently to the nature of the new occupational group emerging from the courses was the nature of the training bodies' students.

Although individual subjects in the course were sometimes open to any interested person, each of the training bodies agreed, for practical, educational, and sometimes moral reasons, that persons embarking on the full course should be selected on both educational and personal grounds. The principle of selecting students was especially difficult to apply in the early years. There was difference of opinion on what were necessary standards, interpretation of these

55 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1935, 1939-40. The Carnegie Corporation of New York helped to finance the tour, and the itinerary was arranged in cooperation with the American Association of Schools of Social Work, individual schools, universities, social agencies, the American Association of Social Workers, and women's clubs.
standards varied, and a certain flexibility particularly about experienced social workers was politic in this transition period.

At their 1938 discussion, the general training bodies considered the selection of students in terms of age, education and personal qualifications. Most delegates favoured a starting age of twenty years, allowance being made for exceptional cases. In this, they supported the practice of the Melbourne and Adelaide bodies. The Sydney Board's only age requirement was that no diploma was to be awarded before a person was 21.

Maturity for practical work or for professional practice were the usual arguments advanced for the age requirements. Sound though these may have been, they were a recruiting difficulty. During the waiting period after secondary schooling, many influences either in

57 Report of sub-Committee of Committee on Training for Social Work, ms., (1931). (Dr. Georgina Sweet's suggestion of 18, was rejected by this sub-committee).
J. Brett, 'Tentative Suggestions for a Board of Social Studies,' ms., November, 1932.
V.C.S.T., Prospectus for 1936.
V.C.S.T., The Trained Social Worker.
A. Boyce Gibson to Vic-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, 21.5.40. (In this he mentions his experience at Birmingham where the entrance age was 18 - 'quite good potential social workers (were sometimes) spoilt by a premature plunge').
S.A. B.S.S.T., Provisional Exec., Minutes, 8.12.35.
S.A. B.S.S.T., Cttee. for Studs., Minutes, 16.11.37.
Actually in Adelaide, students had to be twenty by July of their first year.
58 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1931-8.
the university or in employment could channel potential social work trainees into other fields. In addition, a waiting period put social work as a career at a competitive disadvantage with the careers for which training was immediately available.

In 1938, the three training bodies considered students should be capable of undertaking a university course, and stipulated the Leaving Certificate or its equivalent as a prerequisite. Again, provision was to be made for exceptional cases, particularly in the over 25 age group.59

Within each training bodies' student group there was, then, likely to be a fairly wide range of age, experience, and of intellectual ability. Striking appropriate teaching levels would, therefore, have been difficult, but at least the small student numbers made individual tuition possible.

In addition to age and educational requirements, students of the training bodies were screened on grounds of personal suitability. If social workers were personally unsuited to helping people with personal and social problems, and this was conceived as the prime function, they could harm both clients and themselves. Further, no matter how intellectually capable, it was a waste of time, energy and money, theirs' and the training bodies', trying to learn a discipline

which their personalities precluded them from practising effectively. 60

Actual selection techniques usually included personal interviews backed by references, but they were not of the intensive character sometimes found in the American schools. 61 For a brief period in Sydney, all underwent psychological tests, but later this procedure was reserved for doubtful cases. 62

The schools' 1938 discussion on student selection ended with agreement that:

(A) (i) a student's educational background and cultural maturity must be considered;
(ii) references should be obtained from people who know the student personally, and who know the student's work.

(B) ... a student should have:
(i) freedom from other commitments,
(ii) satisfactory health,
(iii) emotional maturity and stability,
(iv) breadth of interest,
(v) ability to establish constructive personal relationships,
(vi) initiative and capacity in planning and execution. 63

The two Almoner Institutes reserved the right to determine who of those acceptable for the general training course were also acceptable for medical social work training. Two factors determined this insistence upon independent judgement - first, and this applied more

60 'The profession of a social worker is one which demands the presence or absence of qualities not revealed by examination.' A. Boyce Gibson to Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, 21.5.40.
61 This may be explained in terms of lack of time, and unsureness of standards and of psychological assessment.
62 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Prospectuses, 1933-4, 1935, etc.
in Sydney, the original selection was not considered rigorous enough; and second, hospital social work was seen as having pressures not found in other social work settings. In practice, however, few of the general students who wished to do the almoner course were not accepted.

The entrance requirements, as with the courses themselves, reflected a conviction that modern social workers should be talented in a number of ways. Only a minority in any community had the natural and general educational endowment to gain the professional qualification, and far from all of these had the financial resources to do the course in a period when there was practically no outside aid available to students. Previously, the main requirements to do social work connected with non-government organizations were interest and leisure, and the one requirement to work in a government department concerned with social legislation, as with other legislation, was literacy. Not all in existing agencies would have been engaged in

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64 e.g. a hospital was a large complex institution, clients were usually ill, death was a close disturbing reality, and healthy working relationships with others on the hospital staff, particularly doctors, were vital.

65 That is if the surviving record in the various Minute Books is not too incomplete, and if there were not many of the general students dissuaded from medical social work before the point of application.

66 Estimates of the percentage of the population capable intellectually of understanding university education vary, but rarely go much above 10%.

67 Fees for the full time courses were not high in spite of the training bodies' relatively high overhead costs, but students, or their parents, also had to pay for their living expenses over the training period.
potential social casework situation or in policy-forming, but a great many would. There is a strong likelihood that only a moderate proportion of these would have had the basic endowment to undertake the new professional courses. On the other hand, many with the basic endowment were not then engaged in social work, one of the reasons being that it was not yet recognized as needing relatively rare talents. Recruiting for the new courses therefore had to tap new sources and tactfully neglect some of the older ones.

None of the training bodies seems to have had a definite recruitment policy - that is something studied, planned, and executed, over a period of time. Recruitment literature was sparse and what there was tended to be of an all-purpose nature - for recruits, employers, donors, and the general public. All four areas needed to be successfully reached if the training was to become firmly established.

Press advertisements for students were not unusual, nor were special newspaper articles. The general coverage of the training bodies' activities, at least in Melbourne and Adelaide, was reasonably good - much greater than at a later stage when they were better...

68 Reflecting perhaps, lack of time, money and undifferentiated thinking. See e.g. V.C.S.T., The Trained Social Worker.
established and newspaper space was more competitive. Occasionally, time was given them on the radio.

All the organizations represented on the training bodies were possible sources of recruitment but there is little evidence on what contribution they made. As workers became trained they themselves sometimes recruited for their profession. Most of the recruiting effort, however, emanated from the training bodies. Attempts, usually spasmodic, were made to reach students leaving school and university students, particularly in the Arts faculties. There were occasions like women's conferences when publicity of social work

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69 Chapter 2 contains references to a few of the newspaper reports and articles of the 1930's.

The training authorities were sometimes concerned about the accuracy of reports. e.g. Director, V.C.S.T., to Miss Syme, 'The Age', 3.10.36.

Publicity needed very careful handling. At one stage the Almoners' Institute in Victoria objected strongly to the general training body about 'various articles in the press characterised by inaccuracy and bad taste', and which mentioned almoners without them having been consulted. Its Directress said, 'The chance of introducing trained social workers into the community would, I imagine, be retarded many years as a result.' D. Bethune to J. Hyslop, 11.11.37.

The outcome was a public statement that the object of the training body was not 'to substitute itself for existing organisations of voluntary workers, but to provide them with a professionally trained personnel on which to draw.' Chairman, V.C.S.T., to The Editor, 'Sun News Pictorial', 25.11.37.

70 e.g. J.T. Massey and Stella Pines, 'Social Service as a Career,' ms. Radio discussion, Adelaide, 17.2.36.

V.C.S.T., A.R.1937 - The Australian Broadcasting Commission's 'This Week's Good Cause' programme was used by the Council in 1937.

71 e.g. S.A. B.S.S.T., Minutes, 11.2.36 - The Executive reported having sent a letter to the heads of private and public schools and old scholars' associations.

S.A. B.S.S.T., Ctte. for Studs., Minutes, 2.9.36 - decision to sent a letter and brochure to the heads of all secondary girls' schools.
training may well have brought recruits. To know precisely where the publicity penetrated and how effective it was is now impossible. It is not unlikely that personal contacts rather than the general publicity led many students into the courses.

There was an unquestioned assumption, based primarily upon British precedent, that hospital social work was women's work. All efforts to recruit for the almoner courses were consequently directed towards females. Much of the recruiting for the general social work courses also tended to be aimed at females. Partly as a result of this limited recruiting, but perhaps mainly from many other factors of which the limited recruiting was only symptomatic, almost all the pre-war students, and therefore the qualified social workers, were women - in spite of the general training bodies' expectations.

72 e.g. The Women's Conference arranged by the Women's Centenary Council in 1934 had the importance of social work training as one of its principal themes. *Argus*, 28.11.34.

The Adelaide Director spoke at the Women Graduates' Vocational Conference in 1936. S.A. B.S.S.T., Cttee. for Studs., 2.9.36.

Katharine Ogilvie, representing the Social Workers' Association of N.S.W., spoke on 'The Need for Social Case Work. A Challenge to University Women', at a Conference of the Australian Federation of University Women in January 1938, ms..


74 See Appendix 4.
repetition that the courses were for men and women. It is important to look at this question in some detail.

The broad cleavage which had developed in Australian social provision by the time the training bodies emerged has been observed. The government mainly male sector was often represented on the training bodies, and occasionally used in the practical work section of the courses, but public servants or potential public servants had little encouragement to take the courses. There is an inbuilt slowness in government action, but by the end of the 1930's, only the New South Wales Child Welfare Department through its proposed catedship scheme had shown any sign of really active interest on the part of the government sector in any State. Almost all the government authorities had still to be convinced that the training was necessary for some and worthwhile for many others in departments primarily concerned with social welfare. Confidence in the existing standards, general suspicion of the usefulness of formal higher education, particular sus-

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75 Typical was the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.'s reference to its course in its 1933-34 Prospectus, as being 'for men and women who may wish to undertake administrative or executive duties in social work, whether it be in a salaried or voluntary capacity'.
76 What follows rests largely upon indirect evidence and is of necessity brief. The issues mentioned are large, variable, and tangled.
77 See pp. 73-5.
78 Director, S.A. B.S.S.T., to Director, N.S.W. B.S.S.T., 6.6.38 - '...neither Victoria nor South Australia has such an achievement to offer as the proposed schemes for training the personnel of the Child Welfare Department in New South Wales.'
picion that much of the training was not relevant to the departments' work, scepticism about the early standards of the training bodies, worry about the cost of training, anticipation of the difficulty of fitting trained people and their new techniques into an established administrative structure, fear for their own personal security, and lack of identification with social work in general, either from ignorance or sex prejudice - these must have been some of the factors operating in the minds of the public servants concerned. 79

The prime sources of advanced professional knowledge were at first the directors of the training courses and these were all women. There were restrictions to the employment of women in the public service, and public servants were not accustomed to them participating in their work, at least not at policy-making levels. To say that sex prejudice did not enter into their judgement of the need for the courses offering would seem to be implausible.

The greater part of the organizations represented on the training bodies were in the non-government sector of the social services. Practically all of these were small with slender financial reserves. Many men participated in them usually at policymaking and general administrative levels but not usually in a vocational capacity. The actual social work, i.e. the face to face handling of individuals or

79 A revealing comment was made in 1933 by the Minister in charge of the Sustenance Department in Victoria, the Hon. W. Kent Hughes. He is recorded as saying that he considered the jobs in that department were more suitable for men than women, and that he intended to train his own workers. V.C.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 12.10.33.
groups in need, was identified mainly with women. 80

The general training bodies were keen for policy-makers and
general administrators in the non-government agencies quite as
much as in the government ones to do their course, but being a
two-year full-time undertaking, it was too much for a person with
just a part-time interest, and there was difficulty during the
depression years for the agencies to begin employing people at the
level of practice, let alone at these levels.

The small group of men in non-government agencies then actually
practising as social workers could not be induced to take the course
for a number of reasons. They were poorly paid and could not afford
the necessary time or money, and their employers were in no financial
or staff position to help. Once qualified, there was little chance of
substantial financial recognition of the qualification by the employers.
This applied also of course to those coming fresh to the field.

Many of the men worked in youth recreation. The training bodies'
concentration on social casework, to the neglect of social group work,
made the courses appear irrelevant; in addition, a specialized, less
rigorous training was already available for at least some of them,
through the Young Men's Christian Association.

Coping with the physically tough anti-social elements and the
chronically destitute element in society tended to be a male (often

80 See p. 74.
Stella Pines in a recruiting talk in 1936 - 'The trouble is that
social service work is too often associated in the minds of the people
with women only.' Massey and Pines, 'Social Service as a Career', ms.
church) preserve, because these elements were usually male, and it was considered either dangerous or not 'nice' for women to work with them. In the absence of knowledge of effective remedial techniques, attitudes were inclined at the worst to be harsh, punitive and hopeless, at the best custodial. Further, religious 'saving' rather than social rehabilitation, was often the work's focus. It was highly unlikely, at least in the early stages, that this traditional area of social provision would have provided many students for the courses. Attitudes were firmly established and the sophistications of social casework seemed irrelevant.

None of the clergy undertook the courses in the 1930's, yet some of them, particularly those attached to missions or in underprivileged districts, spent the greater part of their time in social casework situations. The training movement in Australia, as elsewhere, was essentially a secular movement, and one of its biggest challenges was to make an impact on all the many social welfare functions the churches had traditionally, and were still, undertaking. Pre-war, little was achieved in this direction.

It may be true of some of the women concerned with the training bodies that they wished to keep the work for their sex, either because it was one of the very few interesting outlets for women's talents in communities where their roles were limited, or because they thought
the work inherently more female in character. 81

These, then, were the kind of factors working against male students being recruited for the courses. How did females undertaking the course view it? The community at large was still at a stage when the idea of a professional career woman met with widespread resistance. The woman's natural role was seen as a domestic one, and it is unlikely that a great number of those taking the social work courses took a different view. Granted that questions of students' motivation in undertaking any courses are complex, it is apparent that the social work courses had advantages for females with marriage in mind. They qualified the person for paid, interesting interim work, and work which had some relevance to the life they were to lead after marriage; and in addition, compared with many university courses, were not too long nor too difficult, yet gave a student access to the university student body which raised her marriage chances. 82 If many of the students did their courses without a sense of long-term commitment to professional practice, this would have had an effect upon the quality of their work and the teaching they received, to say nothing of the serious long-term repercussions for the building of a new profession.

81 The training movement at points was connected with the advancement of higher education for women, an aspect of the feminist movement. The fear of males taking over to the exclusion of females even in this field, may have influenced the feminists in the training movement.

82 At a later period when the training was a fully university one, 'the deb. department' was a label sometimes used in university circles for the department concerned with training social workers.
The manifold effects of the new training being identified with women were long-lasting, and made peculiarly difficult the effort to place all the responsible work in social provision, government and non-government, in the hands of people aware of its interrelatedness, and sharing common knowledge, skills and values. There seems to have been little concern in the training bodies themselves about the lack of male students. Looking at the situation in the practical and short-term way in which they must have viewed it, women students were far easier to recruit than men; in addition, social casework was the technique most advanced in its theory, and it was much more clearly linked with women than were social group work, community organization, and social administration, where for lack of theory teaching was more difficult.83

Further, dealing with the broader aspects of the community in any detail raised difficult questions which could not be adequately handled in the time available in the courses. Lack of time, money, staff, and sureness of the future ensured that the easier way tended to prevail.

In the 1938 conference of the training bodies, however, it was agreed, although apparently without reference to the important sex-factor involved, that they must look to the public services for the

83 Dealing with the broader aspects of the community was mainly a male task in 'a man's world'. The early preponderance of females in the training courses in the United States and Britain (see pp. 22, 27) was both cause for and effect of casework technique being the more highly developed.
greater number of employment opportunities for trained people.

'The lack of money in private agencies and the widening sphere of governmental activities' were the main reasons given. 84

The length, level, and cost of the courses determined that the students were drawn mainly from the higher socio-economic groups, from the professional and the more affluent of the white-collar families. At a time when educational opportunities were largely ruled by the socio-economic status of one's family, these courses tended to confirm the traditional class base of much of the voluntary social service activity. 85 Although the social stratification of Australian communities was not as marked nor rigid as in Britain, it was none the less real. 86 From what has been said in the earlier

85 See Herald, 19.7.34. This article mentioned that 'sixteen young women, many of them from Melbourne's oldest families', had been attracted to the course of the V.C.S.T..

The English name 'Lady Almoner' was never adopted in Australia, and none in Australia would have described his ideal almoner as 'a gentlewoman; a person of good breeding and high character', as did Lord Moynihan, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, in an address to the British Institute of Hospital Almoners, May 1927. But the almoner group in Australia was at first a little socially as well as professionally distinct from the rest of the qualified social workers. Among reasons for this were their more expensive course, their association with the British almoners, and their alliance through work and often through family with the medical profession, rated the highest of the professions and high in the general social structure (see Jean I. Martin 'Marriage, The Family and Class', Marriage and the Family in Australia, p. 27).
86 Ibid..
parts of the chapter it is doubtful if the courses in the 1930's were of sufficient length or educational strength to shake the students' outlook on society and people derived from their own sub-culture and to remould it to a new professional pattern. But it could be held that any initial lack of effectiveness of the courses prevented the qualified social workers from dividing off from the rest of the voluntary social service field too sharply too early. As for those administering the government sector of social provision it is possible that, on occasions, the different social and educational background of the qualified social workers, apart from sex differences and other considerations, set up barriers to acceptance. 87

By starting with full professional courses, the Australian training bodies were immediately committed to handling many complex issues. Overseas example helped them to pick their way conceptually through their problems, but time and work was needed to give substance to many aspects of the local training. While the students of the 1930's did not receive a basic training comparable with what became available later, the introduction to professional practice they received was much superior to none at all. The training bodies' early concentration, however, upon casework and women, so natural at the time, laid the foundations for future impediment to a broad professional growth.

87 "Nice" girls from "nice" families' was a stereotype of qualified social workers which became established in at least some public service circles.
CHAPTER 5

A NEW OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

The previous two chapters have been concerned with the development of an Australian social work training movement - the training bodies created, the people involved, and the early training standards. This chapter examines the pre-war fortunes of the new occupational group produced by the movement. It considers the character of the general social welfare scene in the 1930's, the employment of the new occupational group within the society's welfare services, the professional activities of the qualified social workers outside their agencies, and finally discusses the quality of their work.

A Stirring of the Social Conscience

During 1929-39, Australian society was shaken to its foundations by a major economic depression, whose misery, fear, and despair were to leave their mark on a generation of Australians. At no stage during the whole decade were less than 10% of the work force unemployed; at the worst period in the early 1930's, there were more than 30%.¹ Large numbers of individuals were years without work. Male employment was harder hit than female employment, and youth unemployment was

¹ Commonwealth Year Books, No. 22-1929, p. 564; No. 28-1935, p.395; No. 32-1939, p.457. The exact extent of unemployment will never be known, because of very limited statistics.
particularly high.  

Because of difficulty in paying rent, many people evacuated sections of the cities and towns to live in huts of bag or iron on the town outskirts or to swell the already over-large slum populations.  

When the Brotherhood of St. Laurence became established in Fitzroy in Melbourne during the darkest days of the depression, it was appalled by the living conditions around it, and despaired of being able to assist even some of those thousands of decent Australians sleeping in parks and under bridges and walking the slum streets during the day in order to seek help from overworked and understaffed charitable organizations.

As has been seen, in the late 1920's in Australia, many organizations were involved in looking after the material welfare of individual Australians in need of outside assistance, but the provision was limited in amount and coverage. In particular, there was no unemployment insurance scheme, except in Queensland, and there was no firm tradition of community responsibility for all individuals' welfare. Australian welfare authorities in 1929 were ill-equipped to cope with widespread and long-lasting poverty. Their subsequent relief work during the depression has been condemned as being badly

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3 Ibid., p. 127.
4 Gerard Kennedy Tucker, "Thanks Be", pp. 70-1.
5 See pp. 65-72.
handled and short-sighted, causing much needless misery. Short-term emergency measures were relied upon. Rarely did policies aim at conserving skills, keeping up morale, or even preserving families at a reasonable subsistence minimum. The 'dole' was given not as a right but as a charitable donation; the old notion that many of the unemployed could find jobs if they tried lingered.  

The relief of the unemployed was still seen as a State not a Commonwealth Government responsibility. Although non-government relief-giving expanded greatly in the period, the State Governments found they had to assume the major relief-giving role. Yet their resources were limited, and they in turn had to look to the Commonwealth for financial assistance.

In contrast to the makeshift arrangements for relief, the economic measures adopted by the Australian governments were carefully planned and executed. They were designed, misguidedly according to modern theory, to bring about deflation and economy. Under these conditions money was not likely to be spent on new government social services, and, in fact, some of the existing provision was reduced in its

8 Ibid.
In the second half of the 1930's, however, there was a little expansion in infant and child welfare services and an awakening interest in slum clearance and low-cost housing; in 1936 the Commonwealth Government expanded its Federal Health Council into the influential National Health and Medical Research Council which was to have a comprehensive advisory role in public health matters; and in 1937, the Victorian State Government introduced limited non-contributory pensions for widows. The movement towards social insurance schemes, which had been interrupted by the depression, again gathered strength from the mid-1930's, but again it was without result. Reports on unemployment insurance and a health and pensions insurance by two British experts were acted upon. The first scheme, however, foundered on the question of the respective responsibilities of the Commonwealth and State Governments, and a 1938 National Health and Pensions Insurance Act was abortive because many disagreed with its form, the Labour Party opposed contributory schemes, the medical profession was hostile, and the war was impending.

10 Mendelsohn, in Public Administration in Australia, ed. Spann, p. 130.
Birch, Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation, p. 211.
12 This remained a very limited scheme.
13 See pp.68-9.
The social provision primarily concerned with mental health remained markedly under-developed. By the end of the 1930's, the child guidance movement had made little headway. Mental illness and mental defectiveness were frequently confused. The bulk of the mentally ill were still segregated from society in huge State Government prison-like custodial institutions called asylums. Psychiatry, not yet a respectable field of medical practice, was largely confined within their walls and was mainly practised by doctors with little or no psychological training. The emergence, however, of mental health associations in the larger States during the 1930's was a sign of an increasing awareness of the size and importance of the modern mental health problem.

Another noticeable, if limited, development during the 1930's was movement towards coordinating social service effort. Frequently, those who supported the social work training movement, saw this as a coordinating activity, and some saw the cooperation of so many agencies on the training bodies as a forerunner to wider cooperation.

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15 Alan Stoller, Mental Health Facilities and Needs of Australia, p. 165.
16 e.g. the Victorian Council for Mental Hygiene, founded in 1929, aimed at a broad community mental health program. See Charity Organisation Society of Melbourne, Charitable, Philanthropic and Welfare Work in Victoria, 1941, p. 48. The pre-war mental health associations lapsed, however, and had to be revived in the post-war years.
17 e.g. H. Tasman Lovell, President, B.S.S.T., to the Vice-Chancellor, University of Sydney, 24.9.28. (Fisher Library Archives) S.A. B.S.S.T., Constitution, (typescript) - The Board was 'to do all in (its) power to coordinate the work of all social service agencies.'
In each of the three cities in which the training bodies were located, groupings of agencies occurred, particularly amongst those concerned with relief-giving, but only in Sydney was a council of social service established.

In 1929, the Central Council of Victorian Benevolent Societies was formed, and it subsequently set up a not very successful central index of cases. In 1937, when it had 41 affiliated societies, it withstood an appeal from within its ranks to expand into a 'Council of Welfare Workers,' virtually a council of social service.  

At the first annual meeting of the Adelaide training body, the Director recommended the setting up of a central index, the formation of a council of social service, and the publication of a directory of social agencies. The following year, 1937, she helped the newly-established Council of Charitable Relief Organisations to initiate a central registration of relief, and had the information, but not the funds, to publish a directory.  

Only in Sydney was such a directory compiled during the 1930's.

18 (Mrs.) G.G. Henderson, Suggestions to enlarge the Representation on the Central Council of Victorian Benevolent Societies, under the title of Council of Welfare Workers, (typescript). Sent to all 'interested societies,' 29.6.37. The author was a Vice-President of both the V.C.S.T. and the V.I.H.A.

19 S.A. B.S.S.T., Director's Report, A.M., Minutes, 27.10.37.

20 In Melbourne, the C.O.S. had previously compiled directories in 1888, 1889, 1912, and 1922. (Charity Organisation Society of Melbourne, Charitable, Philanthropic and Welfare Work in Victoria, 1941, p. 3). An earlier Sydney directory was J. Carlile Fox, The Social Workers' Guide for Sydney and New South Wales, 1911. (Its preface is of historical interest. The object was 'to enable Social Workers to help the poor speedily, and in a business-like manner; to simplify
This was done by the Sydney general social work training body.\textsuperscript{21}

While compiling the directory, the Board considered the time 'ripe for a renewed attempt to devise means by which the philanthropic efforts of this city might be coordinated.' Owing to the efforts of the Board eventually in August 1935, a large gathering agreed to launch a coordinating body. Early the next year, after British and American literature had been studied, the Council of Social Service of New South Wales was formed.\textsuperscript{22} Its aims, to achieve cooperation and coordination among all bodies carrying on social work, were those of a fully developed council, but its resources were very limited and in fact its main function at first was the running of a central index.\textsuperscript{23}

Qualified social workers played some part in this movement towards coordination, but generally their numbers were too small in the 1930's for them to make an impact upon social policy or administration. By 1940, the total product of the Australian training bodies

\begin{flushright}
20 (cont.)
cooperation of the Charities by a clear understanding of each other's methods and aims; to assist in preventing overlapping; (and) to display concisely a potential field for work of an interesting nature before persons of leisure, who (were) anxious to devote their time to some worthy object.'
\end{flushright}

\begin{itemize}
\item 21 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Directory of Social Agencies, Sydney, 1933.
\item 22 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1932-7.
\item 23 N.S.W. C.S.S., A.R. 1937, (typescript).
\end{itemize}
was only about 120 qualified people, over 95% female. Although an increasing proportion of these had been lost to marriage, and a few had gone into alternative paid employment, most of them were, however, actually employed as social workers.

Ready But Uneven Employment

As was to be expected from the location of the training bodies, and the nature of their courses and their students, most pre-war qualified social workers were women working in non-government agencies in Sydney and Melbourne, usually doing social casework often in a medical setting. Although this was a period of general financial stringency, people qualified by the new courses had no difficulty in finding paid employment. This was because the number qualifying each year was small; salaries were comparatively low, and agencies hoped

24 54 (1 male) had qualified under the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.; 14 under the V.I.H.A. before the V.C.S.T. came into existence; 39 (3 males) under the V.C.S.T.; and 12 (1 male) under the S.A. B.S.S.T.. See Appendix 5.

25 By 1940, at least a fifth of the people qualified by the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. had been married and the rate was increasing. This had usually meant their immediate loss to social work employment since the working wife was not acceptable in the higher socio-economic groups. N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.R. 1939-40. This Report states, 'Five of our graduates married during the year, and with (one exception) have retired from social work.'

None of the Victorian almoners recorded as married after qualifying were recorded as working after marriage. V.I.H.A., A.Rs.

26 See M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 25.6.43.

27 A few spent periods abroad gaining further qualifications generally in medical social work or mental health work. Their absence was roughly balanced by the presence of a handful of qualified social workers from overseas. See e.g. V.I.H.A., A.Rs., 1936-37, '38-39.
that under trained guidance their resources would be used more efficiently; and the social workers' general training fitted them for different jobs. In addition, the most significant group, the almoners, only slightly increased the total labour costs of the agencies within which they worked, large hospitals.

It was appropriate that the first qualified social worker to work in Australia was an almoner, for hospital social work was the only field of professional social work practice which showed any real development in the 1930's in Australia. Vital to the employment of almoners was their acceptance by hospital boards, hospital administrators, the medical profession, existing auxiliary medical services, and community welfare organizations.

The Victorian Almoner Institute actively promoted almoners' employment. It sent letters to honorary medical staffs and to the Hospital Secretaries Association, it provided speakers for various groups, and its officers wrote articles for the general and medical press. Moreover, many of its members were already closely connected with individual hospitals and could informally support the Institute's work. A powerful ally was the Charities Board, who at least twice,

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28 See p.89.
29 This was an object of the Institute - V.I.A., Constitution, (typescript); Minutes, 18.7.29; V.I.H.A., Constitution - adopted, A.M., 6.9.33. The N.S.W. I.H.A., Memorandum and Articles of Association, includes a similar object.
in 1931 and 1934, actively urged Victorian hospitals to appoint almoners.

In securing the cooperation of the medical profession, the doctors already convinced of the worth of almoners had a crucial role. The report written by Dr. Newman Morris after his American tour was used extensively. So also was this testimony of the President of the Royal College of Surgeons:

Nothing...has more impressed itself on my mind during the last few years since at the Leeds Infirmary we started our system of almoners...than the saving in human life and the alleviation of human misery through constant and devoted work which is given to the hospital by the almoners... (Unless) every hospital in future has a recognized member of its staff an almoner, or even two or three or four or more, the work which has been done in that hospital is not having its full effect, and...there is in all probability a very heavy waste of money...(The) work of the almoner is absolutely essential to the welfare of patients.

Almoners' work received publicity at the Australian Medical Congress in Hobart in 1934, and at the time of the annual meeting of the British Medical Association in Melbourne the following year.

Through this kind of activity, a climate favourable to almoner appointments was created, and towards the end of the 1930's, the demand both in Victoria and other States for qualified almoners far outstripped the supply. Sometimes, special financial assistance -

30 V.I.A., A.R. 1930; Exec., Minutes, 2.1.31.
31 See p.113.
32 Lord Moynihan, The Importance of the Almoner's Department in the Hospital, May 1927.
33 V.I.H.A., A.Rs., 1933-34, '35-36.
34 V.I.H.A., A.Rs., 1935-40. The 1936-37 Report mentions that requests from South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and even New Zealand for trained almoners had to go unmet.
from hospital auxiliaries, Junior Red Cross, a private sponsor — supported almoner work until the hospital was ready to accept full responsibility. At least twice, almoners worked for periods without pay to demonstrate their usefulness. Probation periods were common, but appointments almost invariably were renewed and the work snow-balled.

By the mid-1930's practically all the important public hospitals in Melbourne accepted the idea of appointing almoners. Six hospitals had taken the Melbourne Hospital's 1929 lead - the Children's in 1931, St. Vincent's in 1932, and the Women's, the Alfred, Prince Henry's and the After-Care in 1934-5. Only one full-time country appointment had been made - at the Geelong Hospital in 1934. Subsequent hospital appointments consolidated rather than extended this position, although right at the end of the 1930's, the Queen Victoria Hospital made its first appointment. The first non-hospital medical social work appointment in Victoria was made in 1936 by the newly-formed Victorian Society for Crippled Children and this was an agency whose services extended.

35 As with e.g. the Melbourne and the Melbourne St. Vincent's Hospitals, the Melbourne Children's Hospital, and the Adelaide Children's Hospital, respectively.

The general information about appointments comes from the Minutes and A.Rs. of the training bodies and existing professional associations; and from Katharine Ogilvie, 'Twenty Years A'Growing,' ms.; and Alma Hartshorn, 'Medical Social Work in Victoria,' ms.

36 At Hobart Hospital and at the Alfred Hospital, Melbourne.

37 In 1933, Bendigo Hospital had a part-time almoner.

38 In the 1930's special services for physically handicapped children arose as a direct result of the poliomyelitis epidemics.
The Royal Melbourne Hospital led the field in the size of its almoner department. Its almoners' cases, referred from doctors who knew and had confidence in the almoners' work, could generally be grouped under certain medical categories. The clinic by clinic growth of the almoner department was typical; as also was its early accommodation. Its office was a converted bathroom -

Patients waited on a form in the passage-way which, being exposed on the south, was cold in the winter... (To) obtain privacy interviews were frequently conducted on the... seats by the tennis court.

Largely because of the later development of almoner training in Sydney, almoner appointments there tended to be of more recent origin and in 1940, less extensive than in Melbourne. Before the establishment of the New South Wales Institute in 1937, already the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, in 1933, the Rachel Forster Hospital for Women and Children, in 1934, and Sydney and St. Vincent's Hospitals, in 1936, had appointed qualified almoners, and the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital and Royal North Shore Hospital each had a

39 In the late 1930's, the Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria pressed for an immediate extension of almoner services to selected country areas and took positive action to overcome the shortage of almoners (see p. 99), but the war intervened.

40 Often, unlike at the Melbourne Hospital, even the initial appointment was to a specific clinic rather than to provide a general almoner service for the whole hospital.

41 Dorothy Bethune, 'An Historical Survey of Almoner Work in Victoria,' ms. In 1939, prompted by the N.S.W. Institute, the N.S.W. Hospitals Commission asked the Public Works Department to provide proper almoner accommodation in new hospitals. N.S.W. I.H.A., Minutes, 17.5.39, 19.7.39.
social service worker. In 1937, Lewisham, and three years later, the Prince Henry and Crown Street Women’s Hospitals appointed almoners. By mid-1940, however, there was no appointment outside Sydney or outside a hospital.

The development of medical social work in the 1930’s in South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, was slight; and in Queensland non-existent. The Victorian almoner Institute fed information to key persons in Adelaide and in 1935 its Directress visited there. By 1937, almoners had been appointed to the South Australian Society for Crippled Children, the Adelaide Children’s Hospital and the Adelaide General Hospital. The Perth General Hospital early had a social service department run by qualified nurses. One of these qualified as an almoner with the Victorian Institute in 1936, and on her return successfully advocated the replacement of nurses by almoners. Shortly afterwards, the Perth Children’s Hospital made its first appointment. In Hobart, the only appointments were at the Hobart Hospital 1931-5, and the Tasmanian Society for Crippled Children, for most of the 1930’s.

There were difficulties in establishing an independent role for almoners. Social work authorities insisted that medical social work

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42 The Institute recognized these two social service workers, but they were not used as student supervisors.
43 V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 17.7.35.
was distinct from nursing. It required higher academic attainments, knowledge that nursing did not cover, and different attitudes from the authoritarian ones often found among trained nurses. Further, it needed greater self-reliance. Almoners' social casework was a discipline in which the doctors had no special competence, and which in other communities was practised more frequently outside medical settings than in them. For this reason, social workers were not providing an ancillary service like nurses. For convenience and to gain acceptance in the early stages, however, they frequent allowed themselves to be so classified. Their sex helped doctors and administrators to think of them as ancillary workers, even as 'doctors' handmaidens,' working under medical direction rather than with medical cooperation. This had important status and salary implications.

Some responsibility for employment standards for almoners was taken by the two almoner Institutes. In 1935, the Victorian Institute expressed regret to the New Zealand hospital authorities that the Wellington Hospital used the title 'almoner' for an untrained person. The next year an English visitor, untrained but with some relevant experience was not accepted by the Institute to act even temporarily as an almoner for it feared 'a dangerous precedent' would be set. In 1938, the Victorian Institute set down conditions of employment

44 e.g. S.A. B.S.S.T., 'Reply to Questionnaire of the League of Nations' Social Questions Committee,' ms..
45 V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 15.5.35.
46 V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 17.6.36.
which it believed would give the Australian almoner a status equivalent to the British almoner's. All vacancies were to be advertised and worded to invite applications from qualified almoners only, and the Institute was to be advised. The minimum salary was to be £250 a year. An almoner in charge of a department was to be paid 'according to responsibility, ability and experience.' Annual leave, and clerical help and office equipment were to be adequate. The New South Wales Institute almost immediately adopted these same conditions.

It is probable that at least some of the early qualified almoners were timid about the question of payment. They and their employers were very much aware of the voluntary tradition of social service work. In subsequent years this was to be important in preventing social workers' salaries from being realistically assessed in terms of the length and level of the training and the responsible nature of the work.

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47 V.I.H.A., A.R. 1937-38. Care was taken to make these only suggestions. The right of employing bodies to determine actual conditions was not challenged.

48 N.S.W. I.H.A., Council, Minutes, 21.6.38. Sir Robert Wade subsequently resigned as Chairman of the Council when the Board of the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children of which he was Chairman decided to pay Assistant Almoners less than £250 a year.

49 A Secretary of one of the State Crippled Children's Associations declared, 'She doesn't need the money,' when his Association offered an almoner only £150 a year. Sex and class elements are evident.

50 As recently as 1957, one of the leaders in the 1930's said, 'Social workers should never forget their privileged position of being paid to do good.' (If by 'doing good' is meant 'performing socially desirable work,' many occupational groups are so privileged.)
Both of the almoner Institutes advised hospitals upon the scope of almoner work. In their view, the almoners' task was to study and treat social disabilities affecting the patient's health and to ensure as far as possible that he received the full benefit from his medical treatment. Although assessing patients' fees was not entirely absent in Australian almoner work it never assumed the proportion it did in the early stages in Britain. One of the chief Australian practitioners in the 1930's has said:

The first concern of the profession was with demonstrating methods of helping hospital patients in ways which appealed to hospital boards and medical officers. These often were concerned with the problem of ensuring that patients and especially children attended hospital as required, and were provided with aids to treatment such as special drugs, surgical appliances, transport, fares to hospital, after-care, etc. Many of the procedures involved (were closer) to administration than to casework.

During these depression years, much of the almoners' time was spent in trying to break, for overwhelming numbers of people, the vicious circle of poverty and disease. Material assistance was the immedi-

51 N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R. 1942, contains a more succinct version of an almoner's functions, than one in earlier reports, which in turn closely resembled one used as early as 1929 by the Victorian Institute and acknowledged as being drawn from a British Report of the Joint University Council for Social Studies. V.I.A., Minutes, 1.5.29.

52 Katharine Ogilvie, 'The Beginnings of Medical Social Work in Australia,' ms.

53 No less than 2,849 patients were interviewed by the almoner at the Rachel Forster Hospital from June 1934 to June 1935. Of these 1,728 were sent by administrative officers for consultation regarding the cost of medical treatment, and 1,121 were referred by medical officers for 'advice and assistance.' (Report of the Almoner Department, June 1935) To describe the latter group as constituting a 'case-load' would be misleading. Some were genuine 'cases' in a casework sense, the remainder perhaps would best be described as 'administrative contacts.'
ate need, leaving little time for intensive casework. Through the extensive use the early almoners made of community resources to help their clients, many hospitals quickly emerged from their comparative community isolation.\(^{54}\)

The position of the non-medical social workers during the 1930's was different from that of the almoners. They may have had considerable impact as individuals on particular agencies, but they were sparsely scattered over widely diverse fields of social provision. No special bodies like the Institutes were concerned with opening up their employment opportunities, defining their functions or safeguarding their employment conditions. The constitutions of the general training bodies contained no direct reference to employment.\(^{55}\)

Their officers, however, particularly their Directors, had to concern themselves with it — for the survival of the training schemes if for no other reason. They made no concerted effort to develop any parti-

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\(^{54}\) e.g. the Almoner Department of the Rachel Forster Hospital, in connection with its patients, cooperated with at least 11 different kinds of government agency; 3 different church agencies, and clergy of 4 denominations; 35 other non-government agencies; 13 convalescent and holiday homes; and 'numerous employers, landlords and private individuals.' Report, June 1935.

During 1940, the Almoner Department of Sydney Hospital cooperated with 14 convalescent homes, 6 children's homes, 11 institutions and rest homes, 15 other hospitals (3 of them in Melbourne), 20 government agencies; and 49 non-government agencies of various kinds. Report of The Work of the Almoner's Department, June 1936 to December 1940, Sydney Hospital.

\(^{55}\) This expressed their formal position, e.g. in 1937, the S.A. B.S.S.T.'s Executive refused to suggest officially a suitable minimum salary for a social worker. Minutes, 24.9.37.
cular field, their limited time and, in some instances, knowledge, being dissipated widely.

The field perhaps closest to medical social work, psychiatric social work, was, like Australia's mental health services in general, markedly under-developed. A couple of qualified social workers had full-time positions in psychiatric clinics of general hospitals, and others gave some of their time to such clinics, but no mental hospital employed a qualified social worker.

In other fields of social provision, by 1940 appointments of qualified social workers were equally sparse, and most of the appointments which had been made dated from the second half of the 1930's and were single appointments. Although the development was thin and uneven, it contained seeds of later development. The majority of the appointments involved social casework, but social group work, community organization and social research were represented, even if

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56 At the Sydney Royal Prince Alfred and the Melbourne Hospitals - appointed in 1932.
57 e.g. the almoner at St. Vincent's Hospital, Melbourne.
58 In N.S.W., qualified social workers had been appointed to the Hookworm Commission, day nurseries, children's playgrounds, the Child Welfare Department, the Commonwealth Nutrition Survey, the Y.W.C.A., the School Medical Branch of the Education Department, the Council of Social Service, and Sydney University Settlement; in Victoria, to the Catholic Social Service Bureau, the Kindergarten Union, the National Y.W.C.A., the Commonwealth Nutrition Survey, the Playground Association of Victoria, the Association for the Advancement of the Blind, the Melbourne City Council Health Department, the Victorian International Refugee Emergency Council, a parish church; Red Cross Society, and Port Melbourne Settlement; and in South Australia, to the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. In 1939, the Commonwealth Government established a Lady Gowrie Child Centre in each State with a qualified social worker on its staff.
in rudimentary form.

The correctional field was still the untouched preserve of voluntary probation officers, in spite of hopes to the contrary. More important still was the failure of qualified workers to break into the family welfare field. General relief agencies such as the Charity Organisation Societies were the traditional centres for family welfare work. Benevolent though the Melbourne Charity Organisation Society was to the social work training movement, it did not appoint its first qualified social worker until after the second world war, and this was far in advance of similar organizations in other States.

In the United States, Roosevelt's New Deal program owed a considerable amount to qualified social workers, in its formulation and its administration. Qualified social workers with long experience in the strong voluntary relief-giving agencies were available in that country to help with both government social security planning and to assume leadership in its administration. In Australia this was not the case in the 1930's; nor was it to be the case in the 1940's when a general social security scheme was eventually implemented. Not unexpectedly in view of the nature of social work students and the Australian public service, qualified social workers in the 1930's were not employed in administrative government positions - even when

59 Jocelyn Hyslop early recognized this difficulty - 'I have come to the sad conclusion that we are going to get trained workers appointed in all the new ventures; but it seems an impossible task to get anyone into the charitable (relief) field.' Jocelyn Hyslop to Helen Rees, 7.8.36.
60 Hollis and Taylor, Social Work Education in the United States, pp.23-8
61 See pp. 201-5.
social security measures, relief-giving, child welfare programs, slum clearance, and similar important fields of social policy were involved.

**Professional Association**

As increasing numbers of qualified social workers made a corporate existence possible, associations were formed. Matching the development of the social work training bodies, there was a general association and an association of almoners in both Melbourne and Sydney. In addition, towards the end of the 1930's, the almoners joined in a national association. The associations were products of the training bodies in two ways. From the beginning in the almoner groups and not long after the start of the general groups, they catered for the needs of social workers qualified by the training bodies, and in each of the associations, leaders in the training movement at first took an active part.

There was considerable inducement for the qualified social workers to associate together. They encountered similar problems even though many of them were in widely different work settings. An association provided a means of communication between them, and also the opportunity to combine on educational activities and on social action. A further advantage of association, the possibility of collective action on conditions of employment appears, however, to

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62 An association was not formed in Adelaide until the war years. See p.219.
have been little considered at this stage.  

In 1932, for 'discussion on matters of general interest to the profession,' the handful of almoners in Melbourne formed the Victorian Association of Hospital Almoners. Only persons with the certificate of a recognized Institute of Almoners, or its equivalent, could be members. In 1936, in anticipation of a growing number of qualified almoners lost to marriage or working in other fields of social work, full membership was restricted to persons 'professionally engaged in medical social service;' others could now be only associate members.

Of the Association's 16 members at the beginning of 1934, two were in New South Wales, and one in Tasmania. This induced the Victorian Association to become the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners. It was just a change of name for the Victorian group since the Australian Association's officers and meetings were to be in the State with the most members, but provision was made for local groups of not less than three members to be formed in other States.

At the end of 1936, the few qualified almoners in Sydney formed themselves into such a group, but called themselves the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Association. A Victorian sub-committee in consultation with members in other States, subsequently

63 See p. 222.
64 V.A.H.A., Constitution, adopted 15.3.32.
65 A.A.H.A., Minutes, 12.2.36.
67 N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 14.12.36.
recast the Association's constitution. In May 1938, the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners assumed a federal form which it was to retain until its absorption by the general professional association some twenty years later. The new national body aimed to foster and develop medical social work in Australia, by working for adequate and uniform professional standards, by helping the interchange of information and ideas between almoners, both interstate and overseas, and by taking collective action for all Australian almoners when it was required.

Under its 1938 constitution, the almoner's Association consisted of members of State Branches and individual members in States without a Branch. Its general government was placed in the hands of a Central Council, on which each Branch was represented. Council meetings were to be at least yearly, in the State of the office bearers.

The Association's membership stood at 29 - 17 in Melbourne and 5 in Sydney - when the new constitution was adopted. By February 1940, total membership was about 40, which included 23 in the Victorian Branch and 13 in the New South Wales Branch. Throughout the 1930's, few qualified almoners were not members of the Association.

68 The sub-committee met over some months, 1937-8. The meeting at which a final draft was considered was attended by two N.S.W. members, Helen Rees and Katharine Ogilvie.
A.A.H.A., Minutes, 14.4.37; 5.2.38.
70 See pp. 385-7.
72 3 representatives for 10 members or more in a Branch; 2 for 5 to 10; and 1 for less than 5. A Branch representative did not have to be a member of the Branch.
73 A.A.H.A., A.R.1937-38; Central Council, Minutes, 29.2.40.
Members' attendance at the Victorian group's monthly meetings was high. It was a small, tightly-knit group, its members having much in common. Most of the early meetings were devoted to the problems of nascent almoner departments, and throughout the 1930's the main focus remained on members' own immediate work. The Sydney almoner group met only spasmodically during its brief existence in the later 1930's.

While the almoners were forming their association in Melbourne, the Social Workers' Association of New South Wales was formed in Sydney, on the initiative of the Director of the local general training body. The declared purpose of this new general association was to bring recognized social workers together to discuss social work problems and to promote in general, the coordination of social work throughout the State. Further, it was to improve the standard of social work, in particular by advocating the training of all social workers.

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74 It fell below two-thirds of the total membership rarely at first and only slightly more often towards the end of the 1930's. (This and other information about associations' meetings have been taken from the relevant ARs. and Minute Books).

75 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., AR 1933.
When the Association became strongly influenced by its almoner overseas-trained members, the Board's Director set up, in 1938, what was in fact an attempt at a rival organization, the Graduates and Students Association. It did not prove a serious threat to the existing Association and soon vanished.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., AR 1939-40.
N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 24.11.37; 7.8.40; 22.8.40.

76 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 19.7.32; Constitution (as amended 1939), (typescript).
At first, membership was open to all 'bona fide' social workers and to social work students, one of the main reasons for the association being the linking of the trained with the un­trained. Membership conditions were subsequently changed, however, both reflecting and causing a shift towards an association exclusively for qualified social workers. By 1940, some membership provision was still made for non-qualified social workers, but in fact a large majority of members were qualified. As early as the mid-1930's, a majority of the Association's Executive Committee were qualified. A striking, though perhaps not unexpected, feature of the Association's membership was that, although at first entry was virtually unrestricted, scarcely any men became members, and none were on the Executive Committee.

In 1934, following the example set by the almoners in Victoria, the Social Workers' Association of New South Wales for a time considered calling itself an Australian body since there was no similar group in any other State. The next year, the Victorian Association

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77 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 19.7.32; 28.11.35; 9.11.38; 22.3.39; Constitution (as amended 1939), (typescript).
78 By then, full membership was open to foundation members, those holding a Diploma or Certificate in Social Science, those professionally engaged as social workers for not less than five years prior to 1940, and to all who were members of the Association in November of the previous year. Anyone else interested in social work could become an associate member with no right to vote or to office.
79 At the 1940 A.G.M., of the 34 members who were present or sent apologies, only 5 were not qualified social workers.
80 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 10.5.34; 12.7.34; 29.11.34.
of Social Workers was formed on the initiative of S. Greig Smith. Its stated objects were almost identical with those of its New South Wales counterpart.

The Victorian general association restricted its membership to qualified social workers and to people who had been professionally engaged as social workers for not less than five years. Interpretation of the Association's membership provisions particularly of the definition of 'social worker' and 'professionally employed' caused some difficulty in the first few years. The Victorian Association's definition of 'a social worker,' 'any person professionally engaged in the readjustment of individuals or families in their social setting,' was more limited than that of the New South Wales Association, who stated in 1935:

'Social work'... (is) ...the effort to relieve distress due to poverty, to restore individuals and families to normal conditions of living, to prevent social evils, and to improve the social and living conditions of the community through social case work, through group activities, through community action in legislation and administration and through social research; and (a) 'social worker' (is) one engaged in the practice of social case work, in group activities, in social administration and in social research.

Like the Sydney general group, few men were members of the Victorian Association, and by 1940 a growing proportion of the Association's

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81 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 31.7.35. At the inaugural meeting at the C.O.S., 29 people attended - 26 women (4 married), and 3 men; about half were qualified, most of these in medical social work.
82 V.A.S.W., Constitution, (typescript) - Council, Minutes, 15.11.35.
83 Associate membership, with limited rights, was open to those who qualified for full membership but who had not been professionally employed for more than six months.
84 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 1.5.36; 2.9.36; 13.10.36; 23.11.36; 24.11.36; 21.4.37; 17.6.37; 6.7.38.
85 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 11.9.35.
86 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 28.11.35.
87 Only 2 of the 31 members who were present or sent apologies to the
members were qualified social workers, although this trend was not as marked as in Sydney. 88

The two general associations had governing groups, a Committee in New South Wales and a Council in Victoria, which had general control of the association's activities. They met with roughly the same frequency as the general meetings of the association. 89 Compared with the almoner groups, these general ones were much less tightly-knit, for the span of interest, knowledge, and employment in them was far wider.

Each of the four groups discussed existing arrangements for social provision and occasionally took collective action to improve them. Usually they did this quietly and informally and they took care not to become associated in social action with irresponsible or inadequate allies. 90

The Victorian group of almoners were concerned about the shoddy work of a relief organization; transport difficulties of patients on sustenance payments; the financial bar to holidays for many children;

87 (cont.)

to the 1940 A.G.M. were men. V.A.S.W., A.G.M., Minutes, 22.4.40.
88 The Victorian Association's first two Presidents, S. Greig Smith of the C.O.S., 1935-9, and Mrs. Z. Woinarski of the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1939-40, were experienced but untrained people.
89 i.e. about five times a year in Victoria 1935-40 and in N.S.W. 1933-6, and about eight times a year in N.S.W. 1937-40.
90 e.g. see A.A.H.A., Minutes, 12.2.36.

It is impossible to know how much of their social action was successful. What follows is merely a sketch of some of the areas of interest.
the inadequacy of a particular convalescent home; the neglect of persons suffering from venereal disease; the lack of provision for chronic illness; and the need for an emergency house-keeper service. 91

The interests of the New South Wales group of almoners were different but again the emphasis was on provision available to their own immediate clients - dental and convalescent care for persons on sustenance payments; the admission procedure of an institution; the need for a city hostel for country patients attending deep X-Ray treatment; the policy for a new convalescent home; and the provision of teaching for children in hospital for long periods. 92

The two general groups were rather less involved in social action, although there was still a noticeable interest in it. The New South Wales group were concerned with sewing depots for unemployed women; the central index of the Council of Social Service; the lot of the deserted wife; child welfare provisions; and the need for general educational reforms. 93 The Victorian group were mainly interested in relief, its level and the quality of its administration, 94 but

91 e.g. V.A.H.A., Minutes, 8.8.33.
A.A.H.A., Minutes, 10.10.34; 13.11.35; 1.5.36; 11.11.36; 27.4.38.
92 e.g. N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 11.8.37; 16.3.38; 28.11.38,
8.3.39; 23.8.39.
93 N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 9.7.36; 26.5.37; 21.7.37; 22.9.37;
21.11.38; 22.3.39.
94 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 24.3.36; 24.6.36; 2.9.36; 24.11.36; 26.5.37;
15.9.37; Council, Minutes, 17.6.37; 1.9.37; 3.8.38; 26.10.38;
in addition, it considered reforms relating to treatment of young offenders, housing and slum clearance, and the coordination of State social services within the one department. 95

This kind of discussion and action helped the groups to become known in social welfare circles. Their representation on a few bodies, chosen from among the multitude of organizations because of their influence, their social usefulness, or their relevance to the groups' work, aided this process. 96 In addition, there was the community activity of the groups' individual members, and occasionally visitors were invited to the groups' general meetings. 97

During the 1930's, none of the associations was active in determining the nature of the professional training. The almoner

95 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 7.4.37; 3.8.38; A.M., 30.3.38; A.R.1938, (typescript).

96 The Victorian almoners' group was represented on the National Council of Women of Victoria, the Y.W.C.A. Employment Committee, and the Dietetic Association, and was affiliated with the British Hospital Almoners' Association. The almoners in Sydney were active in the Diabetic Association, the Committees of the Child Welfare Conference, and the local Dietetic Association. Each of the two general groups was represented upon its local National Council of Women. In addition, the N.S.W. group was affiliated with the local Council of Social Service, and the Victorian, with the Education Reform Association.

V.A.H.A., Minutes, 15.3.32; 9.8.32; 11.4.33; 10.10.33. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 11.2.35; 14.4.37. N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 3.8.38; 20.4.39. N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 9.11.33; 22.5.36. V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 24.10.35; 26.10.38.

97 e.g. in 1939, the Sydney group of almoners who had had difficulty in establishing good working relations with district nurses invited the new matron of the Sydney District Nursing Association to one of its meetings. N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 17.11.37; 16.3.38; 22.2.39; 8.3.39.
groups, especially in New South Wales, were, however, well represented on the governing bodies of their local Institutes. In contrast the Sydney general group was only represented on the local training Board, not its executive, and then only until 1937, while in Melbourne, there was no representation of the general association on the Victorian Council for Social Training until 1940.

The social work associations in the 1930's were embryonic full professional associations. Their sole income was the few shillings of each member's subscription, the numbers were small, and their officers had little time to give to association affairs, but they were important. They set a pattern of educational activity and at least some social action, and they assisted the community's acceptance of trained social work; perhaps most important of all for the development of a recognizable and responsible new occupational group, they held together the products of the Australian training movement.

The Quality of the Work

So far, the activities of the early qualified social workers, in their employment and in their professional associations, have been considered. In conclusion, various factors which influenced the

98 See pp.108-9, and V.A.H.A., Minutes, 15.3.32.
99 N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs.
N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 24.11.37. The new Graduates and Students Association was represented from 1938 until the Board's end.
100 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 19.9.40.
quality of their work will be discussed.

The personal and social characteristics of the qualified social workers clearly had influence upon the scope and quality of their work. As a group they contained a fairly wide range of intelligence and education, though nowhere near so wide a range as their untrained predecessors. They tended to come from the higher socio-economic groups, and almost all were unmarried women. There were a few older women, but frequently young women filled positions of heavy responsibility and carried their burdens alone.

Gradually the number and proportion of older women increased and it was they who provided the group's work with continuity and leadership. Intentionally or otherwise, they were 'career women' and together with the older, unmarried female teachers and nurses, were sometimes unkindly described as 'frustrated spinsters.' In the society's general view, women were cast for marriage. If they did not marry they were 'failures' who had to find compensating outlets. Since social workers were so much concerned with the personal lives of other people, they were particularly vulnerable to such comment. These attitudes were a problem for the developing occupational group. How they affected the quality of the older woman's work would have depended upon whether she herself had fully come to terms with her professional role, and upon the degree of

101 Such attitudes are rarely recorded and certainly not in the records of the group concerned, but they were none-the-less real.
professional acceptance she received from those with whom she worked, both colleagues and clients.

Possibly, because of their personal characteristics, the new group of qualified social workers tended to have blind-spots, either imposed from without or determined from within. A detailed analysis of their cases may reveal that sexual and marital problems were bypassed, and that more time was spent in interviewing women and children than men. Because of the marriage factor, the proportion of younger qualified social workers in employment was always considerable. Sordid tough cases would not have been referred to these if the person making the referral saw the social worker not as a professional person, but as a young woman who had had a sheltered existence. 'Protection' of women-folk, particularly younger ones, was a widespread male attitude.

As yet in the 1930's, there was insufficient time for any of the qualified social workers to have had a long professional experience. Moreover, as has been seen the basic professional training, though improving, was still inadequate in many respects. Any professional training, however, could have only provided a start on

102 The frequent difficulty of interviewing men during the day, and other factors, would, of course, need to be considered when the results were being interpreted.
103 Chapter 4.
the road to professional competence. Unless subsequent experience was related to the initial training and there were regular educational influences upon the qualified person, the qualification tended to be emptied of its meaning.

The dearth of relevant literature, noted in connection with the training, set real limits to the reading of the early qualified social workers. Some special library collections became available to them. This was important because apart perhaps from those directing the training courses and a handful of others who had been overseas, few would have had personal collections. Books and periodicals were difficult to obtain locally, and they were expensive. As yet, no local professional literature had emerged.

During the 1930's numbers were too limited for adequate staff development programs. For their professional stimulation, the quali-

104 'It takes time, far beyond the duration of any formal course of professional training, for new learning to become really effective in the mind of the student.' Ruth Hoban, 'Assessing the Progress of Students,' Proceedings of the 6th Biennial National Conference of A.A.S.W., Adelaide, 1957, p. 82.

105 See p. 142.

106 e.g. the B.M.A. and Charities Board libraries to Victorian almoners, who also began their own collection of books and periodicals; and the small collections of the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. and the V.C.S.T. to any interested persons. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 14.8.35; 10.6.36; 12.8.36. N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs., 1937-9. V.C.S.T., A.R.1937; The Trained Social Worker. Thanks to S. Greig Smith, the Melbourne C.O.S. had a good agency library.
fied social workers therefore looked outside their agencies to the training bodies and their associations. One regular educational source within the agencies, however, was the supervision of social work students in their field work. This helped the qualified social workers to examine and be explicit about their own practice, and provided some link with the current professional courses.

Occasionally the general training bodies provided educational opportunities for people in the field, but the most regular chance of learning more about social work came from the meetings of the social work associations. At first their members learnt merely from each other, but as the groups increased in size and confidence outsiders were invited to speak on and discuss a variety of topics. The breadth of interest of the general groups is illustrated by the topics chosen for the 1937 meetings of the Sydney group - child welfare legislation; a discussion on casework arising from this; the employment of youth in New South Wales; government relief-giving (its adequacy, the need for a definite plan, cooperation, psychological aspects); recreation; United States casework methods compared with

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107 e.g. in 1931, the Sydney Board ran a course of extension lectures for those already engaged in philanthropic work; from 1934, it held regular evening case discussions open to representatives of agencies, qualified social workers and students; in May 1938, it sponsored an evening conference on planning for social work in the community; and in 1939 provided another lecture series for people in the field; the V.C.S.T. provided a refresher course for social workers in 1937, and in 1938, a series of lectures on current social work topics.

N.S.W. B.S.S.T., A.Rs. V.C.S.T., A.Rs.

108 e.g. in 1935, the Melbourne almoners invited representatives from the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, the Brotherhood of St.
those used in New South Wales; the housing problem in New South Wales; and venereal disease and its social implications. 109

To give time for a closer study of problems, towards the end of the 1930's conferences began to be held. In 1936, the Victorian group of almoners held a one-day conference, and in 1937 and 1939 held week-end conferences. 110 The general group in Sydney held a week-end conference in 1938, to which representatives of the training bodies were invited. 111 The following year plans for a similar conference were stopped by the war. 112 The general group in Melbourne were to have been invited to this. They themselves had seriously considered holding at least one conference - for all interested in social welfare - but they had decided they were not well enough established. 113

108 (cont.)

Laurence, and the C.O.S. to discuss common problems; and in the following two years had talks by appropriate people on hospital fee assessment, the Girls' Employment Movement, industrial nursing, and district nursing. A.A.H.A., A.R.s; Minutes. 109 N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 17.3.37.

110 A.A.H.A., Minutes, 8.4.36; 1.5.36; 11.8.37; 13.10.37.


111 N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 13.4.38; 20.7.38.

112 N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 23.8.39, 4.10.39. The proposed subject, 'The Place of Both Case Work and Group Work in the Social Work Field,' showed a growing interest in group work.

113 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 17.6.37; 15.9.37. In 1939, they did, however, sponsor a discussion series taken by Dr. Anita Muhl on mental hygiene aspects of family welfare work.
No national conferences of social work or of social welfare were held in the 1930's, in spite of the increased interest in social work aroused by the depression, and the existence of overseas models and of historical precedents in Australia. 114 None of the qualified social workers attended the two International Conferences of Social Work held in the 1930's. 115

It is apparent that for the early qualified social workers in Sydney and Melbourne, and for the almoners rather more than the general social workers, educational habits were set. As yet, however, they were not strong and were confined within State, indeed city, boundaries.

During the 1930's in Australia a new occupational group emerged, distinguishable on three counts, similar qualifications and work, and common associations. Their age, sex, and social characteristics influenced the scope and quality of their work, generally to the detriment of a broad development. Better basic training, educational habits, and a stirring of interest in social policy and provision caused by the depression, helped the group's work to become progressively more effective. But by the outbreak of the second world war, the group was still small and not very well established, even in Sydney and Melbourne.

114 See pp. 51, 59.
115 Together, the N.S.W. S.W.A. and the V.A.S.W. sent greetings to the Third, held in London in 1936, and attended by the President of the V.A.S.W.. N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 9.7.36. V.A.S.W., Minutes, 2.9.36; 24.11.36.
THE WAR YEARS
With Britain's declaration of war on Germany in September 1939, Australia's seven million people found themselves at war.\(^1\) By the end of the year, troops had been despatched to the Middle East, Australian naval forces had joined the British ones in the Mediterranean, and it had been decided that many Australian airmen should be trained for service in Europe and the Middle East. As the fighting spread, there was increasing anxiety about Australia's own security. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour and the rapid southward thrust of Japanese forces through Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies brought Australia's military forces to be concentrated near her shores to withstand the first threatened invasion she had ever experienced. By mid-1943, the danger of invasion had passed, but Australia was still fully involved with the major organizational task of acting as the base for the American forces in the western Pacific and of preparing for the transition to peace.

**New Social Policy**

The second world war made unprecedented demands upon Australia's economic, political and social capacity. The pace of industrialization was greatly hastened.\(^2\) During the emergency of 1942, 'a vigorous and

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1 A general account of Australia during the war is included in P.H. Partridge, 'Depression and War, 1929-50,' Australia - A Social and Political History, ed. Greenwood, pp. 344-414.
2 Between 1939 and 1944, factory employment increased to about three quarters of a million from 550,000. Ibid., p. 377.
effective direction of labour, combined with a thorough-going regulation of non-essential production' was achieved. Only the Commonwealth Government could handle the large national and international issues raised by the war, which meant the pre-war trend towards central governmental authority was greatly strengthened. Of particular importance was the Commonwealth's assumption of full financial supremacy over the States by its virtual exclusion of the States from the income tax field in 1942.

Apart from the increased importance of federal authority, the most notable feature politically was the emergence of a united federal Labour Party under strong leadership. The party had remained in the political wilderness for almost a decade after its shattering depression experience. In October 1940, however, it almost won the federal election, but it subsequently would not agree to entering a National Government with the United Australia and Country Parties. An obvious way to gain Labour's support in its handling of the wartime issues was for the government to make social service concessions, and this was the immediate reason for the introduction of a national child endowment scheme in March 1941. At last the drought of

3 Ibid., p. 378,
5 Birch, Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation, pp. 224-5.
   The child endowment was a flat weekly rate for each child after the first in any family irrespective of means.
federal social security legislation which had lasted, except in connection with ex-servicemen, since 1912, was broken. In October 1941, the Labour Party came into office and retained it for the following eight years. During this time, it enacted a wide range of social security measures. From spending less than £17 million on social services in the year 1938-39, the Commonwealth came to spend in 1946-47 almost £68 million.

The great extension of government social services which took place in this period has been attributed first and foremost to the world-wide clamour for social security,"but the Commonwealth Parliamentary Committee on Social Security has been singled out as being of particular local importance. Between the wars, social security systems, especially on social insurance lines had grown rapidly in many countries, but the growth was usually piece-meal and haphazard. The war gave great impetus to the development of comprehensive integrated social security systems. The most celebrated plan for such a

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6 This time there was no split over conscription. The Government followed an awkward but politically expedient double system of conscription for home service and voluntary enlistment for abroad, although in 1943 it did assume power to use conscripted men in a specified area outside Australia. Partridge, in Australia - A Social and Political History, ed. Greenwood, pp. 375-6.

7 Kewley, in Economic Papers No. 7, p. 6.

8 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

system was Beveridge's presented in 1942 in Britain, which laid the foundation for the establishment in 1948 of a full British social security scheme, a combination of social insurance and assistance.

In the United States, in 1943, the National Resources Planning Board presented a report which urged the government to ensure sufficient and appropriate employment opportunities, to extend the coverage of social insurance to as large a proportion of the population as possible, to develop a comprehensive general public assistance system, and to study and expand social services which were preventive and constructive in character. During the war years, where such questions of broad policy in the development of social services were involved, the American social work profession made only a limited contribution. There was, however, an unprecedented demand for competent professional personnel for specific social work services. All the American professional groups in social work operated through a joint committee, the Wartime Committee on Social Work Personnel.

10 Sir William Beveridge, Social Insurance and Allied Services. This concentrated upon the elimination of want, but its author stressed the importance of also combating disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness.

Within six months of the Report's publication, 250,000 copies of the full Report, 350,000 copies of the official abridgement, and 42,000 copies of a special American edition were sold. David C. Marsh, National Insurance and Assistance in Great Britain, p. 66.

11 Ibid., pp. 73-7.


This attained professional classification for social workers in the military and government services; it also helped to unify the social work professional groups, who, in the post-war years, were to join together in a single over-all professional organization.  

In Britain as in the United States, the demand for specific competent social work services was unprecedented:

Until 1940...trained and experienced social workers had generally been ignored by Government departments. But after 1940 the situation changed completely. The value of trained staff, from almoners in hospitals and clinics, to social workers engaged in psychiatric work, child care and family case-work, rose in official esteem. There followed something approaching a famine of social workers.

For five years from July 1941, an all-party Commonwealth Joint Parliamentary Committee on Social Security enquired into and from time to time reported upon 'ways and means of improving social and living conditions in Australia, and of rectifying anomalies in existing legislation.' Its nine virtually unanimous reports covered most of the nation's social welfare services, and strongly influenced much of the Commonwealth's subsequent legislation. Many of its health recommendations were not, however, acted upon, mainly because of difficulties with the medical profession.

In its first report the Committee stated there was evidence that

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15 See pp. 371-2.
17 The reports were dated 24.9.41; 6.3.42; 25.3.42; 20.5.42; 8.10.42; 1.7.43; 15.2.44; 27.6.45; 29.7.46. The Committee was originally one of a number of Parliamentary Committees through which private members were to use their abilities.
a considerable proportion of Australia's citizens were poorly housed, ill-clothed or ill-nourished. No longer could they sustain the claim that Australia was the social laboratory of the world. If the campaign against poverty was to be successful, it was essential that a national policy be developed, and this is what occurred.

The Commonwealth Government introduced non-contributory widows' pensions in 1942, and funeral benefits and a new form of maternity allowance followed the next year. In March 1944, the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill, again on a non-contributory basis, and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Bill were both enacted. In addition, legislation for hospital benefits was introduced, and there was a liberalization of the invalid and old-age pensions schemes. The confirmation of the non-contributory principle in these new schemes was perhaps a reflection of the political party in power, but in effect they were only non-contributory in the sense that there was no close relationship between the payment of graduated taxes out of which the

18 Interim Report from the Joint Committee on Social Security, 24th September, 1941, p. 1.
19 The Committee on Social Security had stated that a very large proportion of applicants for sustenance and other forms of charitable assistance were widows with dependent children. Report, 24th September, 1941, p.12.
20 This also provided a Special Benefit for a person who because of age or disability was unable to earn a livelihood and was not qualified to receive sickness or unemployment benefit.
social services were financed and the receipt of benefits. To keep cost within bounds, and to distribute money where it was assumed to be most needed, a means test was applied in the administration of most of the benefits, although there was growing opinion that it should be abolished for age pensions. 22

When the constitutional validity of the Pharmaceutical Benefits Act was successfully challenged in 1945, the validity of many of the other recently instituted social benefits was thrown into doubt. 23 A successful referendum the following year, however, gave the Commonwealth the specific social service powers it had in fact already assumed. 24

Closely linked with the establishment of the income security services was the acceptance by the Commonwealth Government of a full employment policy. Few more important social policies emerged from the war. From having about 10% of the work force unemployed immediately before the war, Australia quickly moved into conditions of full employment, and owing to government action, these conditions were to remain almost unbroken throughout the post-war period. In May 1945, the Labour Government defined its employment policy. 25 No political

24 The Commonwealth Government was given power to legislate on 'The provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorise any form of civil conscription), benefits to students and family allowances' - Section 51, placitum (XXiia).
25 In a government white paper called Full Employment in Australia.
party, least of all the Labour Party, could afford to neglect
the demand for full employment in the post-war years. The great
extension of central government economic power and a new under­
standing of the causes of depressions made such a policy practical,
even though it brought another set of problems in its wake.26

Another social policy which was to be of major importance
in the post-war years, Australia's population policy, was greatly
affected by the experience of the war. Pre-war, the depression had
halted population growth through immigration, and estimates of
Australia's capacity to absorb a rapidly growing population had been
dramatically reduced. In addition, doubts on Britain's role as a
major emigrant nation had been expressed. The threat of invasion
by an Asian power made Australians acutely aware of their small
numbers. Since only limited growth could be expected from natural
increase, the solution was immigration, and an immigration which
included a considerable proportion of non-British, but still European,
people. Moreover, the war greatly increased national confidence to
handle a bold, post-war immigration program within a full employment
policy.27

26 For a discussion of the development of employment policy in
Australia, see A. Campbell Garnett, Freedom and Planning in
Australia, pp. 167-197.
27 W.D. Borrie, 'The Growth of the Australian Population with
Particular Reference to the Period Since 1947,' Population Studies,
Borrie, The Peopling of Australia.
Partridge, in Australia - A Social and Political History,
The small group of qualified social workers in Australia were among the many sources from whom the Commonwealth Parliamentary Committee on Social Security gained its evidence, but in general on questions of broad social service policy their influence was slight. In connection with more limited policies, they did, however, as will be seen, make a much greater contribution, and there was a greatly expanded demand for their specific professional services.

Social Workers in Demand

The disruption of family life, the increased rate of juvenile delinquency, the entrance of large numbers of women into industry, the unmarried mothers, the emotional stresses of a wartime society, the need to rehabilitate servicemen - these all created conditions favourable to social work appointments. An attitude that social workers were only concerned with 'the poor' quickly lost ground. But expansion was held back by the numbers, sex, and inexperience of the qualified social workers available. As will be observed in the next chapter, the output of the training bodies did not increase

28 J.S. Hyslop, Director of M.U. B.S.S., 'Parliamentary Select Committee on Social Security,' ms..
V.A.S.W., 'Answers to questionnaire of Parliamentary Select Committee on Social Security,' ms.
Elizabeth S.L. Govan (on behalf of N.S.W. S.W.A.), 'Evidence Given to Committee on Social Security,' ms., 28.7.41.
Vic. A.A.H.A., 'Memorandum for submission to the Parliamentary Committee on Social Security, and to the special Survey Sub-Committee examining medical and allied services,' ms..
In addition, the Director of the S.A. B.S.S.T. gave evidence.
until the immediate post-war years and the female student bodies persisted. Furthermore, marriage continued to decimate the still thin ranks of qualified social workers, despite wartime conditions.\(^29\)

In July 1941, only 95 qualified social workers were in employment throughout Australia. Apart from 4 engaged in social work education, 39 of the remainder were in Victoria, 31 in New South Wales, 11 in South Australia, 5 in Western Australia, 3 in Tasmania, and 1 each in Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory. Altogether only 9 worked for Commonwealth Government agencies, 10 for State Government agencies, and 1 for local government.\(^30\)

In its first report, the Committee on Social Security mentioned the tendency to rely to an increasing extent on the trained social worker and research officer as a marked advance in the administration of social services overseas, and recommended their appointment by the Commonwealth Social Services Department.\(^31\) Eventually, towards the end of the war, there was an isolated appointment of an experienced

\(^{29}\) Melbourne training authorities declared in 1943, 'While the social work profession is so small, the frequency of this happy event is leaving most unfortunate gaps in the student body and in the organisations using social workers.' V.C.S.T., A.R.1942-43.

\(^{30}\) Memorandum attached to Proceedings of the Conference of Representatives of Departments of Social Studies in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, July 4-6, 1941, (typescript).

\(^{31}\) Interim Report from the Joint Committee on Social Security, 24th September, 1941, pp. 6, 15.
and well qualified social worker, Lyra Taylor,\textsuperscript{32} as the Department's chief research officer. Since a great many of the Commonwealth's expanded social welfare functions were administered through this Department,\textsuperscript{33} it was a crucial appointment for professional social work in Australia. The only other significant social work appointment in Commonwealth agencies during the war was of Jean Robertson,\textsuperscript{34} in September 1940, as Assistant Director of the Industrial Welfare Division of the Department of Labour and National Service. This appointment did not extend beyond the war period and few qualified social workers actually worked in industrial settings.\textsuperscript{35}

This social work employment record in the wartime Commonwealth public service was poor, but to be expected. In 1941, acting as spokesman for the training bodies, the Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University wrote to Commonwealth Government officials expressing concern:

\textsuperscript{32} M.A., LL.B. (University of New Zealand); Dip.Soc.Sci. (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore). A lawyer in N.Z.; went to U.S.A. interested in Children's Courts; qualified as a social worker; Family Welfare Agency, Baltimore; Family Service Association and teaching for the School of Social Work, Montreal; Y.W.C.A. Montreal, 5 years; 1940, General Secretary Y.W.C.A. Sydney, lectured on group work for S.U. B.S.S.; returned to North America in November 1942; came to Australia for the appointment in the Commonwealth Social Services Department. Member, S.U. B.S.S., 1941-2; N.S.W. C.S.S. Committee, 1940-2; M.U. B.S.S., 1947-52.

She was a person of unusual intellectual capacity.

\textsuperscript{33} In April 1941, the Department of Treasury handed over the administration of invalid and old-age pensions and maternity allowances to the newly-formed Department of Social Services. First Report of the Director-General of Social Services, Year Ended 30th June, 1942.

\textsuperscript{34} M.A., Diploma of Social Science (Glasgow); came to Australia in 1939 to work as field work tutor for V.C.S.T. (see p. 99).

\textsuperscript{35} See pp. 265-7.
Many of (the appointments in Commonwealth social service departments) demand knowledge of social problems and experience in social work, but there does not seem to be a realization that this is so...when nursing, teaching, medical or scientific skill is required; a specialist is appointed while for social welfare no special qualification or skill is demanded.\(^{36}\)

Right at the end of the war, there was a surge of interest by Commonwealth authorities in the employment of qualified social workers. The Director-General of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction convened a conference of representatives from four Commonwealth Government Departments, the Universities Commission, the Australian Red Cross Society, and from both the general and medical social work training bodies and associations. His purpose was to examine the extent to which ex-members of the forces could look to social service careers, and the extent of the demand for social workers treated by the re-establishment and rehabilitation programs of various government and non-government agencies.\(^{37}\) Many of the relevant authorities recognized the need for qualified services but wanted them almost immediately.\(^{38}\) Numerous opportunities were to be lost on this and other occasions in the post-war years.

\(^{36}\) J.D.G. Medley to Dr. Roland Wilson, Department of Labour and National Service, 8.7.41.

\(^{37}\) Dr. H.C. Coombs to Norma Parker, 30.7.45.

\(^{38}\) Department of Post-War Reconstruction - Training of Social Workers and Other Officers, Conference with Training Authorities, Melbourne, August 9th., 1945, (typescript). The four Commonwealth Government Departments involved were Post-War Reconstruction, Social Services, Works and Housing, and Labour and National Service.
because the qualified people were not immediately available.

Qualified social work made a few piece-meal gains in State Government agencies during the war, and there was considerable hope of future development. For example by 1943 in New South Wales, where social work training was now being directly financed by the State Government, the Departments of Child Welfare, Education (in its child guidance clinics and in the play centres of the National Fitness Council), and Health (in mental and public hospitals) were employing at least some qualified social workers. In addition, the National Fitness Council was sponsoring plans for community centres and wanted qualified leaders; the Health Department wished to have social workers for its proposed care for children of working mothers; and the Housing Commission anticipated a demand for social workers in its post-war program. Moreover, it was being pointed out that overseas, social workers had proved their value in school social work, assistance with relief cases of chronic dependency, industrial welfare work, probation, work in family relations bureaux, and the rehabilitation of the disabled and people discharged from sanatoria – all which came or could come under the State Government.

39 See p. 250.
40 The N.S.W. public hospitals were only State agencies in that they received Government subsidies and came under the surveillance of the Hospitals Commission.
41 Memorandum for Professor Stout re State aid to students, ms. (presumably prepared by Elizabeth Govan).
Towards the end of the war, the Adelaide City Council, following the Melbourne City Council, appointed a social worker, and the South Melbourne City Council established a scholarship for one of its residents to become qualified to help with its social welfare services. Otherwise, local government was an untouched field for qualified social work.

The concentration in the 1930's of qualified social workers in public hospitals was modified. One or two public hospitals opened almoner departments, for example the Newcastle in 1943, and some added to their almoner strength, but others were unable to obtain any staff and towards the end of the war existing almoner departments in civilian hospitals were very badly under-staffed. In mid-1945, 9 Sydney hospitals employed a total of 18 almoners, and 8 Melbourne ones a total of 19. No almoners worked in Queensland or Tasmanian hospitals, scarcely any worked in Western Australian hospitals, and Adelaide had only 5 in its two main hospitals. There were at this stage, however, 19 almoners employed by the Australian

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42 This latter development originated in a survey directed by Ruth Hoban of the Melbourne University's Department of Social Studies. (Elizabeth Howard, 'A Social Services Survey,' Social Service, October 1945). The economic contrasts, the weak general community spirit, the paternalism, the emphasis on material provision, the lack of cooperation among the large number of helping agencies, and the inadequate records and statistics revealed by the survey, show the district as a microcosm of modern industrial society.

43 V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 15.3.44, 21.6.44.
Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 11.7.45.
Red Cross Society throughout the Commonwealth and 11 more employed in various non-medical settings.  

The Commonwealth Government, with the approval of the three Services, authorized the Red Cross to undertake a scheme for the rehabilitation of servicemen in military hospital units. In July 1941, the Society appointed a qualified social worker, Marion Urquhart, as its Director of Rehabilitation to organize the scheme throughout Australia. Two years later, it was estimated that 31 almoners were then needed. Some qualified social workers

45 One each in the A.I.F. Women's Association (Melbourne), the Family Welfare Bureau (Sydney), the Welfare Branch of the Australian Women's Army Service, and the Royal Navy Welfare Section, two in the general training body in Sydney, and five in U.N.R.R.A. in Europe. Ibid.

46 Certificate of V.I.H.A., 1934; 1st almoner at The Women's Hospital, Melbourne; 1936-41, Almoner and Chief Executive Officer, Victorian Society for Crippled Children, which gave her experience in rehabilitation of the physically handicapped.

47 During 1940, the N.S.W. and Victorian Branches of the A.A.H.A. offered their services to the Commonwealth Director-General of Medical Services and to the local Division of the Australian Red Cross Society. At a Central Council meeting towards the end of the year, the Association decided medical social workers had an important contribution to make to the rehabilitation of servicemen both while they were in hospitals and after they were discharged. The military authorities considered the Australian Red Cross Society was the agency which should do this work. Consequently in March 1941, the Association submitted a memorandum on the subject to Dr. J. Newman Morris, Chairman of the Medical Services Sub-Committee of the Society. In June 1941, he notified the Association that the Commonwealth Government, with the approval of the three Services, had given authority to the Society to undertake a scheme for the rehabilitation of servicemen in military hospital units. On request, the Association's President gave further detailed suggestions. Marion Urquhart's appointment followed. Memorandum on Medical Social Matters Arising Out of and Related
without medical social work training subsequently had to be used, and even then there were insufficient. The Society's program, with its offer of a more obvious war service, a uniform, and a higher starting salary, inevitably drew qualified people away from medical and other social work for the civilian population.

The Committee on Social Security recommended that the work of almoners should be developed as part of any national health service. An estimate, in 1943, of New South Wales medical social work needs gives a figure of about 200 almoners. Clearly, there had to be an enormous increase in the number of qualified people available before there could be a national medical social work coverage worthy of the name.

In Britain, the extreme shortage of almoners together with a greater emphasis on preventive medicine brought a re-appraisal of their functions. Casework skills, research, and cooperation with doctors were stressed to the exclusion of routine administrative work. Australian almoners also tried, but with varying success,

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47 (cont.)
to the Hospitalization of the Soldier in Military Base Hospitals, ms.
48 Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 9.6.43.
50 This assumed need for at least one almoner in every hospital with 100 or more beds, and the employment of almoners in other health services such as tuberculosis clinics and sanatoria, venereal diseases clinics, crippled children's agencies and pre-natal clinics. N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R.1943.
51 Ibid. Helen Rees played an important part in this re-appraisal of the British almoners' work.
to avoid becoming immersed in administrative work. The statement of an almoner's functions used by the New South Wales Institute was changed in 1943 in the direction of stressing casework skills and working in cooperation with the medical staff, not under their direction.

The Red Cross medical social workers in the military hospitals worked in close cooperation with the Army Medical Service, the Army Education Service, the Repatriation Department, and the various social agencies concerned with the welfare of sick or wounded servicemen. A development closely connected with their work was the establishment of Red Cross Social Welfare Departments to help ex-servicemen discharged medically unfit, or those who later became unfit as a result of war service. These were, in effect, family casework agencies.

Qualified social workers broke into the family casework field during the war through agencies designed to help servicemen or ex-servicemen and their dependants, and to a very much lesser extent, through church agencies. In Melbourne, the A.I.F. Women's Association was established in 1940, and two years later, the Returned Soldiers' League set up a Fighting Forces Family Welfare Bureau which grew out of its Servicemen's Child Welfare Committee.

52 A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 13.3.43.
54 'The Australian Red Cross Rehabilitation Service,' Social Service, August 1942.
J.S. Hyslop, in Social Service, November 1942.
November 1940 in Adelaide, the Returned Soldiers' League instituted a Family Welfare Bureau financed by the Fighting Forces Comforts Fund. Each of these agencies employed qualified social workers. The most substantial development of this kind was, however, in Sydney. Early in 1940, the Lord Mayor's Patriotic and War Fund set up a Family Welfare Bureau, and by 1944 it employed seven qualified workers.

The Catholic Social Service Bureau had been founded in Melbourne in 1936, primarily to screen and help applicants to Roman Catholic Institutions for children, but much of its work had developed along family welfare lines. Similar bureaux had opened in Sydney and Adelaide in the early 1940's, and in 1944, the Church of England established in Sydney another general family casework agency, its Family Service Centre. Apart from extending family welfare work

57 Joan Lupton, Almoner at the Adelaide Children's Hospital, took leave to put the Bureau on its feet. By January 1943 it had handled 2,100 cases.
57 Katharine Ogilvie took three months' leave from the Rachel Forster Hospital to establish it. The viewpoint of the new Bureau is well demonstrated in its first annual report:

The most spectacular, easiest and least constructive way of dealing with applications for assistance is by handing out large numbers of gifts in cash or goods without regard to their effectiveness in meeting the need of the person applying for help, and to gloss over real difficulties with a pleasant smile and a sympathetic word, leaving the client as much in need of help as before, and prepared to ask for a further grant as soon as possible.

The Lord Mayor's Patriotic and War Fund, A.R.1940.

58 The Church of England Family Service Centre, Social Service, December 1944.

In 1942, the Presbyterian Church in Melbourne appointed a qualified
undertaken by qualified people, these agencies provided qualified social workers with an opportunity to influence the social provisions of the churches.

One other field, psychiatric social work, showed some signs of movement, although it was still greatly under-developed. The Committee on Social Security asserted that the general public lacked sympathy with and understanding of mental illness. War neuroses began to create in some quarters, however, a new interest in psychiatry and also the social rehabilitation of psychiatric patients. A completely new development was the Red Cross Society's desire to employ many psychiatric social workers in its rehabilitation scheme, if they had been available.

A Sydney psychiatrist said in 1943,

The Psychiatric Social Worker is now recognized as an ally of the psychiatrist and a valuable therapeutic agent in child guidance and adult psychiatric clinics, in mental hospitals, and in all areas of common endeavour in the field of mental hygiene.

Just that year, at Callan Park in Sydney and Royal Park in Melbourne, social workers were first appointed to Australian mental hospitals.

The child guidance movement still had a hold only in Sydney, and

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58 (cont.)
social worker as Secretary to its Children's Home. She was responsible for all admissions and for placement of children after leaving. J.S. Hyslop, in Social Service, November 1942.

59 Cairns comments that this 'stated what was obvious from statistics ...and from general knowledge of the community.' Cairns, The Welfare State in Australia, p. 317.

60 In 1944, it actually sent four social workers to do the Mental Health Course in London, because no local training in psychiatric social work existed.


62 Social Service, May 1943 and November 1943.
psychiatric clinics in general hospitals remained without necessary social work services. The psychiatric revolution for the civilian population had to await the 1950's.\textsuperscript{63}

Despite their new employment frontiers during the war, the qualified social workers continued to be primarily engaged in helping individuals, although some did work with groups. A great many, wherever they worked, found themselves shaping agencies' policies, either singly or collectively through their associations.

\textbf{Collective Activity}

Before considering the part played in these war years by the social work associations, changes in the nature of the associations need to be mentioned. The most important of these were the establishment of general and almoner groups in South Australia, the coming to life of the federal body of the almoners' Association, and the further definite move in 1945 by the New South Wales general association towards an organization exclusively for qualified people.

In 1941, the six qualified almoners then in Adelaide formed the South Australian Branch of the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners.\textsuperscript{64} Naturally the Australian membership requirements applied which meant only qualified almoners were eligible to join.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63} See pp. 341-2.
\textsuperscript{64} S.A. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 21.7.41; 16.10.41.
\textsuperscript{65} If they had not worked in a hospital or similar institution for twelve months, they could only be associate members. A.A.H.A., Constitution, (typescript).
immediate reason for the establishment in 1942 of the South Australian Social Workers' Association was to make more effective an approach by the qualified social workers to the Red Cross, Civil Defence and Government authorities about the newly-created civilian relief depots. The Association's objects and membership qualifications were almost identical with those of the New South Wales general association.

The latter, however, three years later, made important changes in its membership rules. Provision for associate members was first restricted, then eliminated. Two main reasons were given. There was now a growing membership of qualified social workers, and the need to discriminate in the choice of associate members had proved difficult. People who had undertaken only the emergency industrial welfare courses were not considered qualified social workers by the Association. This trend towards a closed association was to be expected since, generally, provided there were sufficient numbers, it allowed the organization to be more effective in carrying out its

66 S.A. S.W.A., Minutes, 11.3.42.
68 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 28.2.45; 12.10.45.
69 See p. 265-6.
70 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 4.2.43.

In 1941, a group of practising personnel and industrial welfare officers established the Personnel Officers' Association of Australia, the two foundation Divisions being in N.S.W. and Victoria. Personnel News, March 1951.
functions. The function of linking the trained and the untrained could be taken over by broad coordinating bodies like councils of social service.\textsuperscript{71}

Towards the end of the war, the general associations in Sydney and Melbourne each had roughly ninety members, and the Adelaide one about two-thirds this number. The Sydney Branch of the almoners' Association more than doubled in size in the war years and was drawing level with the Melbourne Branch which in 1945 had 36 members; the Adelaide Branch was about a quarter to a third their size.\textsuperscript{72} Following the pre-war pattern, the great majority of members of the associations continued to be unmarried women.\textsuperscript{73}

The members and the executive of the Sydney general association met at roughly monthly intervals which was more frequently than their counterparts in Melbourne and Adelaide. Of the three almoner groups, however, the Victorian one was by far the most active. The almoner groups, despite increasing membership, continued without executive committees. In the early war years, and still in 1945 in

\textsuperscript{71} In contrast with the N.S.W. S.W.A.'s action on membership rules, the V.A.S.W., in a State where there was still no council of social service, in 1941 and 1943 slightly relaxed its regulations. In 1944, as a special case, the prospective Secretary of the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, unqualified and without five years' paid experience, was accepted as a member.

V.A.S.W., A.M., Minutes, 17.4.41; 28.1.43: Council, Minutes, 7.12.42: Minutes, 8.8.44: Exec., Minutes, 21.6.44.

\textsuperscript{72} See Appendix 5A.

\textsuperscript{73} In the S.A. S.W.A., there were a few inactive male Children's Welfare Department officers and industrial welfare officers. All members of the A.A.H.A. were still female.
Adelaide, the yearly average of members' attendance at their meetings was over half the total membership. In the general groups the equivalent figure tended to be between a third and a half.

The Central Council of the Australian Association of Hospital Almoners began operating during the war years, first in Melbourne and then in Sydney. It concerned itself with such matters as standardization of records, reports on Australian developments to members and to British almoners, discussion of salaries, and recruitment of students, but it was hampered by problems encountered by many national organizations in Australia. The State in which the central body was located tended to be over-represented, the travelling of representatives from other States was costly and took time, and executive action was inclined to be slow. By the device of partly using local people to represent other States in which they had once worked, the almoners' Association increased attendance at its Council meetings and reduced costs. Only occasionally could representatives from other States attend and then it was sometimes when they were on other business. No Branch challenged the view of the Australian President in 1943 that for the national development of the Association,

74 It met five times in Melbourne from February 1940 until mid-1942. It met another four times in Sydney from then until July 1945 when it was decided meetings should be quarterly. In addition, there was some executive activity.

Appendix 5B. A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 29.2.40; April, '42; 30.7.45.
Branch representatives should have a degree of voting freedom. 75

What functions did the social work associations perform during the war? In 1943, the retiring President of the New South Wales Social Workers' Association urged that a well-balanced program for such an association should include self-protective activities to prevent exploitation and debasement of functions and services, the improvement of the community's social services, and the professional development of social workers. 76 In speaking of the first, self-protective activities, she said the Association had so far almost completely neglected this function - 'to date there have always seemed to be more important things in which to spend our energies.'

As has been observed, 77 the social work associations during the 1930's paid little attention to employment standards. This began to change, however, in the war years, in the almoner groups more quickly than in the general ones. The shortage of almoner students impelled the almoner groups to try to improve their salaries and working conditions, but in both Melbourne and Sydney they became

75 A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 13.3.43.
76 President's Report, N.S.W. S.W.A., (typescript), 1943. The President was Norma Parker. In her views she was here guided by an article by Wayne McMillan, the President of the American Association of Social Workers, in Social Service Review.
77 See pp.182-3.
enmeshed in complex negotiations. Many interested but not necessarily informed parties were involved, and there was uncertainty on how salaries should be based - whether on the number of beds, assistants, or responsibility. In New South Wales, wage pegging regulations drew the almoner group into court action which they found slow, expensive and unproductive. The almoners found themselves being grouped with medical auxiliaries, who had lower training standards and less responsibility. General social workers, with only a two-year training, were sometimes commanding salaries higher than the almoners; and, as mentioned, Red Cross offered a higher starting salary.

In the view of the general training bodies towards the end of the war, action on social workers' salaries should be the function of the social workers' associations. As yet, however, the general

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78 Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 12.11.41; 10.12.41; 16.2.42; 11.3.42; 8.8.42; 11.11.42; 13.9.43; 28.9.43; 11.10.43; 10.11.43; 8.12.43; 10.5.44; 13.9.44; 17.10.44; 8.11.44; 17.1.44; 11.4.45.
N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 18.12.40; 2.12.42; 8.3.43; 18.10.43; 1.3.44; 13.12.44; 20.2.45; 23.7.45.
V.I.H.A., Exec., Minutes, 17.5.44; 21.6.44; 19.7.44; 23.8.44; 18.10.44; 15.11.44; 21.2.45; 21.3.45; 22.8.45.

79 The Almoners' Institutes, individual hospitals, medical social work agencies, the Charities Commission in Victoria or the Hospitals Commission in New South Wales, other employee groups in the hospitals, the almoners in other States, the Central Council of the almoners' Association, general social work agencies, and even people interested in women's rights.

80 Report of the Conference of the Boards of Social Studies of the Universities of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, held in Sydney on August 16th and 17th, 1944. (typescript).
associations' interest in such matters was extremely limited.

At the end of 1942, the Victorian Association asked the general training body for its cooperation to establish a maximum salary of £225, and in 1944, on request from an agency, it drew up a scale of salaries which it distributed to all agencies employing qualified social workers.\(^81\) The New South Wales Association by the end of 1945 had still taken no action, but it had since late 1943 collected information on members' salaries and working conditions and had just appointed a committee which promised to act.\(^82\) The newly-formed South Australian general group was only slightly involved in such questions.\(^83\)

Another function in relation to employment in which some of the social work associations began to take an interest, was acting

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\(^81\) On this, starting salary was £250 with yearly increments of £10 to at least £280, and a social worker in charge of an agency received at least £300, with increases above this dependent upon the degree of responsibility and the size and scope of the agency. V.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 18.3.44; Minutes, 27.4.44; 8.6.44.

This scale was roughly equivalent in money terms to the almoner scales put forward by the almoner Institutes immediately pre-war. See p.177.

\(^82\) N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 6.10.43; 12.10.45.

\(^83\) Early in 1945, it drew up a scale of charges to be paid a country member doing work for a city agency. The previous year, it protested vigorously to the authorities when the Education Department, wanting a social worker, advertised for an Assistant Psychologist. S.A. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 12.7.44; 10.11.44; 19.2.45; A.M., Minutes, 3.8.44.
Another function in relation to employment in which some of the social work associations began to take an interest was acting as an employment exchange. Only the Victorian general association developed this interest at this stage, and even in the post-war years, this possible function was to remain under-developed in each State.

The question of a professional code of ethics appears to have been first raised in 1945 in the Victorian almoner group. The argument was it was now necessary because almoners' work was growing so much, and, significantly, because almoners were so often the deputies of the medical profession. In 1944, prompted by the registration of physiotherapists, the question of registration of social workers was raised in the New South Wales general association. A social work code of ethics was not, however, to be finally decided upon even by 1961, nor by then was the question of registration even to be carefully considered.

There was, then, what may be described as a beginning interest in self-protective activities on the part of the associations. Their interest in improving the community's social services, already apparent in the 1930's, was developed much more strongly and was given great

84 Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 13.11.40.
V.A.S.W., Minutes, 10.3.41.
S.A. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 12.1.44.
85 Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 11.4.45; 30.5.45.
86 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 27.9.44.
87 See pp. 394-5.
stimulus by the war. By 1943, the President of the New South Wales general association could assert,

The position is now there is not likely to be any important move in the social service field in which the association is not consulted or invited to take part.

And, A large number of people who are of importance in relation to our work are sufficiently interested in what we are doing and sufficiently impressed that (they are likely) to come to any function we run.

She encouraged every social worker to participate fully in the Association's work, arguing,

Firstly,...these are not normal times and...we are... building for the future. Secondly,...in all my experience in social work in Australia...there has never been a moment in which the pressure has not been on all social workers in all social agencies; it is a chronic condition from which it is absolutely necessary that we extricate ourselves; otherwise we should never have any progress at all. And lastly,...there is something wrong with our thinking...if we...hold the view that it's more important ...to work extremely long hours at our agencies,...than... to take part in community activities which will eventually lead to social action and reform. The one is remedial, the other preventive.

The wartime activities of the qualified social workers outside their agencies, usually through their associations, was in fact fairly extensive and on some projects intensive. There was a great dearth of expert advisory opinion which could be used by those responsible for making rapid and far-reaching changes in social

88 President's Report, N.S.W. S.W.A., (typescript), 1943.
89 Ibid.
policy and provision. In particular, there existed one under-developed council of social service throughout the country, and no general advisory social welfare body existed on a national level.

Normally, the qualified social workers took the initiative themselves in studying, expressing an opinion on, or pressing for changes in, present and future community arrangements for social welfare, but increasingly, responsible outsiders solicited their opinion and assistance. Sometimes the social workers joined forces with other community groups; often they acted alone. Occasionally they combined among themselves - the specialist and the general group in one State, or the specialist groups in different States. Action was taken through delegations, individual contacts, letters, printed reports with recommendations, and informal approaches. The appointment of a sub-committee to study a subject, make a report, and put forward recommendations became a common method for arriving at an informed opinion. The almoner groups in particular made frequent use of the illumination of individual and social needs provided by

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90 The movement towards coordinating and rationalizing social services did receive some stimulation by the war. Towards its end, a council of social service was getting under way in Victoria, and in mid-1945 a Queensland Council of Social Agencies was formally established. In addition a Youth Welfare Coordinating Council, which was to develop into a council of social service in July 1946, was established in Adelaide in October 1943. The proliferation of new agencies made such developments the more necessary.

V.A.S.W., Minutes, 8.8.44.
'Queensland Council of Social Agencies,' Social Service, August 1945.
cases in their agencies. Premiers, Ministers, senior public servants in Commonwealth and State Government Departments, municipal authorities, Governor's wives, officials of voluntary bodies - in fact whoever was likely to have most influence in bringing about a desired change - were approached by the groups.

In their joint action, the qualified social workers repeatedly advocated that individual differences should be borne in mind by planning authorities; that for economic, humanitarian and social reasons, preventive and rehabilitative work should be concentrated on; that individuals' total needs, psychological and social as well as economic, should be recognized; that all sections of the community, not just servicemen and their dependants, should be adequately provided for; and that trained people were needed to make social provision effective.

On a national level, as mentioned, the social work associations submitted evidence to the Committee on Social Security. In addition, in 1942, they were among the organizations invited by the Commonwealth Attorney-General to express a view on the proposed change in the federal constitution to give wider social service powers to the Commonwealth Government. Moreover, it was action by the almoners' Association which led to the Australian Red Cross Society's national rehabilitation scheme. The general association in Sydney was

91 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 9.11.42; 7.12.42.  
92 See p. 213, footnote 47.
responsible for a quite different development which reached beyond the borders of the one State. This was the publication by the local Council of Social Service of a bulletin, which, it was hoped, would attract intelligent interest to social questions and services. Neither its content nor its circulation was confined to New South Wales. 93

On a local level, each of the social work groups helped to prepare their cities for bombing. At the beginning of 1942, the Civilian Aid Service accepted the offer of the New South Wales Social Workers' Association to organize and staff Citizens' Information Bureaux. 94 The public did not make extensive use of the bureaux which were subsequently established 95 and interest in them receded as the possibility of air attack waned. Through this project, the qualified social workers did become much better known in the Sydney community, but it sorely taxed their time and powers of organization. 96

As indicated, the immediate reason for forming the general

94 The idea came from Britain. On the outbreak of war, the National Council of Social Service established throughout Britain Citizens' Advice Bureaux, staffed largely by volunteers. By 1943, over a thousand were coping with the multitude of personal and domestic problems arising from the war. 'Citizens' Advice Bureaux,' Social Service, January 1944.
95 At least ten plus a Central Information Bureau were established in various municipalities, and a further nine were ready to function in an emergency.
social work association in Adelaide was concern over the Civilian Relief Depots being established. By March 1942, there were twelve of these, staffed by untrained Red Cross volunteers. The Premier subsequently appointed a Civilian Welfare Advisory Committee, which included the whole Executive of the newly-formed Social Workers' Association, to advise on the organization of a Civilian Welfare Bureaux, an agency to coordinate the work of the existing Depots. The Association ran lecture courses for the staffs of the Depots, and eventually gained the appointment of a qualified social worker, on loan from the Children's Welfare Department, to run the Bureau. 97

Additional to this activity to combat enemy attack, the general social work associations in both Sydney and Melbourne assisted Government authorities with evacuation plans. 98 Furthermore,

96 (cont.)
President's Report, N.S.W. S.W.A., 1943.
There was no comparable activity by the V.A.S.W., although for a brief period in 1942, four municipalities opened Citizens' Advice Bureaux, assisted by the Melbourne University's Department of Social Studies.

S.A. S.W.A., Minutes, 11.3.42; 19.3.42; 6.5.42; 17.8.42; 1.9.42:
Exec., Minutes, 16.4.42; 23.4.42; 14.5.42; 17.10.42.
A central index and a housekeeper service became features of the Bureau, and were transferred to the Children's Welfare and Public Relief Department when it closed in 1945.
S.A. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 19.2.45; 19.6.45.

98 Evacuation Problems, Suggestions Submitted by the Social Workers' Association of New South Wales, ms.
V.A.S.W., A.R.1941, (typescript); Council; Minutes, 19.5.42.
in Sydney, the almoner group prepared a classification of patients and receiving houses for evacuation purposes; almoners there were to play a vital role if it was necessary to evacuate hospital patients.99

The qualified social workers showed particular concern for British children evacuated to Australia. In the discussion in Sydney and Melbourne in mid-1940 among voluntary groups and Government authorities about arrangements to receive and place these children, the qualified social workers stressed the need for careful selection of children and foster homes and adequate supervision. In the event, the State child welfare departments took full responsibility for the scheme. Only in Melbourne was outside assistance really accepted. There, all the qualified workers combined to assess over 1,200 homes offering to take the newcomers. The results were used by the Children's Welfare Department, and it appointed a qualified social worker to supervise arrangements for the children.100

Perhaps the most spectacular social action in which the quali-

99 N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 30.10.40; 1.4.41; 30.4.41; 27.1.42.
V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 31.5.40; Minutes, 6.6.40; 1.8.40; 3.10.40; A.R.1940, (typescript).

100 V.A.S.W., Council, Minutes, 31.3.40; Minutes, 6.6.40; 1.8.40; 3.10.40; A.R.1940, (typescript).
Viel A.A.H.A., Minutes, 24.6.40; 11.9.40.
N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 26.6.40; 10.7.40; 22.8.40; 4.9.40; 23.10.40; A.R.1941, (typescript).
Minutes of Meeting Called by the Red Cross Case Committee of a Number of Organisations Interested in Children's Welfare, Melbourne, 7.6.40, ms.
E. Govan, 'War Orphans and Adoption,' Social Service, November 1944.
fied social workers played an important part was in connection with government child welfare provision in New South Wales. Towards the end of the 1930's, it seemed that the New South Wales Child Welfare Department was going to be the first State child welfare department in Australia to adopt progressive child welfare policies, giving individual consideration to children and parents by qualified staff, and linking government and non-government child welfare programs. The Department already had a long history of ineffectual enquiries and Royal Commissions when in 1938, its Secretary initiated a comprehensive permanent Child Welfare Conference, which brought together people engaged in or knowledgeable about child welfare work. The Conference ran into official opposition. The Department's Secretary was removed to another part of the public service and the Conference was superseded by a nominated Child Welfare Advisory Council. Leading qualified social workers and members of the social work training bodies were in the thick of these developments, and were appointed members of the new Advisory Council. Already by 1939, statements which sounded progressive were emanating from

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102 The N.S.W. S.W.A. and the N.S.W. A.A.H.A. sent a letter to the press in appreciation of C.T. Wood's work when this occurred. S.M.H., 22.11.38.
103 This was introduced by the primarily consolidating Child Welfare Act passed in October 1939.
104 Professor Tasman Lovell was its Chairman.
Probably the outstanding feature of the administration during recent years has been the increasing application of scientific skills - medical, psychological and educational - to the individual treatment of State wards, delinquent and other classes of children with whom the Department is concerned. ... With reference to staff training, it is clearly appreciated that social work in its present-day form calls for high initial qualities of personality together with specific skills and techniques, which can best be imparted by courses of field and formal instruction.105

Then came the war, and with it a series of studies which recommended far-reaching changes.

In 1942, the Pre-School Child Committee of the Child Welfare Advisory Council made many recommendations to the appropriate Minister, Clive Evatt, and in 1944 re-iterated the urgent need for change.106

In 1943 and 1944 respectively, the Standing Committee for Child Welfare of the New South Wales National Council of Women made recommendations to the Child Welfare Department about foster home placement and adoption procedure.107 In each of the reports the need for adequately trained staff was stressed. None of the reports had any immediate impact. It was over the provision for delinquent

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107 National Council of Women (New South Wales), Reports of the Standing Committee for Child Welfare, (typescript). The main sections of these were printed in Social Service: 'Principles of Foster Home Placement,' January 1943, and 'Child Adoption,' August 1944.
children that the Department was eventually impelled to act.

In December 1941, the Delinquency Committee of the Child Welfare Advisory Council submitted a report to the Minister on the prevention and treatment of the mounting delinquency in the community, but it was ignored. The following year it reported on the mass abscondings and the riots in the Child Welfare Department's institutions, and also put forward the case for establishing more child guidance clinics. Adverse publicity eventually forced the Minister to seek assistance from the Advisory Council. Throughout 1943, members of the Delinquency Committee intensively studied cases of girls at the Girls' Industrial School at Parramatta.

A foreword to the resulting report claimed that the general conditions found at Parramatta could be matched at institutions throughout the Commonwealth. They reflected the community's scale of values which still emphasized punishment and detention rather than re-education. According to the Report, the Child Welfare Department needed a large increase in the numbers of inspectors, insistence upon training for all new inspectors, an extensive 'in service' training program for all present officers, the appointment of a trained experienced

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108 Its nine members included Elizabeth Govan, Norma Parker, and Katharine Ogilvie. The first two in particular did a great amount of work for the Committee. In the course of the study, Norma Parker lived in the institution for a week in January 1943.

case worker to a senior position to organize the in-service training, and to act as consultant to inspectors, and finally, an increase in the staff of the present child guidance clinics, particularly in the social work field. To obtain the necessary funds, the Department was urged to assume community leadership in the care of the children of the State, to be open and frank about its problems, and to seek public support. If this was out of keeping with public service traditions, public opinion should be organized to change those traditions.\textsuperscript{110}

The Report went to the Minister and nothing further was heard. Exasperated, the Advisory Council took action. The Chairman of the Delinquency Committee wrote two trenchant articles for the press slating child welfare practice in New South Wales. An avalanche of public criticism of the Child Welfare Department followed. There was genuine sympathy with Departmental officers doing difficult work under bad conditions, but not with official attitudes which refused to admit any shortcomings in the Department's administration and dubbed the critics 'academic theorists.'\textsuperscript{111}

The Advisory Council eventually went direct to the Premier, W. McKell. With an election in the offing, the Premier agreed that the Minister should be changed, the position going to the best available man, and at the same time ordered a public service judicial

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p. 66.  
\textsuperscript{111} 'The Child Welfare Controversy,' \textit{Social Service}, April 1944.
enquiry into the running of the Child Welfare Department. The outcome was that by 1945 there was a new Minister and a new Departmental head, with a strong reform mandate which included an emphasis on training of the Department's officers. One of the bitter disappointments of the post-war period was to be the relative failure of the Department to employ fully qualified social workers.112

The qualified social workers' wartime social action was by no means confined to what has been mentioned so far.113 The New South Wales general group trained some voluntary workers for the Women's Auxiliary National Service; it took part in a Women's Forum discussing post-war reconstruction; it prepared a memorandum on housing for the Reconstruction authorities; it sent money to an appeal by the British Mental Health Emergency Committee; it took part in the Legacy Club's deputation on widow's pensions to the Minister of Social Services and added to the Club's report;114 it was interested in a survey of children of working mothers; it supported a move to establish another Child Guidance Clinic; it was concerned with establishing housekeeper services; it was keen to maintain the interest of volunteers beyond the war period;115 the Commonwealth Department

112 See pp. 324-5.
113 This is shown in the records of the associations.
114 Memorandum Re Widows' Pensions, (typescript), March 1942.
115 This interest was passed on to the N.S.W. C.S.S..
of Social Services invited it to make suggestions for the training and employment of invalid pensioners; it was keen to improve the lot of unmarried mothers; it objected strongly to the Recreation and Leadership Movement setting up a Standing Committee on Community Centres instead of working through the Council of Social Service; it urged the case for increased widows' pensions with the Director-General of Social Services; and it recommended a school social work service to the Education Department.

The Sydney almoner group had overlapping interests but in addition it urged an improvement in State aid with surgical appliances; it made a significant contribution to a Public Health Sub-Committee of the National Council of Women, and sent a memorandum on arising recommendations to the Minister for Health; its members gave their services in an honorary capacity to the Medical Benevolent Association; it made a survey of the care and accommodation of cancer patients, and was mainly responsible for a similar one for tuberculosis patients in New South Wales; one of its leaders was a joint author of a

117 Report and Recommendations by a Committee Appointed by the Social Workers' Association to Make a Study of Widows' Pensions, (typescript), July 1945.
118 Post-War Reconstruction Survey for the National Council of Women - Public Health Sub-Committee, Medical Social Requirements, (typescript).
119 New South Wales Division, Rehabilitation Committee, Australian Red Cross Society, A Report on the Services Available in New South Wales to Persons Affected by Pulmonary Tuberculosis, March 1943.
Council of Social Service report on housing for the Commonwealth Housing Commission; it spent time considering various proposals for the nationalization of medicine; it made recommendations for coping with the increased venereal disease among women and girls; and it was concerned about the lack of provision for chronic cases.

At the end of 1940, the Melbourne general group decided to adopt a more aggressive policy in social welfare matters. Its interests during the war ranged over young offenders; unemployment and standards of living; the handling of truant children; repatriation problems; difficulties connected with women in industry and war work; the temporary placement of children; youth during the war; juvenile labour; the breast feeding of illegitimate children; the forming of a council of social service; Service regulations concerning pregnant women; the care of families not fit for re-housing; a Children's Court clinic; the falling birth-rate; increased venereal

120 Council of Social Service of New South Wales, Housing, A Report to the Commonwealth Housing Commission.
121 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 5.12.40.
122 Mental Hygiene Council Sub-Committee and V.A.S.W. Sub-Committee on Delinquency, Report on Some Aspects of the Childrens' Courts' Arrangements which particularly Affect Probation Officers, (typescript), November 1940.
123 V.A.S.W., Report of Sub-Committee on Unemployment and Living Standards, (typescript).
124 Joint Committee of the Victorian Council for Mental Hygiene and the V.A.S.W., Study of the Problem of Truancy in Melbourne from the Administrative Angle, (typescript).
125 Report on Problem of Temporary Placement of Children, (typescript), This was prepared by the Vic. A.A.H.A., but the V.A.S.W. joined with the almoners in submitting it to the Secretary of the Children's Welfare Department.
disease; the running of the central index; housekeeper services; allowances to dependants of people dishonourably discharged, or in prison; anomalies in Commonwealth unemployment and sickness benefit provisions.

As in Sydney, the interests of the general and specialist groups overlapped. Among the Melbourne almoner group's additional interests were legislation for controlling venereal disease; a gift from Australian almoners to English almoners who were victims of air raids; the conditions at a convalescent home; the 'adoption' of a prisoner of war; the provision for the chronically ill; the care of male inebriates; national health plans; pensions of patients in mental hospitals; the lack of housing; and priority for housing on health grounds.

The activities of the two small new groups in Adelaide covered far fewer topics. The general group there did, however, take an interest in a 'Women for Canberra' move; the appointment of a qualified social worker to the Adelaide City Council; the changing of legislation on venereal disease; the establishment of a Youth Welfare Coordinating Council; the appointment of a psychologist by the Education Department; and the running of the Central Index.

The war was, then, a period when the qualified social workers in Australia took a keen collective interest in improving the community's social welfare services. At least in Sydney and Melbourne, this led to their becoming much more widely known in social welfare
circles and in some government circles. Whether the general public was becoming aware of their existence is, however, difficult to tell.

To this point, the self-protective and the social action activities of the social work groups during the war have been considered. What remains is a consideration of their educational activities, and this leads into a final comment on the quality of the work of the wartime social workers.

In Sydney and Melbourne especially, educational opportunities for qualified social workers expanded. A few agencies - the Red Cross Society, the Family Welfare Bureau in Sydney, the Royal Melbourne Hospital, the Sydney Hospital - now had sufficient social workers to make staff development programs effective, but still most social workers looked outside their agencies for their professional stimulation. Apart from the Sydney general training body in September 1941, the training bodies were too busy to provide refresher courses. It was to their associations that the qualified workers turned. Their social action frequently involved them in study, and association committees met to discuss professional skills. In addition, the general membership met frequently, often to hear speakers of some community or professional consequence.

126 S.U. B.S.S., A.R.1942, (typescript); Minutes 21.7.41; 3.12.41. In 1941, the Board running the Melbourne general course adopted the policy that such courses should not be given if they overburdened the staff. M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 20.2.41; 17.4.41.
No interstate social work conferences were held during the war. But the New South Wales Social Workers' Association did hold four residential weekend conferences, and the Victorian Social Workers' Association two, plus a one-day conference at Melbourne University. Representatives of interstate associations sometimes attended these conferences, and so did American social workers working with the American Red Cross in Australia.

As well as the educational activity of their own associations, the social workers in Sydney now had that of the New South Wales Council of Social Service - its public lectures, meetings, journal

128 The idea was mooted by almoners in 1940. A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 1.12.40.

The International Conference of Social Work was suspended during the war.

129 In May 1941, on 'The Individual in a Democracy'; in November 1942, on 'We Look Ahead' (the place of social work in government, industry, and the trade union movement); in April 1944, on 'Planning in a Post-War World' (particularly in relation to health and Housing); and in May 1945, on 'The Child and the Community' (care of the pre-school child, the case for a school social work service, child welfare developments in Melbourne, and the most effective distribution of existing social workers).

So action-oriented was the N.S.W. S.W.A. that in 1942 it agreed that its conference subject did not necessarily have to be one which called for immediate action. N.S.W. S.W.A., Minutes, 24.9.42.

130 In March 1943, November 1944, and November 1945.

131 'American Red Cross', Social Service, June 1942.

'First Conference of the Victorian Association of Social Workers,' Social Service, April 1943.

N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 23.2.44.

The American social workers also occasionally attended association meetings. Perhaps the most distinguished of them was Helen Hall, formerly head resident of the Henry Street Settlement in New York City.
and library. For all groups, the main professional stimulation through literature still had to come from abroad.

Compared with the 1930's, there were, then, greater educational opportunities for qualified social workers and many of the opportunities were of their own making through their associations. This educational activity would have improved the work of many of the workers.

A small vigorous group of able leaders with a fair measure of experience was emerging. They were largely responsible for guiding the associations in their social action and were often its main instruments; further, it was frequently they who initiated or sustained the associations' educational activity. With experience and usually training in either Britain or North America, sometimes both, they derived their stimulation not only from each other and the demands of the local situation, but from American and British literature. The gap, in terms of experience and competence, between them and most of the rank and file was, however, considerable.

132 N.S.W. C.S.S., A.Rs., A.A.H.A. The N.S.W. S.W.A. and the N.S.W. A.A.H.A. were represented on its library sub-committee. N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes 27.2.41; 29.11.44. N.S.W. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 1.4.41; 18.6.41.

133 The Vic. A.A.H.A. spent most time collecting literature, but there were complaints members did not use it sufficiently. Vic. A.A.H.A., A.R.1940-41, (typescript). Towards the end of the war, the S.A. S.W.A. decided to establish its own library and wrote to organizations in North America and Britain for material. S.A. S.W.A., Minutes, 31.10.44; 5.4.45; Exec., Minutes, 12.7.44; 19.2.45; A.M., Minutes, 3.8.44.
During the war, as will be seen in the next chapter, there could be no dramatic improvement in the basic professional training, and marriage continued to ravage the occupational group, leaving a disproportionate number of inexperienced people in social work employment.\footnote{134} It is likely, however, that under wartime conditions, the essentially female, unmarried nature of the group of qualified social workers and its rather confined social base were not such restricting factors as formerly.\footnote{135}

The war years provided qualified social work with a great expansion of opportunities, and to some extent they were seized. In 1945, Lyra Taylor asked the qualified social workers in Victoria a number of probing questions about their place in society. These were taken seriously and studied by the Victorian Social Workers' Association with the following result:

1. Does the progress in professional social work mean a lessening or loss of the service motive in social work?
   
   Answer - It does not mean a lessening of the service motive, but rather a refining and disciplining of it for the better understanding and service of mankind.

2. How far does the professional social worker identify herself and the professional interest with free enterprise groups from whom the money is derived?
   
   Answer - The general opinion is that professional social workers in Melbourne have not allowed their casework to be so influenced. Wider participation in the community's political and economic as well as social development is desirable, but the Association should not tie itself to any specific group.

\footnote{134}{In 1945 in Sydney, it could be written, 'at the present time, staffs in most of the voluntary agencies largely consist of workers with one or two years of professional experience.' Report on Practical Work, (typescript), S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 9.10.45.}

\footnote{135}{Sex roles were changing and social differences were more tolerated because of the general war effort.}
3. Do you think there is some element of patronage in social work?

Answer - There has been a marked element of patronage in past years, but this has been eliminated in modern professional work. This change of attitude is becoming more appreciated by the public as our work with all income groups increases.

4. What is the professional social workers' attitude towards this age of social planning and social control?

Answer - Whatever the social framework of society, the social worker will judge it by the consequence to the individual - the effect on human personality. Social workers should judge the trend towards community planning from this professional viewpoint. Apparent is this is a new awareness of themselves as a group with a professional identity.

136 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 4.4.45; 22.5.45; 24.7.45; A.M., Minutes, 28.2.45; Exec., Minutes, 16.3.45.
CHAPTER 7

UNDER UNIVERSITY CONTROL

The three general social work training bodies entered the war years in a precarious financial position, fearful that even the limited financial support which they had previously received would shrink. Yet they could anticipate a greatly expanded demand for qualified social workers. From the first, each of these independent training bodies had had a firm connection with its local university, and had hoped to be taken over by it. This was now imperative, if the Australian training movement was to have any chance at all of meeting war and postwar demands for qualified people.

From Independent to University General Training Bodies.

Many years before, the development of a university education for social work had taken place in both Britain and the United States. In Britain, the general case for and against the development was crystallized by the mid-1920's.¹ The arguments against pointed out that a university's standard of scholarship was endangered when it undertook training for an occupation which had scarcely formulated its requirements, and which was frequently influenced by those without a university education. In addition, the quality of practical work

¹ See Macadam, 'The Case for the University as the Centre of Social Study, 'The Equipment of the Social Worker, pp. 50-7.
could not be closely controlled, since it was spread over a wide variety of autonomous social agencies, and its quantity distracted students from the already broad range of subjects they briefly covered. ² To these arguments which tended to be voiced in academic circles were added those of some practising social workers who feared a university training would become increasingly remote from professional practice.

The arguments used supporting a university education for social work were varied. The rapidly growing occupational group engaged in social provision should belong together in a new 'learned profession.' The university had a social responsibility to recognize this. It was the main centre of relevant systematic knowledge, scientific and normative, and only it was in a position to preserve the essential unity of disciplines studying man and society. Social work training was a way in which such studies could be of benefit to the community. A university department training social workers could draw from many other university departments and in turn it could make a significant contribution to them. Because it needed to be identified with both the city and the university it broke down the isolation and suspicion of town and gown, to the benefit of each. With its traditions of academic freedom and adherence

² The sting could be taken out of some of the argument if the training were at a post-graduate level.
to truth and intellectual integrity, a university provided safeguards against sectional bias, to which social work training was peculiarly prone. Social work students had a demanding practical profession ahead of them. The value of an introduction to it in a university was immense, for this encouraged liberal attitudes and broad perspectives. Moreover, for social workers a university training gave employment mobility between fields of social work and a qualification of some recognized and permanent status.

Swayed by the general argument and by immediate circumstances which will be examined shortly, the Universities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, in the early years of the second world war took over general social work training from the New South Wales Board of Social Study and Training, the Victorian Council for Social Training, and the South Australian Board of Social Study and Training respectively. These universities were long-established institutions, overwhelmingly British in tradition. They were patterned on Scotland's non-residential universities governed by a combination of teachers and citizens, and were similar to many English provincial universities, but were without their advantage of comparative geographical

3 The Universities of Sydney and Melbourne were established in the early 1850's, the University of Adelaide in 1874. They were the oldest Australian universities. The Universities of Tasmania, Queensland, and Western Australia followed them in 1889, 1909, and 1911 respectively. No other full university was then established until after the second world war.

4 In the 1930's, an Australian professor wrote, 'One has only to read the reports of the British University Grants Committee to realize how substantially similar are the problems we face, the customers we serve, the difficulties we encounter, and the mistakes we make.'
proximity. A considerable portion of their limited revenue came from the State Government, which, though it generally refrained from direct interference in university affairs, determined some directions of development by ear-marked grants. Governments tended to support the more 'practical' projects, which weighed against the development of the humanities and social sciences. Arts courses, when they were encouraged, were seen as primarily for training school teachers and many evening students took them. The universities tended to be more collections of professional training schools than communities of scholars. Only a small minority of staff and students were female. The purpose of a university was not a subject widely discussed. 5

The unrest with the standards of the New South Wales Board of Social Study and Training which produced a separate almoners' Institute in Sydney 6 continued in the late 1930's. A small group of overseas-trained almoners dominant in the Institute were concerned about the Board's course for it provided the first two years of the almoners' three-year training. They realized that the financial position of the general training body was becoming desperate and were aware, with the Board itself, that the only secure future for the general training lay inside the university. But they wanted it

5 Ibid., pp. 163-183.
under different personal direction.

Dr. Grace Cuthbert captured the active interest of the Minister for Education, D.H. Drummond, who in turn consulted the leading almoners. At the beginning of 1939, he informed the Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University that he and the Minister for Health considered there was an urgent need to put the training of social service workers on a satisfactory footing by placing it under university control. Money would be provided, but it was insisted that the current Director should not be reappointed.

1939 was a year of negotiation. Towards its end, the person in charge of the almoner training, Helen Rees, drew up for the Vice-Chancellor a comprehensive memorandum on establishing a university training body. This suggested both a post-graduate and under-

7 The N.S.W. Director of Maternal and Infant Welfare, member of the N.S.W. B.S.S.T. and N.S.W. I.H.A., and friend and contemporary of Katharine Ogilvie at Sydney University.
8 He wished this for the training of the proposed child welfare cadets (see p. 155); the other Minister, H.P. Fitzsimons, to maintain and improve the training of almoners.
9 Hon. D.H. Drummond to Dr. R.S. Wallace, 4.1.39. (Fisher Library Archives) The Premier's daughter was a student of the Board. It is said that she expressed to her father dissatisfaction with her course and this helped the decision in political circles to finance university training for social work.
10 Memorandum on the Establishment of a University School of Social Study, November 1939, ms. (Fisher Library Archives).
graduate qualification, and pointed out that difficulties connected with the university's control of practical work, a minimum age for students, and the restriction of the course to those personally suited to practise social work, had not proved insuperable in overseas universities. In February 1940, Sydney University's Senate agreed that a Board of Studies in Social Work be established to institute an undergraduate diploma, the Minister for Education having indicated that £2,600 would be provided annually for such a course. Despite some opposition, the course was started immediately.

Although many of the personnel of the University's new Board were also on the Executive of the independent training body, and its students were accepted in mid-course, the Vice-Chancellor insisted the new university body was quite unrelated to its pre-

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11 It was argued that there were many social work positions in which a degree as well as a social work training was not absolutely necessary, and in which the salary was never likely (particularly for men) to be attractive enough to encourage candidates to spend four or five years in gaining the highest qualification.

12 For comparative material, the memorandum referred to Macadam, The Equipment of the Social Worker, and Alice Saloman, Education for Social Work.

13 The Board soon changed its name to Board of Social Studies. In the 1950's it returned to its first name. See p. 285.

14 Senate of Sydney University, Minutes, 5.2.40; 19.2.40.

15 Continuity for existing social work students, uncertainty about the political situation, and the chance to use the part-time services of two lecturers needed elsewhere in the University determined that the course was not postponed for a year.

Professor F.A. Bland to Hon. D.H. Drummond, 19.3.40. (Fisher Library Archives)
The Chairman of the old Board implied that the retiring Director had been a victim of a whispering campaign of the most extensive and imposing character. When Aileen Fitzpatrick departed from the professional social work scene in Sydney, those associated with the training movement had been deeply divided and personal feeling had run high, something which the infant training movement could ill afford.

The movement of the general training into the university in Melbourne was much less troubled than in Sydney. After the first overtures to the Melbourne University in the early 1930’s, the matter lay dormant until April 1936 when the University representatives on the Executive of the Victorian Council for Social Training reopened the question. After some months of debate, negotiating

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16 Professor Harvey Sutton to Dr. H. Powell, 4.4.40.
17 Ibid.
18 See pp. 90-1.
19 The case they subsequently prepared is contained in:
   Professors A. Boyce Gibson, G.W. Paton, J. Alexander Gunn,
   Acting Professor G.L. Wood, 'Request on Behalf of the Board of Social Studies for Recognition by the University,' 17.36, ms.
   They took this action because of the Carnegie Corporation of New York's decision to give funds only to university training bodies. See pp.-101-2.
20 e.g.: Jocelyn Hyslop to Helen Rees, 7.8.36 - asking for an opinion on a purely post-graduate university diploma. She herself was concerned about the factors of time and expense, but said, 'I feel that anyone who is unable to secure a 'pass' degree is probably not justified in undertaking social work.'
   Helen Rees to Jocelyn Hyšlop, 12.8.36 - in which she makes out a strong case against a purely post-graduate diploma.
   Jocelyn Hyslop to Helen Rees, 18.8.36 - agreeing, but pointing out the force of financial necessity (the University might consider the post-graduate course more favourably), and indicating some possibility of both a post-graduate and an undergraduate qualification.
ations broke down because the training body could not guarantee it would be financially self-supporting inside the University.

In May 1939, the University's Vice-Chancellor told the Victorian Council for Social Training that it was 'sponsoring a new professional career' and indicated the University was willing to cooperate as fully as possible.\(^{21}\) Just a year later, spurred on by the action of the Sydney University, the Chairman of the Executive of the Victorian Council, Professor Boyce Gibson, began negotiations afresh.\(^{22}\) His memorandum for the Professorial Board was of central importance.\(^{23}\) It argued that the existing training was run by highly qualified and respected social workers. If the University provided accommodation, the training could be self-supporting financially. University recognition was sought because of the saving on overhead costs, the increased likelihood of early government recognition, the greater convenience for the growing number of graduate social work students, and because the University of Sydney had already

\(^{20}\) (cont.)

Boyce Gibson, 'Memorandum for the Information of the Institute of Almoners concerning the request of the Board of Social Studies for University recognition,' 18.8.36 ms..

The almoners, whose training already took three years, feared the results of a longer training.

Committee of the Professorial Board on the Course in Social Studies: Note on a Conference with Representatives of the Board of Social Studies, 28.9.36, ms..

\(^{21}\) J. Medley, Address, A.M., V.C.S.T., 10.5.39, ms..

\(^{22}\) A. Boyce Gibson to Vice-Chancellor, the University of Melbourne, 21.5.40.

\(^{23}\) Director, V.C.S.T., to Dr. J. Newman Morris, 24.6.40, with the Memorandum, ms., attached.
adopted training. The four problems cited, all of which appeared 'capable of adjustment,' were that the existing diploma was subgraduate, and that it was desired to retain the present training staff, the specially designed lecture courses, and the existing minimum age and selection on personality grounds.

The Professorial Board decided in August that the training unchanged should be incorporated within the University under the control of a University Board of Social Studies. In January 1941, the Department of Social Studies began functioning within the University. The only condition of the transfer was that for three years there would be no cost to the University. The Victorian Council for Social Training stayed in existence until December 1943, primarily to finance the first three years of the new university department.

The most insecure of the three independent general training bodies, the one in Adelaide, was the last to be absorbed by its

24 After what Professor Gibson described as 'a poor discussion, as it concentrated on the question of priority of claims, which only arises if University expenditure is involved, and it hardly inquired at all into our merits.' A. Boyce Gibson to Jocelyn Hyslop, 16.8.40.


In 1943, the Department shifted from the old chemistry building into 'delightful new premises in a professorial house between Zoology and Old Chemistry.' This contrasted with the inadequate accommodation of Sydney University's Department of Social Studies. V.C.S.T., A.R. 1942-43. S.U. B.S.S., A.R.1944, (typescript).

26 Individuals, trusts, firms and social agencies were persistently approached for money. As late as November 1943, £400 was still to be found. (Hon. Secretary to six possible donors, 1.11.43.)
local university. In 1938, it expressed itself categorically in favour of a university training for social work.\footnote{27} In mid-1940, worried about its financial survival, especially under war conditions, and spurred on by the developments in Sydney and Melbourne, the Board requested to be taken over by the Adelaide University. The response was sympathetic - the Board's syllabus was included in the University Calendar and University accommodation was provided from the beginning of 1941 - but the obstacle to full incorporation was finance. Sir William Mitchell and Professor McKellar Stewart explicitly stated they would support full incorporation if the Board could show it was self-supporting.\footnote{28}

The Adelaide Board had been particularly disappointed by an unsuccessful joint approach for funds by the three general training bodies to the Commonwealth Government in April 1940.\footnote{29} A year later, it was again unsuccessful, this time after an individual approach.\footnote{30}

\footnote{27} S.A. B.S.S.T., 'Reply to Questionnaire of the League of Nations' Social Questions Committee,' ms.
\footnote{28} S.A. B.S.S.T., A.R.1940-41.
Dr. H.H. Penny to Dr. K.S. Cunningham, (February) 1941.
\footnote{29} It had made out a careful case for a grant and had sought the support of all local members of Federal Parliament. The Federal Cabinet expressed appreciation of the work of the training bodies but regretted that in the existing circumstances (presumably the war), the Government was unable to make a grant.
S.A. B.S.S.T., Exec., Minutes, 11.12.39; Honorary Secretary's Report, 8.5.40, ms..
Dr. H.H. Penny for S.A. B.S.S.T., 'Notes for the South Australian Board of Social Study and Training in Support of the Australian Council's Application for a Commonwealth Grant,' ms..
Sir Frederick Stewart to Professor Harvey Sutton, 1.5.40.
\footnote{30} Sir Frederick Stewart to Dr. H.H. Penny, 7.5.41.
It also made an application to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and sent a deputation to the Minister for Education requesting an annual grant of £1,000 from the South Australian Government to the University of Adelaide for social work training. In 1942 relief came at last when the State Government provided the University with money to run a course. A University Board of Social Science was subsequently established to supersede the independent South Australian Board of Social Study and Training.

**New Forms of Control?**

In their size, composition, and actual membership, the three new university Boards which were established by these developments were roughly similar to the executive groups of the training bodies they replaced. This meant the representation of a polymorphous

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31 Penny to Cunningham, (February) 1941. Cunningham to Penny, 26.2.41; 14.3.41. Hon. Secretary, S.A. B.S.S.T., to The Minister of Education, 21.7.41. Salient Points for the Deputation, ms..

32 See pp.105-7, and Appendices 2B and C, 3B and C, and 4B and C. S.U. B.S.S. consisted of the Chancellor, Deputy Chancellor, and Vice-Chancellor, ex officio, and fifteen (at first thirteen) members, at least five of whom were to be on the University's teaching staff.

The composition of M.U. B.S.S. was the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and the Director of Social Studies, ex officio, and not more than seventeen other members - five university members, four from the V.C.S.T. (until 1944), representatives of designated organizations (the only ones to be designated were the Anti-Cancer Council from 1941, and the Red Cross Society and the V.I.H.A. from 1944), and interested persons.

A.U. B.S.Sc. consisted of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, ex officio, and most of the former Board's Committee for Studies as well as its executive. The Roman Catholic Archbishop and the Secretary of the Children's Welfare and Public Relief Department were new members.
mass of agencies was eliminated. The new training bodies now came under the general surveillance of the university governing authorities, the professorial board and the university's chief governing body, the Senate in Sydney and the Council in Melbourne and Adelaide. The administrative and other requirements of the large complex educational institutions of which they were now a part set real limits to their freedom.

As they came to depend upon a share of the general university funds, the training bodies' ability to have their needs understood and accepted by authorities faced with many competing claims was to be of crucial importance to their development. In this, the standing of each Board's Chairman and the amount of time and energy he was willing and able to give to its affairs was a most important factor. Being professorial head of a university board was rather different from being head of an independent training body. Only if

32 (cont.)

Public authorities were better represented in Sydney than in Melbourne. Senior officials of the State Child Welfare, Education, and Health Departments were on the Sydney Board, while the only representative of a public authority in Melbourne was from the Federal Department of Labour and National Service, appointed at the end of 1943. The Victorian State Public Service Commissioner did not provide, as requested (letter 9.12.40), two representatives of the State social service departments (the Housing Commission, Children's Welfare Department, Children's Court Office, Charities Commission, and Sustenance, Education and Mental Hygiene Departments).

33 In all three universities there already existed Boards of Studies in other fields - three in Sydney and in Adelaide, and two in Melbourne. University Calendars.
there were sufficient numbers of academically acceptable qualified social workers was there any chance of the training being mainly controlled by them. As in the executive groups of the former general training bodies, the new bodies contained few qualified social workers,\textsuperscript{34} which meant the Director was still in a peculiarly vital position to determine the shape of the professorial education.\textsuperscript{35}

In the university's largely male, academic environment, it might be expected that the Chairman's point of view would tend to prevail over the Director's in the event of conflict.\textsuperscript{36}

Although the new Boards met rather less than the earlier

\textsuperscript{34} Not more than three in Sydney or four in Melbourne at any one time.

\textsuperscript{35} The general social work associations were not officially represented on the new Boards. For almost all the war period in Sydney and Melbourne, however, the Director or the Assistant Director of the local general training body was the President of the general association. The President of the A.A.H.A. was first the Directress of Training of the V.I.H.A., then the Almoner-in-Charge of Training of the N.S.W. I.H.A.

See Appendices.

\textsuperscript{36} On the one side tended to be a man, expert in an academic discipline which was often not immediately concerned with vocational training, knowledgeable about university affairs, and not necessarily with a 'welfare' focus; on the other side tended to be a woman, without the same academic standing, and not as knowledgeable about university affairs, but with a close knowledge of local and overseas social work, and with a 'welfare' focus. Actual relations would have depended also, of course, upon the personalities concerned.
executive groups, they remained important for they still had to decide on all policy matters, and this set very definite limits to any independent action taken by the Directors and Chairmen, either separately or together.

In Sydney, both the Chairman and the Director were changed when the training moved into the university. In Melbourne, Professor G.W. Paton was the new Board's Chairman until mid-1943 when Professor Boyce Gibson again took the position. Jocelyn Hyslop remained the Director as did Amy Wheaton in Adelaide. The new Chairman of the Board in Adelaide was Professor J. McKellar Stewart who retained the position until his death in 1953. Both Professors Paton and McKellar Stewart became Vice-Chancellors of their universities.

The new Chairman and Director in Sydney, upon whom fell the major burden to nurture the university training body after such a

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Except in Sydney towards the end of the war, meetings tended to be at irregular intervals.

37 Table showing the number of meetings and the average attendance (in brackets).

38 Sir George, in 1957; Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Melbourne 1931-51; Dean of the Law Faculty 1943-51, Vice-Chancellor 1951-; Executive, V.C.S.T., 1933-7; M.U. B.S.S., 1941-6.
troubled birth, were relative newcomers from abroad, Professor A.K. Stout and Elizabeth Govan. Both of these had recently been connected with the independent training body but had not taken an active part in its demise. Professor Stout was to continue as the Board's Chairman throughout the post-war years. Initially, his value was that he was an able outsider who had been associated with the social studies course in Edinburgh University. He was a humanitarian with high academic standards, who saw a university's main function as the maintenance and advancement of learning.

The new Sydney Board unsuccessfully advertised in Britain and America for a Director who was a university graduate and an experienced qualified social worker. Its temporary appointment of Elizabeth Govan as Acting Director was extended, and she continued to direct the course until her resignation in mid-1945 to return to Canada. Her administrative talent, complete reliability,

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40 Son of the distinguished G.F. Stout; educated at Oxford University; lecturer, University of Edinburgh 1934–9; appointed Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy, Sydney University, 1939. He took an active interest in prison reform in New South Wales.


42 Barely into her 30's when appointed; a Scottish Presbyterian background; B.A. (Hons.), M.A., Diploma in Social Science - Toronto University; B.A. (Oxon.); public relief work, casework with unmarried mothers and their children; an unhappy year as lecturer and tutor in casework for N.S.W. B.S.S.T., 1939 (see p. 142).

43 Curiously, the Minutes state that it was agreed that an applicant's sex should not be a barrier to the appointment! The alternative to Elizabeth Govan was a male in government employment. Significantly, the representatives of the Child Welfare and Education Departments voted for him.

S.U. B.S.S.W., Minutes, 8.3.40; 15.3.40; 5.4.40; 12.4.40.
and exceptional industry placed social work training on a firm footing in the University and helped the acceptance of professional social work in the community.

While these developments occurred in the control of the general training, the almoners' Institutes remained little changed. There were twice as many changes in the membership of the New South Wales Institute's executive group as in its Victorian equivalent, but this was of no great significance, for largely the same small group of people as pre-war controlled each Institute's destiny. Katharine Ogilvie's succession to Helen Rees in 1941 maintained the high quality of the New South Wales Institute's direction.

The formal machinery for cooperation between the three independent general training bodies, the Australian Council of Schools of Social Work, never really came into operation. The new university bodies had neither the time nor conviction to recast the Council and it vanished. But the training bodies did not tackle their wartime problems in isolation from each other. Apart from other considerations, the war and anticipated immediate post-war national needs of certain Commonwealth Government Departments and of the Australian Red Cross Society demanded a joint approach.

Representatives of the general training bodies and of the

44 i.e. just over twenty; see Appendices iE and 2E.
45 See pp. 118-9.
Ministry of Labour and National Service met in Melbourne in July 1941. In February 1942, the Director of the Melbourne general training body visited Sydney to discuss industrial welfare courses with the Sydney organizing committee. She did this again in July 1943, and also discussed the Australian Red Cross Society's needs with the Sydney Board's Chairman and Director.

The following month the Directors of the three University Boards met in Melbourne to confer with the Director of Medical Services of the Australian Red Cross Society, and with representatives of the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service. In addition, they combined with the Chairman of the Sydney and Melbourne Boards in a deputation to the Chairman of the Universities Commission. In April 1944, the Sydney Board appointed a committee to consider the present and future needs of its course, and suggested a conference between the three Boards to consider common problems. This conference took place the following August. The wartime discussion came to a climax just a year later with the conference called in Melbourne by the Director-General of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction.

46 Proceedings of the Conference of Representatives of Departments of Social Studies in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, July 4-6, 1941, (typescript).
47 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.3.42 - Report on meeting 24.2.42.
48 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 7.10.43 - Report.
49 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 6.4.44.
   Elizabeth Govan to Amy Wheaton, 24.5.44.
50 Report of the Conference of the Boards of Social Studies of the Universities of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, held in Sydney on August 16th and 17th, 1944, (typescript).
These interstate discussions which occurred in the war years were essentially of an ad hoc nature. They did not lay the foundation for regular discussion within the framework of an association of training bodies, a development which might have been anticipated in the post-war years.

To this point, the main organizational changes in the Australian training movement during the war years have been discussed. In the remainder of the chapter, the question of the wartime training standards will be taken up, and the four major factors, the curriculum, the teachers, the teaching materials, and the students, will be examined.

**Training Standards**

In her memorandum on establishing a university training body Helen Rees said it was natural to turn to British models, but many aspects of American training should be considered, especially the care and thought given to instruction in professional technique and to the supervision of students in social agencies. At least in theory, the courses of the independent training bodies had already done this, and the transfer of the general training from independent to university control was to bring no immediate radical alteration in the content or length of the courses. They still consisted of academic work made up of background and professional subjects, and a large proportion of field work, composed of supervised work in social

52 See p. 249.
agencies and visits of observation. In Sydney and Melbourne in particular, there were changes in the background subjects but they were more changes in emphasis than anything else. Teaching of social casework continued to dominate the professional academic part of the courses and the supervised field work, but there was an increasing interest in group work.53

The length of the general training was periodically discussed during the war years. The acute demand for qualified social workers and the need for a longer training pulled in opposite directions, and the two-year undergraduate courses remained intact.54 In July 1941, faced with the prospect of a great expansion of social work positions and the possibility of untrained people being used in them, the general training bodies considered shortening their courses. They decided that since newly-trained social workers were so often placed in very responsible positions, no shortening of the courses should be contemplated. Instead, each body was to try to increase the number

53 See pp. 303, 3094.
54 Generally, the Melbourne and Sydney courses had to be done full-time. In 1940, some lectures in Sydney were repeated in the evening mainly to allow officers of the Child Welfare Department to attend. The failure rate amongst these students, however, caused the local Board to discontinue the arrangement. Soon afterwards, the Melbourne Board declared that field work requirements and other factors precluded part-time students; from 1943, they were not accepted 'as a matter of principle.' In contrast 12 of the Adelaide Board's 29 students in 1943 were part-time students.
S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 11.7.40; 6.12.40; 11.2.41.
M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 17.4.41; 16.4.43.
A.U. B.S.Sc., Minutes, 4.5.43.
of its students. The Melbourne Board did in effect extend the length of its course when it decided that from 1943, students would not be admitted until they had already passed two specified university subjects, but the almoners' Institute was unhappy about the arrangement, and in practice it quickly had to be modified because of its effects upon recruiting.

Towards the end of the war, both the Sydney and Melbourne Boards discussed a three-year course. This discussion covered provision of specialized training in the third year and its fruits lie in the post-war years. During the war, the two almoners' Institutes continued to provide the only specialized professional courses, and their formal relationship with the new university training bodies was much as it had been with the independent training bodies. Because of the demand for the services of almoners in Red Cross and military hospitals, the Victorian Institute decided that from 1942, the training year would be shortened from eleven to eight months, but the experiment was not repeated.

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55 *Proceedings of the Conference, July 4th-6th, 1941.*
A graduate with the right subjects could in Sydney, or in Melbourne from 1942, do an intensive one-year course to gain the diploma. In both places, combined degree and diploma course of four years were available.

M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.9.41; 13.2.42.
J.S. Hyslop to Mrs. Wheaton, 16.5.40.

56 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.9.41; 24.10.41; 11.12.42; 25.2.44; 19.5.44; 8.3.45.
The aim had been to lighten students' load, to make room for changes in the academic work, and to give prospective students added inducement to work towards a degree while waiting to reach the entrance age of the course.

Institute did not make even this temporary concession, but it did offer some educational help for social workers in medical settings. Both the Sydney and the Melbourne Boards provided sub-professional courses in industrial welfare during the war years. In addition, the Melbourne Board from 1944 to 1948 was involved in a sub-professional youth leaders’ course, out of which a professional specialization in group work was to grow.

In Britain, the need to train industrial welfare officers had brought government recognition of the British training movement during the first world war. Prompted by overseas example, the Australian Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service decided near the beginning of the second world war that trained industrial welfare officers were needed to foster welfare work in government and private factories. In September 1940 came Jean Robertson’s appointment. In July of the following year, an emergency training course of six months was discussed with the social work training authorities, and in September, the Melbourne Board ran the first course. In all, before the war was out, the Mel-

58 N.S.W. I.H.A., Minutes, 22.4.42.  
The Institute's course covered twelve months; from 1941, because of 'the greatly improved preliminary training,' almoner students did not have to do an extra two months of family casework.  
N.S.W. I.H.A., Training Sub-Cttee., Minutes, 6.2.41.

59 See p. 303.  
60 Macadam, The Social Servant in the Making, p. 27.  
61 See p. 209.  
63 Its Chairman said it was not contemplated that the course would be a recurrent one.  
M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.9.41.
bourne and Sydney Boards each was to run five such courses. 64

Considerable official pressure was brought to bear on the Boards to continue providing the courses. 65 But the Boards considered they were very inadequate, and eventually in August 1944 they expressed their strong opposition to their continuance. 66

These industrial welfare courses were a mixed blessing for the training movement. Certainly they represented official recognition by the Commonwealth Government, and they increased knowledge of the training bodies in government circles. They made a contribution to factory production and strengthened the idea of welfare

64 The M.U. B.S.S. beginning in September 1941, March and November 1942, July 1943, and a final one in 1944; the S.U. B.S.S. beginning in October 1941, July 1942, February and September 1943, and March 1944.
65 E.g. R.G. Baxter, Director, Industrial Welfare Division, Department of Labour and National Service, to Mr. Medley, Vice-Chancellor, Melbourne University, 4.7.42:
'I have been discussing with the chiefs of the aircraft and munitions production directorates steps which might be taken to assist with many personnel problems which are standing in the way of maximum production for war purposes.

It is clear that the Industrial Welfare Supervisors already trained by the University are playing a most important part in this connection. But they are too few. Many more are wanted to make possible the extension of their work to other vital factories, where the need is most pressing.

Without trained people the situation will probably get worse each month. This makes it particularly important that we should have successive drafts emerging as rapidly as possible.'
67 The Commonwealth Government met all expenses connected with the emergency courses and gave financial assistance to the students.
activity within an industrial setting. Moreover, in Melbourne, they were to leave a post-war residue in the form of a professional specialized course in personnel practice. On the other hand, they placed the staffs of the training bodies under strain and diverted attention and energy away from the diploma courses. They did the same in many of the agencies which provided practical work for them, and they dislocated the diploma curricula. Although qualified social workers received substantial concessions, few actually did the courses. Finally, the general quality of the industrial welfare students was extremely variable, despite careful selection.

During the war years, then, the curricula of the training bodies changed little. Wartime conditions, which included the sub-professional emergency courses, severely restricted the room for development. In Sydney and Melbourne, however, by 1945 academic pressures and anticipated post-war needs had set the scene for change.

68 See p. 304.
69 The initial selection criteria were - preferably between 25-35 years of age; a university graduate for preference in economics or psychology, or with the equivalent of matriculation together with suitable practical experience; and personal suitability for the work. The students were 'reserved' from other national service. Of the many applicants, only a maximum of twenty could take each course. A considerable proportion, 40% in Sydney, of the students were male. M.U. B.S.S., Minutes; S.U. B.S.S., Minutes. Department of Labour and National Service, Emergency Training Scheme for Industrial Welfare Supervisors and Personnel Officers, August 1941.
There was no marked alteration in the number and kinds of teachers who put the wartime curricula into effect. Each university training body by the end of the war had increased its staff, but not greatly, and the Adelaide body was by far the worst equipped. Apart from the limitation of finance, qualified staff had been very difficult to obtain, especially from abroad.

Initially, the Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University intended that its Board should not rely to any great extent on part-time teachers, but several subsequently were used because of a shortage of suitable teachers of the background subjects. Nevertheless, there remained a noticeable difference in this respect between the Sydney and Melbourne Boards. In Melbourne, a much higher proportion of the teaching was done by people employed outside the university and this early pattern was to persist throughout the post-war years.

A new development occurred in Sydney with the appointment of a teacher of one of the background subjects as a full-time staff member. The research of the person actually appointed brought

70 In 1944, only the Melbourne Board, which had taken on extra staff to cope with the emergency courses, considered it was adequately staffed. Report of the Conference, August 16th-17th, 1944.
71 Memorandum for the Vice-Chancellor, Sydney University, from the Board of Social Studies, 19.10.43, ms.
72 University Calendars.
73 W.D. Borrie; research experience in New Zealand and Britain; 1942, appointed a Research Fellow in Sydney University under a Commonwealth Reconstruction Grant to study population problems in Australia; lecturer in social history, Department of Social Studies, 1944-9; much published work on population and migration; 1947-9, an Australian National University Research Fellowship in Britain; later, Professor of Demography, Australian National University.
the Department considerable credit. Quite apart from the obvious
community need for social, including social work, research, and the
advantage for students to have taken some part in a research project,
research activity of staff members was important to the training
bodies' standing in the universities.

The staff members responsible for the classroom teaching in
the professional part of the courses were under the same pressure
to undertake research as were other members of university staff.
In the first two decades of university training for social work in
Australia, this key group of teachers, from lack of time, money,
inclination, or training, were to produce very little research and
even less of it was published. There is, however, no doubt that
the university classroom teaching in the professional subjects was
superior to similar teaching in the 1930's. 74

The standard of supervision of students in the field work also
tended to be higher, because of increased numbers of well qualified
supervisors. In Melbourne, the regular consultation between the
supervisors themselves was continued, and this became a feature in
Sydney, 75 rather in contrast to pre-war practice. Developments in

74 The teaching of almoner students in Sydney was improved when, in
1943, the N.S.W. Government increased its subsidy to Sydney Hospi-
tal to allow the Almoner-in-Charge of Training of the N.S.W.
I.H.A. to give more time to teaching.
75 S.U. B.S.S., A.Rs., 1941-45, (typescript).
in the same direction also began to appear in Adelaide. But there were factors keeping down the level of supervision. The social agencies were exceptionally busy. Further, marriage was making inroads on the number of experienced supervisors available. A careful assessment of the practical work in Sydney in 1945 pointed to a deterioration in the quality of supervision in the previous two years, mainly because of the marriage of a number of senior social workers. Recently qualified social workers were too much 'taken up still with their own development' to make good supervisors, it was asserted.

Faith in the educational value of good supervision was particularly evident in Sydney. In 1943, to increase the number of practical work placements for students and to improve the quality of the supervision, the Sydney Board paid half the salary of a senior social worker in the Family Welfare Bureau; and at the end of 1944, the full salary of a field work supervisor working in the same agency. All supervisors were expected to give considerable time and thought to the students' work.

76 A.U. B.S.Sc., Minutes, 6.12.43.
In 1943, a psychologist, not a qualified social worker, was appointed part-time to arrange the field work in the Adelaide course.
78 Perhaps because its main professional staff members were trained in North America.
79 e.g. In evaluating the work of a student, a Sydney supervisor was requested to consider both the work of the student in the agency and the student's professional development. Under the first came - the number of cases dealt with; the types of problems; experience and ability in home visits, office interviews and first interviews; community knowledge and contacts; recording and letter
In looking at the teaching materials available during the war, there is evidence of some improvement, and much hope for the future. Mainly to construct sound policy for the post-war reconstruction, impetus was given to enquiry into the nature of Australian society both by government and university departments. In June 1941, representatives of the Australian universities and of the Reconstruction Division of the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service met in Canberra to map out a program of useful research, which included economic, social, and political and legal questions.

For writing; ability to fit into office organization, and absences, punctuality and overtime. Under the second came - intellectual capacity; maturity of thought; emotional maturity; the degree of understanding of people; ability in relationships; qualities of originality, initiative, imagination, tact, commonsense, and adaptability; self understanding; and general attitude to and interest in work.


A memorandum given to supervisors.

80 Brief Record of Conference of Representatives of Australian Universities on Reconstruction Research held in Canberra on 6th-7th June, 1941, (typescript).

Selection of Subjects from the Reconstruction Programme thought suitable for University Investigation should the Research Workers, Finance and Equipment become available, (typescript).

Tentative List of Suggested Research Workers, (typescript).

At the beginning of the conference the Director of Reconstruction Research (he was to become leader of the Federal Labour Party) stated: 'The work of Reconstruction is mainly one of research and fact-finding; and while eventually matters of policy will be all-important, I do not see why an objective view cannot now be adopted, and valid conclusions reached on most matters which are preliminary to policy.' Statement by Dr. H.V. Evatt to the Universities Conference on Reconstruction Research held in Canberra on 6th June, 1941, (typescript).
the rest of the war, enquiry was restricted more by a shortage of qualified research workers than by a lack of money. The social work training bodies played only a small part in this research activity, but at least some of the material resulting from the total program must have been immediately useful for teaching purposes; and perhaps most important, the encouragement of local research related to social policy laid the foundations for future gains. The Sydney Board in 1942 was strongly in favour of a Chair of Sociology being established 'in view of the need for research and the training of research students in this field,' but the University's Senate had decided no new Chair should be advertised for the duration of the war.  

For new material actually on the social services, the reports of the Committee on Social Security should, of course, be mentioned. It was beginning to be realized, however, that the findings on social questions by parliamentary committees and Royal Commissions could be open to question. The monthly journal of the New South Wales Council of Social Service was also a welcome addition to local social service material. But the social work literature used in the courses was still almost completely foreign, and the casework books and articles solidly American.  

Each of the new university general training bodies inherited  

81 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 30.7.42; 23.11.42; A.R.1943, (typescript).  
82 See p. 201.  
83 e.g. See Norma Parker, 'The Field of Social Research in Australia,' ms.  
84 See p. 229.  
85 e.g. See reading lists in M.U. Calendars.
its predecessor's small library. In Adelaide, the collection became fully incorporated in the general university library; in Sydney and Melbourne, it became the nucleus of a specialized collection of the general library located in the Department of Social Studies. The collections could grow only slowly during the war years.

Those responsible for arranging students' practical work now had a much wider range of agencies from which to choose. In particular, the establishment of family casework agencies was an important addition to the training equipment of the Boards. But the opening up of new practical work possibilities was being offset to some extent by the inexperience of the qualified staff.

It seems, then, that during the war years, in both the academic and practical parts of the courses, the teaching materials improved to some extent, but there was still much room for future progress. Changes also occurred in the student groups of each of the training bodies, which in turn influenced the nature of post-war qualified social workers.

Selection of students on grounds of age, education and personal

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86 Acting Director, S.U. B.S.S., To Professor Harvey Sutton, 10.6.40.
Dr. Newman Morris to Registrar, Melbourne University, 13.2.41.
A.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 14.9.42.
87 e.g. by 1945, the Sydney Board’s 70-odd students were distributed among 21 social agencies, 18 of whom employed qualified social workers, 5 in industrial placements in which industrial welfare officers were employed, and 5 group work agencies, all of whom employed qualified social workers. S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 9.10.45 - Report on Practical Work.
89 See p. 270.
suitability, continued. Apart from the admission of public service cadets at eighteen years of age in Sydney, each of the new university training bodies commenced with an entrance age of twenty years. Soon, however, all three, because of the wartime demand for qualified people, found it expedient to lower the age. The educational requirements were much as they had been under the independent Boards: a Leaving Certificate or general matriculation, with concessions considered for older applicants. In Melbourne, however, after a two-year transition period when the Leaving Certificate was still sufficient, all applicants were required to have matriculated, and in addition came the requirement of two pre-requisite university subjects.

The acceptance of the principle that students for a course

90 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 15.3.40; 10.5.40.
J.S. Hyslop to Mrs. Wheaton, 29.4.40.
A.U. B.S.Sc., Minutes, 30.7.42.

91 In 1941, the Sydney Board allowed graduates and undergraduates working for a degree to be admitted before they were twenty. In 1942, it agreed unanimously that the admission age should be nineteen for the war's duration, and the following year the Adelaide Board followed suit. At the end of 1941, the Melbourne Board merely agreed to admit students if they reached twenty before the end of the first term of the course.
S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 11.2.41; 19.5.41.
Memorandum for the Senate prepared after meeting, S.U. B.S.S., 30.7.42, ms.
M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 18.12.41; 13.2.42; 8.7.42.

92 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 10.5.40.


94 See p. 264.
should be selected on personality grounds was a new departure for each of the universities. The selection was usually handled by a small sub-committee of the Board which included the Chairman and the Director. In 1942, the Melbourne Board decided to use psychological tests to assist in the selection of students. 95 Both the almoners' Institutes continued to have their own selection procedure, but hardly any of the general social work students were not accepted for the medical social work courses.

Until mid-way through the war, student numbers were small, despite the urgent demand for qualified social workers; indeed, the Melbourne Board which had the highest standards of selection was faced with an alarmingly low number of students. 96 In the latter part of the war, special measures increased considerably the number of social work students in each city, but the Melbourne numbers remained very much lower than the Sydney ones. 97 At this stage, the main check to even greater numbers appears to have been limited practical work facilities. 98

Of the utmost importance to the development of qualified social work in the immediate post-war years was the maintenance during the war years of the pre-war pattern of almost completely female student bodies. In 1940, it seemed that the cadetships from

95 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.9.41; 11.9.42; 12.11.43.
96 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 11.9.42
97 S.U. B.S.S., A.Rs., (typescript), give the student numbers in Sydney. For the output of the successful students of each of the Boards, see Appendix 5.
98 The device of a training body paying the salary of a field work supervisor working inside an agency (see p.270) was not used
the New South Wales Child Welfare Department held by a handful of the Sydney Board's students marked the beginning of a breakthrough into public service, mainly male, circles. But early in 1942, despite the Board's protests, the male Departmental cadets were called up for military service, and the cadetships were temporarily suspended. Although this particular scheme of financial aid to students was halted, in the second half of the war a variety of new financial aid schemes appeared, primarily designed to stimulate recruitment to the social work courses.

Towards the end of 1942, the Sydney Board requested of the manpower authorities that its women students be reserved from other forms of national service. The Director General of Manpower

98 (cont.)

extensively.

The weakness of almoner departments in public hospitals (see p.212) meant very limited numbers of medical social work students, for these were the main teaching centres. In addition, it made it difficult for senior almoners to teach medical students about the social background of hospital patients, a development recommended by the British Royal College of Physicians.


Alison Player, 'The Teaching of Social Medicine,' Medico-Social Work.

99 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.3.42.

100 It argued that because of the work's unreserved status, some potential students thought other work more important at present, yet the demand for trained social workers far exceeded the supply and future demand would be even stronger. A statement by Ernest Begin after women were mobilized in Britain was cited: 'Women taking vocational training courses in social service...will not be asked to abandon their studies. In my view, these students will in general best serve the national interest by completing their courses of study.' Memorandum for the Director of Manpower from S.U. B.S.S., ms.
decided that if women were formally called up, thirty first-year students of the Sydney Board, and twenty of the Melbourne Board should be reserved for 1943.\textsuperscript{101}

In August 1943, a deputation to the Chairman of the Universities Commission\textsuperscript{102} sought financial aid for the students of the three Boards. The deputation was supported by letters\textsuperscript{103} which testified to the work of qualified social workers, the current shortage, and the likely shortage in the future, and claimed that financial aid would have desirable effects on the size and quality of the student bodies. It was stated that potential students, some more suitable than those accepted, had been unable to do the courses for purely financial reasons.\textsuperscript{104} Although until then, financial aid had only been given to students in degree courses,\textsuperscript{105} the Commonwealth Government, on advice from the Commission, decided to extend the assistance to a proportion of the reserved women students in these diploma programs.

\textsuperscript{101} R.C. Mills to The Registrar, Sydney University, 13.1.43.

In the next two years, each of the three Boards had a reserved 'quota' of students.

\textsuperscript{102} This was established in February 1943. Its two most important functions were to attract able students to the universities in sufficient numbers to meet war and post-war needs, and to advise the Commonwealth Government on manpower problems relating to the training of students. The Universities Commission: What it is and What it does.

The Chairman was Professor R.C. Mills, once a Vice-President of the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.

\textsuperscript{103} From the Vice-Chancellors of Sydney and Melbourne Universities and from authorities connected with Commonwealth, State, municipal, church and voluntary agencies.

\textsuperscript{104} e.g. Chairman, S.U. B.S.S., to Professor R.C. Mills, 18.8.43.

\textsuperscript{105} Deputation from the Boards of Social Studies to the Chairman of the Universities Commission on 30th August, 1943, ms.
But the Government, despite the emerging government demand for qualified people, remained firm in its decision not to reserve male social work students.

The Australian Red Cross Society fully supported the move to obtain government aid for social work students. To increase the supply of qualified medical social workers and psychiatric social workers in particular, the Society offered a series of scholarships. In September 1943, it offered twelve for qualified social workers to do almoner training the following year, and it offered a further four to experienced qualified social workers to train abroad in psychiatric social work. In January 1944, it offered sixteen for the two-year general diploma course in any of the three university training bodies, and the following year, a further twenty-two. Scholarship holders, once trained, had to work for two years as directed by the Society.

106 W.J. Weeden, Secretary, Universities Commission, to Registrar, University of Sydney, 28.12.43. In Sydney, up to eighteen students in each year of the course could apply for assistance.
107 Alfred G. Brown, Secretary-General, Australian Red Cross Society, to Professor R.C. Mills, 2.9.43.
108 Australian Red Cross Society, Scholarships for Training of Medical Social Workers and Psychiatric Social Workers, (typescript), 22.9.43.
109 The Secretary-General, Australian Red Cross Society, Memorandum on Training of Social Workers, (typescript), 5.1.44. Queensland and Western Australia were to have four each; the other States two each.
110 Australian Red Cross Society, Information for Intending Applicants for Scholarships for Training as Social Workers, (typescript). Queensland and Western Australia were to have six each, Tasmania four, and the three States with training bodies two each.
A few other scholarships became available to students, but the only other financial aid scheme of any size was that of the New South Wales State Government to Sydney almoner students. In 1943, £1,300 was granted to the almoners' Institute to assist social workers in need of outside aid to do the almoner course. These students had to be willing to work in a public hospital for two years after they qualified.

The various schemes of financial aid represented a significant recognition of the work of qualified social workers. In addition, they were responsible for social work students with much more varied social backgrounds. This was an important development, for it weakened the claim that qualified social work was a class activity, an extension of the voluntary welfare work of the middle and upper classes.

There is no doubt that during the war years, the Australian social work training movement grew immeasurably in community stature. But it was still confronted with many complex problems at the war's end. How it tackled these problems in the post-war years will be the subject of the next chapter.
THE POST-WAR YEARS
CHAPTER 8

AN IMPROVING EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

In the post-war years, the Australian social work training authorities, already alive to the British and North American training movements, became increasingly aware of the world-wide development of education for social work. Predisposing factors for the development - the growth of industries, of cities, of national income, of a democratic social and political philosophy, of social, psychological and medical knowledge, and of increasingly complex social provision - were found in different combinations and strengths in an ever-larger number of countries. Only five years after the second world war, there were at least 373 schools of social work of various kinds in 46 countries, and the United Nations was trying 'to facilitate international exchange of information between (them)...and thus to awaken interest in the gradual development of minimum standards for the training of social workers.'

The growth of the Australian social work training movement in

1 18 countries then had more schools than Australia (3) - United States (80), France (66), Germany (32), United Kingdom (22), Belgium (20), Brazil (15), Italy (12), Argentina (11), Netherlands (11), China (10), Austria (9), Union of South Africa (9), Canada (7), Chile (6), Czechoslovakia (4), India (4), Mexico (4) and Poland (4).


2 Ibid., p. 219.
the fifteen-odd years after the second world war was not rapid, but by the end of the period, solid gains had been made. By then, the minimum professional qualification was a three-year course provided by four universities in the four largest Australian cities. The pioneer almoners' Institute in Victoria no longer existed; the almoners' Institute in New South Wales remained, but without its training function. The three relatively long-established training bodies in the Universities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, had gained in strength and functions. They had recently been joined by the University of Queensland in Brisbane, and in Perth the University of Western Australia was about to come into the field. The host cities and universities of the training bodies had grown to a size which could sustain a substantial development of social work education. Sydney now had over two million people, Melbourne over one and three quarter million, and Adelaide and Brisbane over half a million each.3

Comprehensive University Schools of Social Work.

A feature of the post-war years was the development of university schools of social work with both general and specialist training functions. The two almoners' Institutes were naturally affected by this development. When in 1949 Melbourne University's Board of Social Studies became responsible for training in medical social work,

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3 Commonwealth Year Book, No. 46-1960, p. 290.
   In 1959, Perth's population was 389,000, Hobart's 109,000, and Canberra's only 44,000.
the Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners decided to disband.\footnote{V.I.H.A., A.Rs.; Exec., Minutes, 18.4.45; 23.5.45; 21.7.48; 17.11.48; 16.2.49.}

But to retain the interest, knowledge and influence of its members, especially the doctors, a Consultative Panel was established in May 1951 by the local almoners' association.\footnote{Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 29.5.51.}

The Panel met with the association later that year, but was then inactive, and in 1954 the association dispensed with it.\footnote{Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 1.11.51; 14.7.53; 8.9.53; 10.11.53; 5.2.54; 13.4.54.}

This severed the last formal link between the emergent medical social work group and the medical profession, upon whom it had leaned so heavily in its formative years.

For the greater part of the post-war period, the New South Wales Institute of Hospital Almoners continued largely unchanged in its structure and activities. When the Sydney University assumed full responsibility for training medical social workers in 1956, the New South Wales Institute did not follow its Victorian counterpart into oblivion. It remained in existence to retain for medical social work the assistance of the Institute's non-almoner members, and also

\begin{itemize}
  \item In a booklet distributed at a winding-up dinner in August 1950, the work of the Directresses of Training, Sir John Newman Morris, S. Greig Smith, and the Royal Melbourne Hospital, was specially mentioned. (\textbf{V.I.H.A. Executive Committee, The Origin and Development of Medical Social Work in Victoria.})
  \item Sir John Newman Morris was its Chairman. Half its dozen members were doctors, whose continued support Alison Player described as 'very precious.' (\textbf{Vic. A.A.H.A., Minutes, 29.5.51.})
  \item 'Australian Association of Almoners - (Victorian Branch), A development in Organisation - Formation of a permanent Consultative Panel,' (\textbf{Forum, Vol.V, No. 3, September 1951.)}
\end{itemize}
to register qualified almoners\textsuperscript{7} and take an interest in the specialist training in the University.\textsuperscript{8}

With the Universities assuming new social work training functions, changes were to be expected in the composition of the Boards controlling the courses. Immediately after the war, the possible size of Melbourne University's Board of Social Studies was increased by eight, to include additional people connected with the specializations to be offered in the course's third year.\textsuperscript{9} In the event, however, few such additions were made. In 1955, perhaps for the first time since the Board was established, its membership regulations were closely examined.\textsuperscript{10} Eight possible places on the Board were unfilled, specializations were unevenly represented, only one organization had an official representative,\textsuperscript{11} and the practice had arisen of including full-time staff members. In the subsequent revision of the Board's membership rules, teachers in the course and

\textsuperscript{7} In Victoria it had been argued that for an employer membership of the Vic. A.A.H.A. would be sufficient proof of a person's qualifications.
\textsuperscript{8} N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R.1956.
\textsuperscript{9} M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 3.5.46.
\textsuperscript{10} M.U., 1948 Calendar, Statute No. VIII.
\textsuperscript{11} Sub-committees worked out the details of each of the four proposed specializations. That for medical social work was the most elaborate, but not even this group remained in existence.
\textsuperscript{10} M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 10.8.45.
\textsuperscript{11} This coincided with a request for representation on the Board by the Metropolitan Hospitals Association who were perturbed by the shortage of almoners.
\textsuperscript{11} The Australian Red Cross Society.
other university teachers were included, but representation of agencies was excluded. The Board was to nominate not more than ten additional members who were either field work supervisors or persons otherwise interested in the work, and these were to include people who could speak for the major fields of social work. The 1956 Board had over thirty members, an unwieldy number for effective decision-making. 12

For a decade after the war, the constitution of Sydney University's Board of Social Studies remained unchanged. Then came a major re-organization connected with the inauguration of a postgraduate diploma. A Board of Studies in Social Work replaced the former Board. 13 It was exclusively a body of teachers 14 and had a possible membership of twenty. To enlist the aid of people outside the University an Advisory Council for Social Work was suggested. The Board decided, however, not to form the Council; instead, it would co-opt to any of its committees whose purpose was to assist the integration of the work of the social agencies and that of the Department, any suitable persons either inside or outside the Uni-

12 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 13.12.54; 25.5.55; 26.9.55; 12.12.55. M.U., 1956 Calendar, Statute No. VIII.
13 S.U. B.S.S.W., Minutes, 28.8.55.

The Professors of Philosophy, Moral and Political Philosophy, History, Psychology, Economics, Government, Preventive Medicine, the Director of the Department of Social Work, the Supervisor of Professional Training, three members of the Department's teaching staff, and not more than eight coopted members from those who taught for the Department.
There were a few changes in the Adelaide University's Board before 1957, perhaps the most notable being the addition of a representative of the social workers' association. With the institution of a three-year course, the Board, now called the Board of Studies in Social Studies, was re-organized. Apart from not more than five people outside the University, all the remaining Board members were now university authorities, teachers in the course, or other university teachers. In 1958, the Board's size was 23 members.

Apparent in these various organizational changes was a further shift towards academic control. Although the qualified social workers became better organized professionally, and an increasing number of them were experienced practitioners and student supervisors, their membership on the Boards continued to be very limited. Communication with the professional field remained largely informal.

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15 The almoners' Institute was well pleased when the Board established a committee of nine, including doctors and almoners inside and outside the University, to advise the Department on the teaching of medical aspects of social work. N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R.1956. No other similar committee appears to have been instituted.

16 Other changes were the abolition of the Committee for Studies in 1948, the change of name to 'Board of Studies in Social Science' in 1949, and the additional membership, in 1953, of the Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, and the Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Department of Social Services, as well as of the representative of the S.A. A.A.S.W. A.U.B.S.Sc., Cttee. for Studs., Minutes, 29.9.48.

17 A.U. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 22.11.49; 5.11.52; 14.8.53; 7.12.53.

17 A.U., 1957 Calendar, Statutes, Chapter XXVII.

18 See Appendices 1C, 2C, and 3C.
through student supervisors. Few of the practising social workers seem to have had the time, inclination and opportunity to influence the planning of the courses. The inclusion on the Board of the classroom teachers of professional subjects strengthened the chance of the education having relevance to the actual practice of agencies only to the extent that they themselves were close to professional practice. Generally, the background subjects remained heavily represented perhaps because the practical difficulty of discriminating between them and because of the strength the training gained within the university from being formally linked with many Departments. The few Board members who had a good working knowledge of social work practice had the difficult task of preventing education for social work from becoming a pawn in the game of academic politics, a game often difficult to follow because of the highly developed powers of rationalization of the participants.

The influence of the Boards can, however, be exaggerated. During the post-war period, there was a decrease in their activity.¹⁹

¹⁹ In 1947, the Melbourne Board settled down to meeting three times a year. By 1951, the Sydney Board was meeting at the same frequency, which was only a third of the yearly number of meetings it had maintained from 1946-8, and in 1955-7, it met only half yearly. 1950-6, the Adelaide Board met only yearly or half yearly, but then showed signs of adopting the Melbourne pattern. Attendance was not high. 1946-57, it ranged from 5 to 13 in Sydney, 5 to 20 in Melbourne, and 8 to 14 in Adelaide. (For actual membership numbers, see Appendices 1C, 2C and 3C). From Minutes of the three Boards.
The detailed planning of the course usually rested with the Director or with a sub-group of the Board which included the Director and the Chairman. It is impossible to know what was the actual power relations within each of the Boards. Frequently the Boards appear merely to have rubber-stamped decisions or suggestions made by the Directors or Chairmen; and yet, of course, the Board's existence may have strongly influenced their nature.

A few of the pioneers of the training movement, like Katharine Ogilvie and Amy Wheaton, continued in influential positions in the post-war years. In addition to these, six others may be mentioned for their positions of influence in the period - Norma Parker, J.A. Cardno, and Dr. Morven Brown in Sydney, and Ruth Hoban, Professor R.M. Crawford, and Alison Player in Melbourne.

The first three at various times directed the university training body in Sydney, a contrast to the continuing Directorship of Ruth Hoban in Melbourne and of Amy Wheaton in Adelaide. The story of the Sydney Directorship highlighted the difficulty at this stage of obtaining as head of a university school of social work a person with both high academic standing and professional social work experience and ability. 20

20 See Memorandum to Professor Stout, 19.3.45, ms..
When Elizabeth Govan gave notice in July 1944 that she wished to return to Canada the following year, the Sydney Board unsuccess-fully advertised for a Director with both good academic and pro-
fessional qualifications. So that a person of high academic standing might be obtained, the position was re-advertised at a higher salary and the professional qualification was not specified. In July 1945, Elizabeth Govan resigned, and Norma Parker, an experienced qualified social worker just returned from North America, was appointed Acting Director. The new Director, J.A. Cardno, took up his post in August 1946, and Norma Parker was appointed Senior Lecturer in Social Case Work, to be responsible to the Director for the supervision and control of the teaching of theory and the organization of practice in social casework. It was a difficult arrangement whatever the personal characteristics of the people involved. But it was made even more difficult because the

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21 Notice for the Press - Applications by 30th December, 1944, ms.. S.U. B.S.S., A.R.1945, (typescript). Katharine Elliot wrote to Elizabeth Govan, 15.3.45; '...the shortage of manpower here is acute and we are finding great difficulty in staffing our own work...Eileen Younghusband... has extensive knowledge of the highly trained social workers in the country, but she is also rather despairing because of the shortage of people.'

22 Memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor from A.K. Stout, 7.6.45, ms..

23 A Scot in his early thirties; M.A. (double first class honours), University of Aberdeen; B.A. (first class) (Cantab.); Board of Trade, 1941-4; Ministry of Information, 1944.

24 S.U. B.S.S., A.Rs., 1946-7, (typescript); Minutes, 27.2.46.

25 The main responsibility for the major existing work of the training school did not rest with the Director. Further, the division of function between the academic Director and the person who had this responsibility was not precisely stated.
new Director was of limited experience and felt unable to act with any confidence. This made the leading social workers impatient, for opportunities presented by the immediate post-war years were being lost. Eventually in March 1949, Norma Parker was again the Board's Acting Director.  

For more than five years the Director's post was unfilled while the place of the Department of Social Studies in the University was being re-assessed. In 1955, at the time the University instituted a post-graduate diploma in social work, another academic Director, Dr. Morven Brown, was appointed. He was responsible for the Department's overall administration, while Norma Parker, now appointed Supervisor of Professional Training, had immediate control of the professional aspects of the course, both within the University and the community. Because this Director knew the Sydney community and university scene, was familiar with social work, and also enjoyed a good personal relationship with the Supervisor of Professional Training, the arrangement worked. But in 1958, Dr. Brown left to occupy the first Chair of Sociology in Australia, and again Norma Parker became Acting Director.

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26 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 14.3.49. The former Director took a post in the University's Psychology Department.
27 Ph.D. (London), M.A., Dip.Ed. (Sydney); 1943-8, Lecturer and Lecturer-in-Charge of child welfare courses, Sydney Teachers' College; 1948-9, Australian Carnegie Fellow; 1949-50, Senior Research Fellow, University of London Institute of Education; 1952-4, Senior Lecturer in Education, Sydney University. His new status was Reader.
29 See p. 322.
As an interim measure until a suitably qualified professional Director was available, the choice of an academic Director of a university school of social work could be well justified. It was, however, like having a person who was only a physiologist as head of a medical school. The arrangement created difficulties and, long-term, the status and effectiveness of professional social work were involved.

Throughout the post-war period, Norma Parker held the Sydney training body together. Yet her interest was not in administration; she was primarily a first-rate practitioner and teacher of social casework. Her position, experience, warmth, optimism, and stamina, combined to give her unparalleled respect and influence among Australian social workers in this period. After being a vigorous President of the New South Wales Social Workers' Association, 1940-43, in the immediate post-war years she played a major part in the formation of the Australian Association of Social Workers, and was its President, 1946-53. Amongst her many wishes was for Australia

30 M.A. (Western Australia), Diploma of Social Science (post-graduate; specialized in psychiatric social work), National Catholic School of Social Science, Washington D.C.; 1931, social agencies in Cleveland and Los Angeles; 1932, gained Certificate of V.I.A., first almoner, St.Vincent's Hospital, Melbourne; 1936, first almoner, St.Vincent's Hospital, Sydney; 1941-3, Assistant Director, S.U. B.S.S.; 1943-4, first psychiatric social worker, Callan Park Mental Hospital, Sydney; 1944-5, Fellowship of the Commonwealth Fund of U.S.A. for study in Chicago; 1951-2, Fulbright Travel Grant and a Smith Mundt Scholarship to study social research methods at the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Her original interest in social work was aroused in Perth by a progressive Director of Catholic Education and a psychologist with a Stanford University doctorate.

31 See p. 374.
to have a national body representing the major social welfare agencies, and she did much towards the eventual establishment of the Australian Council of Social Service.\textsuperscript{32} Few people would have had such a compassion for fellow human beings in trouble or had greater personal capacity to help them.

Turning to the Melbourne training movement, one person, Ruth Hoban,\textsuperscript{33} was dominant in these post-war years. When Jocelyn Hyslop resigned at the beginning of 1945, Ruth Hoban became Acting Director.\textsuperscript{34} Within a few months, Melbourne University's Board of Social Studies unanimously agreed she should fill the Director's position.\textsuperscript{35} 1943-5, she was an active President of the Victorian Social Workers' Association, but in the post-war period she devoted most of her attention to building up the standards, particularly the academic ones, of the professional education. This policy and the way it was implemented did not go uncriticized. There were complaints that the training body was providing too few qualified

\textsuperscript{32} See p. 362.
\textsuperscript{33} Daughter of a prominent Methodist minister, a leader in his church's social services; B.Com., B.A., Dip.Ed. (Melbourne); 5 years' school teaching; one year of library work and economic research, Victorian State Electricity Commission; Certificate of Social Science and Administration (London); social worker, Victorian International Refugee Emergency Council, then the Victorian State Housing Commission; 1940, lectured in Economics to social work students; 1942, became full-time staff member, Department of Social Studies, M.U.; 1951-2, Carnegie Travelling Fellowship, Europe and U.S.A.
\textsuperscript{34} She had already held this position for some months in 1943 when the Director was ill.
\textsuperscript{35} M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 10.8.45.
social workers, that students were being over-burdened, that the training authorities did not take into their confidence the people in the fields of social service, and that in general the training authorities had become separated from social work practice. Yet it was in Melbourne, largely because of the insistence on high academic standards, first by Jocelyn Hyslop then by Ruth Hoban, that the rightful place of the professional training in the university was never questioned in the way it was in Sydney and Adelaide. Moreover, it was in Melbourne that a real breakthrough in social workers' salaries came in the late 1950's, and this was largely because of the high level of the basic training. In 1957, Melbourne University recognized the soundness of Ruth Hoban's achievement by appointing her an Associate Professor, the highest academic rank achieved by any of the Australian social work teachers.

No-one in Melbourne rivalled Professor Stout's continuing Chairmanship of the Board in Sydney. Professor R.M. Crawford was, however, the Melbourne Board's Chairman, 1948-50 and 1954-7, and throughout the Board's existence was concerned with its work. His

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36 See p. 369-370.
37 The University Council appointed people Associate Professors 'as a mark of special distinction,' after due regard for the responsible character of their duties, their contributions to learning, and their efficiency as teachers.
M.U., 1958 Calendar, Statute No. XIV.
38 B.A. (Sydney), B.A. (Oxon.), M.A.(Melbourne); 1930-5, schoolmaster; 1935-6, Lecturer, University of Sydney; Professor of History, University of Melbourne since 1937; 1942-4, First Secretary, Australian Legation, Moscow; 1958, married Ruth Hoban.
interest was of considerable value because of his standing within
the University where he had built a strong History school.

Alison Player was Dorothy Bethune's successor in directing
almoner training in Melbourne. In 1950, she again became primarily
a practitioner. 1950-52, she was President of the Australian
Association of Almoners, and 1953-9, was the second President of the
Australian Association of Social Workers. Although originally
trained in the tradition of the English almoner, her subsequent
learning in social casework in North America made her representative
of a newer kind of Australian almoner, one who identified more
strongly with the social work profession as a whole, and who placed
an emphasis on casework in the practice of medical social work. Her
personal qualities inspired general confidence, among her colleagues
and in the community.

So far, attention has been concentrated on the three cities
with training bodies since the 1930's. For about twenty years, on
and off, a small group in Brisbane contemplated following the lead

39 Certificate V.I.H.A., 1935; almoner at Geelong and District Hos-
pital; almoner at Alfred Hospital; almoner experience in U.K. then
U.S.A., 1939; 1940, almoner, Alfred Hospital; 1941-4, Director,
Family Welfare Bureau, Sydney; February 1945, Directress of Train-
ing, V.I.H.A. and Chief Almoner, Royal Melbourne Hospital; March
1946 - July 1948, study and observation in U.K. and U.S.A., includ-
ing work at Pittsburgh University and attendance at International
Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City; 1949, part-time lecturer
in medical social work, M.U. B.S.S., and part-time associate
almoner, Royal Melbourne Hospital; 1950, Senior Almoner, Alfred
Hospital; 1957, Deputy Superintendent, 'Turana,' a Children's
Welfare Department Institution; 1958, married.
of these southern cities, but not until 1956 was a social work course started.

In the early post-war years, the main pressure for a social work course at the Queensland University came from the newly-formed Queensland Council of Social Agencies and from the National Council of Women. Later, the pressure was continued by the social workers' association and by leading interstate social workers like Norma Parker and Lyra Taylor. Money for the University to run a course, and adequate supervision of students in their field work, were the two main problems to be overcome. Eventually in 1954, the University of Queensland decided to train social workers. When the training began two years later, only ten qualified social workers were employed in the whole State, an alarming situation for those responsible for supervision standards in the field work of the new course. Initially, the training was to be conducted by a Department of Social Studies within the Faculty of Education and under the general director of Professor F.J. Schonell. A Board of Social

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40 'Queensland Council of Social Agencies,' Social Service, August 1947.
41 In 1948, it appointed a Training Sub-Committee which gathered information from the International Association of Schools of Social Work, the American Association of Schools of Social Work, and from the existing Australian schools.
42 Q. A.A.S.W., A.Rs., (typescript).
43 In August 1954, Lyra Taylor addressed a widely publicized meeting of about ninety people on 'What the New School of Social Work Could Mean to Queensland.'
45 M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit., F.B.P.S.. One of the University's difficulties had been knowing who should be in charge of the social work training. In 1959, Professor Schonell became the University's Vice-Chancellor.
Studies representing different faculties was to watch over the course.

In the geographically isolated Perth, the establishment of a school of social work in the University of Western Australia was to lie in the 1960's. When the small group of qualified social workers in Perth formed a professional association immediately after the war, they stated their intention 'to help in the eventual promotion of a course in Social Studies at the University of Western Australia.' Without a local school, the growth of professional social work, as in Brisbane, was very slow. Many positions for qualified social workers went unfilled, were filled by untrained people, or were filled by qualified social workers from interstate or abroad who did not stay long. In 1954, only a dozen qualified social workers were in employment throughout the city. The following year, their association was forced to become more active in promoting a school, for an in-service training course for officers of the State Child Welfare Department was established at the Technical College. The association feared that unless a university school of social work was founded, professional social work status would be afforded people with this sub-professional training. In the next four years, its Standing Committee for Professional Education urged the

46 W.A. A.A.S.W., A.R.1946-7 (typescript); Minutes, 7.3.46.
47 W.A. A.A.S.W., A.Re and Minutes.
case for a school, and by the end of 1959, the Professorial Board and Senate had approved in principle that the University of Western Australia should train social workers. Once finance was available, a Board of Social Work was to control the course which was likely to be at a post-graduate level.

When this course was established, the only capital city without a university school of social work would be Hobart; a city only about a quarter of the size of Perth. The concentration of population in the capital cities was such that in future, new schools of social work were likely to develop in the second universities emerging in the largest of the capitals, rather than in the nation's small non-capital cities. But as yet there was no association of university schools of social work which could provide

48 (cont.)

The Director of the State Child Welfare Department was sympathetic to a full professional training. The W.A. A.A.S.W. provided the casework lectures in the Technical College course.

49 In September 1957, it enlisted the active support of the Professor of Psychology; the Commissioner of Public Health; the Director, Child Welfare Department; the General Secretary, W.A. Division, Australian Red Cross Society; the Professor of Medicine; and the Inspector General, Mental Health Services. W.A. A.A.S.W. A.R.1957. (typescript)

50 A.J.S.W., Vol. XII, December 1959, p. 46.

The Board was to consist of the Reader in Social Work and any other full-time social work teaching staff, two members each from the Faculties of Arts and Economics, and one member each from the Faculties of Law, Education and Medicine; and four others elected by the Board (from the social welfare community).

51 Apart from the national capital which was still numerically only an infant, though a rapidly growing one.

52 In Sydney, the New South Wales University of Technology was founded in 1946; in 1956, it became the University of New South Wales. In Melbourne, by 1960, the new Monash University was under way, and in Adelaide plans were afoot for a second university. Apart from the Australian National University formed in Canberra in 1946, the only
guidance to any newcomers.

The active development of training in the several centres during the post-war years was not paralleled by formal consultation between them. In 1948, the social workers' professional association considered suggesting to the then three schools of social work that an Australia-wide body should be considering training standards, but nothing was done. In August 1955, the Melbourne school took the opportunity of a national conference of the professional association to call representatives of the schools together. The view was expressed that fairly frequent communication between the schools was valuable, but that a formal organization was unwarranted since it could only be for an exchange of ideas and information. In 1956, representatives of the Sydney and Adelaide schools met. Shortly afterwards, all four schools were represented at a meeting in Melbourne with the social workers' association, who had considered it had not taken enough responsibility for professional education as a

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52 (cont.)

other university to come into existence in these post-war years was the New England University at Armidale in 1954.


54 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 12.12.55.

Record of Meeting of the Australian University Schools of Social Work held in the Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne, August 12th., 1955, (typescript).

55 Meeting of the Schools of Social Work at the University of Sydney, (typescript), 1956. Representatives from the Melbourne and Brisbane schools were unable to attend.
Those who suggested the meeting were mindful of the American development of a comprehensive Council on Social Work Education (A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 25.3.56). The Council which began operating in July 1952, was based on a belief that social work education was the joint responsibility of institutions of higher education and of the entire social work profession. Its program was to include the constant interchange of opinion and experience, research, accreditation, a consultation service, recruitment campaigns, the development of educational standards, the preparation of teaching materials, annual program meetings, conferences on special subjects, and committee work on many aspects of educational endeavour.


The first such meeting was held in Adelaide in August 1957.

work teachers — to clarify or confirm their thinking, to suggest new solutions to similar problems, and to break down their sense of isolation.

Shortly after the war, Ruth Roban singled out five developments which were behind much of the replanning of courses that was then taking place:

1. The growing emphasis on the need for preventive social work. (If a social worker is to play the preventive role successfully or indeed any role, he must be equipped to relate individual and group problems to larger social issues.)

2. The realisation that basically all social work is the same, that preparation for its various branches should be given by a training bias rather than as separate and specialised courses.

3. The realisation that this new body of knowledge lends itself to and can with great value be taught in the lecture room and through the case presentation and group discussion method as well as in the practical field itself.

4. The recognition of the need for the development of the student's personality.


(At the first session of the Social Commission, set up in 1946 by the Economic and Social Council to advise it 'on practical measures that may be needed in the social field,' the Commission unanimously agreed that 'the improvement of services to promote the well-being of the individual and of the community depends essentially on the existence of specially trained staff to administer these services.')

A reference list on social work education prepared in Sydney University's Department of Social Work in the late 1950's, refers to 124 articles in professional journals, 14 books, and a number of pamphlets - none of them pre-war.
5. Recognition of the need for social research. 60

The main points at issue during the post-war years were the length and level of the training, the place of specialization, the nature of the specialization (by method, by setting, or both), selection among specializations, the amount of field work and its timing, and the use of specially tailored background subjects. Local pressures inside and outside the universities as well as general trends determined the actual balance maintained by the individual schools between these inter-related factors.

In 1947, the Melbourne school extended its diploma course to three years. At no stage in the protracted preceding discussions had a post-graduate training been suggested, even as a long-term goal. 61 Under the new curriculum, Social Biology and Social History were included, and since these were accepted as degree subjects, the combined degree and diploma could still be covered in four years. After two years of general social casework, students could now choose in their third year between medical social work, family


61 At the 1944 meeting of the schools, the Melbourne representatives were against the course ever becoming post-graduate, as this would exclude many suitable students.

casework, group work and personnel practice. Why these particular specializations?

The almoners' Institute had closely examined the Board of Special Studies' proposals. Generally it had favoured the University taking over its training function, as long as an almoner's training would not be lengthened or the specialist training standards lowered. The Board's plans included some reduction of field work in the almoner student's third year, but the Institute had eventually agreed that the better planning and coordination of the total training would mean the maintenance of standards, and in May 1945, it had decided to relinquish fully its training function.

The second of the specializations offered, family casework (including child welfare), was more closely linked with the preceding two years of the course than were the other specializations,

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According to the Board, it had proved impossible to give the student an adequate background in social science subjects together with professional training, both theoretical and practical, in two years, experience had shown that two years was insufficient time for the necessary development of the learner's personality, and it was desirable to equip social workers better for the increasing number of specialized posts in the rapidly growing social work field. M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 9.8.46.

Students had to combine the personnel practice specialization with an Arts or Commerce degree.

63 It had also gathered opinions from the almoners' association and from the almoners' Institutes in Britain and New South Wales.

64 V.I.H.A., A.Rs., 1943-5; Exec., Minutes, 21.6.44; 19.7.44; 23.8.44; 20.9.44; 18.10.44; 15.11.44; 20.12.44; 21.2.45; 21.3.45; 18.4.45; 23.5.45.

M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 11.9.42; 11.12.42; 26.2.43; 19.5.44; 8.3.45; 13.4.45; 10.8.45.
for family agencies were the traditional casework setting. In effect, this was the choice for the general practitioner.

The third and fourth of the specializations offered, group work and personnel practice, were mainly developments from sub-professional courses run by the Board. In response to fairly long-standing pressure, a one-year youth leadership course had been started in 1944. At the end of 1947 when a total of 73 students had entered the course, the Board decided it should end the following year. Emergency conditions no longer existed and the students had proved of disappointing quality, which meant group work was suffering from poor leadership, and some of the more responsible group work posts remained unfilled. In the future, the Board was to concentrate on a group work specialization in the full professional diploma. Diploma students had already learnt something of group work, but now this new specialization meant that some would be trained specifically as group workers, albeit on a casework base. The development was in line with the accelerated growth of professional education in group work which took place in the United

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65 In conjunction with the National Fitness Council who helped with funds.
66 49 females and 24 males. Many were sponsored by church organizations. A sprinkling came from interstate.
67 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 17.12.43; 18.2.44; 19.5.44; 21.7.44; 8.3.45; 3.5.46; 23.5.47; 12.12.47.
68 At the end of 1941, the Board appointed a tutor in group work. V.C.S.T., A.R.1941.
States in the 1940's.

While the final emergency industrial welfare course was in progress in 1944, the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service had urged the Board of Social Studies to provide a future one-year course in industrial welfare especially designed for ex-service men and women. The Board had done this, but had also set up a committee to consider the future of such training. In August 1945, the Board had endorsed this committee's view that it should be a third-year specialization in the full diploma course.

In the subsequent discussion of a curriculum, the chief problem had been how much basic social work training the students specializing in personnel practice should do. In some large overseas companies, a qualified social worker was part of the personnel team; in Australia, where companies were smaller, the personnel officer often had to perform social work functions along with other duties. The question of whether the one person could in practice combine management and certain social work functions had not received much

70 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 6.10.44; 15.12.44; 8.3.45; 10.8.45.
The Committee had considered the one-year training quite inadequate for any student, let alone the returned serviceman who had to adjust to both civilian life and concentrated study.
71 Flora Eldershaw, A/Controller, Personnel Practice Branch, Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service, to Professor Gibson, 26.6.46.
A. Boyce Gibson, Chairman, M.U. B.S.S., to Miss F. Eldershaw, 15.7.46.
M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 23.5.47; 12.12.47.
The Commonwealth Government's approval was necessary since its funds were involved.
Notably absent amongst the specializations offered was psychiatric social work. The Board had considered that this training should be done only after experience in general social work and as yet there were too many practical difficulties in its way.

The 1947 re-organization of the Melbourne curriculum was its largest one, but there were others. Five trends are discernible in the following decade - the increasing number of combinations in which diploma students could also take degrees, some reduction in the proportion of field work in the total course, the provision of a research degree, the movement of the diploma itself towards a degree, and the shift to a more fully generic course from one containing specialist training biases.

Looking at the main features in chronological sequence. In 1949, the total field work in the course was reduced from twelve and a half months to eleven. Two years later, it became possible

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72 In many industrial settings, a casework service for employees provided by a person identified with the management would appear to pose very real problems.


74 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 19.7.49.
for the diploma to be taken with an honours Arts degree - psychology, in philosophy, or in history, and a combined diploma and commerce degree was opened to all specializations, not just personnel practice. In addition, a new course, 'The Philosophy and Method of Social Work,' was introduced in the third specialized year, 'to meet a tendency for the social work specialties to become too divorced and for the students consequently to identify themselves with a social work setting rather than with the profession as a whole.'

The introduction, in 1953, of examination papers in the professional subjects, Social Work I, II and III, indicated their increased academic standing. During the same year, the teaching staff of the Department of Social Studies discussed the future of the training, and the Board adopted their conclusions. Social work was seen as a discipline in its own right with a developing body of theory, justifying the establishment of a degree course (if this seemed wise on other grounds) and also justifying provision for advanced studies and research in social work. One result of the discussion was to make available to graduate social work students a Master of Arts degree supervised by the Department.

From 1954, the Department offered only two courses. One was

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75 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 15.12.50; 7.5.51; 30.7.51; 14.11.51; 16.7.52; 17.12.52.
76 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 7.5.51.
77 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 20.3.53.
78 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 23.11.53.
79 Record of Meeting of the Australian University Schools of Social Work, Melbourne, August 1955, (typescript).
for personnel officers; the other was mainly a generic social work course in which the only specialization was a choice between social casework and social group work in part of Social Work III. In 1936, the amount of field work in the third year of the course was reduced because of the burden on students. In the following year, again the question of the diploma becoming a full degree was discussed.

In these post-war years, these developments in the Melbourne training produced an improved curriculum. Fifteen-odd years after the war, the academic content was generally acknowledged to be of degree standard, but there was less certainty about the quality of the field work. The amount packed into the course placed a heavy load on students, and unless there were to be further inroads into

80 In the first year students took Social Work Part I, Social Biology, Psychology Part I, Social Organization A; in the second, Social Work Part II, Social History, Psychology Part II; and in the third, Social Work Part III, Social Organization B, and either Australian History, Collective Behaviour, Psychopathology, or Psychology Part III - plus field work in all years.

In 1957, to lighten the load in the third year, Social Organization B was raised to the level of a full Arts degree subject and added to the list of existing alternatives in that year.

81 Those who chose this studied the technicalities of the casework setting in family and child welfare, and medical and psychiatric social work agencies, and in addition to studying advanced casework, studied group work within casework agencies.

M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 24.5.54.

82 The compulsory part of Social Work III included an analysis of the basic philosophy of social work, and the relation of the general principles of social work to its specialized fields and to other professional disciplines. Ibid.

83 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 14.5.56; 10.7.57. Many field work supervisors were not happy about this.

84 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 13.12.57.
the field work requirements, the extension of the course to four years appeared to be warranted on educational grounds. The trend towards the same basic professional training for all social workers based on common method and philosophy had closely matched American developments, but some, particularly among the medical social workers, were still unconvinced that the generic training produced better professional practice.

Although by the end of the period, the Sydney Board provided a curriculum similar to Melbourne's in its length and level, the route it had followed since the war was markedly different, mainly because of its wish for a post-graduate training and the instability of its Directorship. In 1944, the Board agreed with its policy committee that the ultimate aim should be a post-graduate diploma, and that a three-year diploma course including specializations could be introduced as a transitional stage. In 1945 the Board considered the latter development desirable, and it resisted pressure to provide various new ad hoc one-year courses - in industrial welfare, youth leadership and housing management. The following year, through its curriculum committee, the Board effected a better integration of the existing lecture courses and eliminated overlapping...
in some subjects, but it would make no major changes until the new Director arrived and until University plans for a degree in the social sciences were settled.  

Between October 1946 and April 1948, the long-term development of the Social Studies course was considered by a committee of the Board. It eventually recommended a postgraduate course, with specialization, to begin in 1949, and a three-year undergraduate diploma for an indefinite interim period. The Board, however, decided for the present to concentrate on an undergraduate three-year diploma. The Senate subsequently approved in principle of a three-year course with specializations in the third year, but it could not be instituted because of a general shortage of University funds. Meanwhile one development, for which many people had worked over a number of years, did occur in 1949. This was the introduction of Principles and Practice of Group Work as an alternative subject to Social Case Work in the course's second year.

A new phase in the discussion of the Sydney course's future began early in 1950. The Vice-Chancellor saw the appointment of a

89 S.U. B.S.S., A.R.1947, (typescript); Minutes, 8.7.46; 3.10.46; 13.1.47.  
90 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 3.10.46; 12.4.48; 10.5.48.  
The Board approached both Commonwealth and State Governments for financial assistance, but without success.  
92 In 1944, the Sydney Y.W.C.A. offered to the Board money towards the salary of a staff member to teach group work. Because no suitable applications were received, despite enquiries in Britain, the United States, and New Zealand, the Board started a scholarship fund to send a person abroad to become suitable qualified. Donations from 25 Voluntary Youth Organizations affiliated with the
new Director as closely bound up with this question, and appointed a powerful committee to advise him.\textsuperscript{93} Its report, presented the following year, was a landmark in the academic acceptance of social work education in Sydney. Asked to comment on the extent to which the University should contribute to the training for social work, the committee recommended that it should assume full responsibility.\textsuperscript{94} Largely because of limited funds, the committee's main curriculum recommendations were not implemented until 1955, but in 1954, it accepted part-responsibility for training medical social workers, in preparation for full responsibility in 1956.\textsuperscript{95} For a decade this development had been discussed with the almoners' Institute, but prevarication over the University's course had delayed it.

The 1955 curriculum change was dramatic but not unexpected. A two-year, post-graduate diploma in social work, with specialization in the second year in medical social work, psychiatric social

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item[92] National Youth Association and from the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust Fund, and later, from some S.W. Rotary Clubs and the Australian Red Cross Society, financed eighteen months of study for Betty Battle in the United States and Britain. She joined the staff in September 1948.
\item[93] S.U., B.S.S., Minutes, 3.2.44; 6.4.44; 31.1.46; A.Rs., 1946-9, (typescript).
\item[94] S.U., Report of the Committee appointed by the Vice-Chancellor to review the position of the Department of Social Work, (typescript).
\end{thebibliography}

The appointment of Katharine Ogilvie as Lecturer in Medical Social Work ensured that training standards would be maintained.
work, family casework and child welfare, and social group work, was introduced. The existing two-year diploma of social studies was to be retained for a further three years.96 Because the new post-graduate course subsequently attracted hardly any students, a crisis developed in the training movement in Sydney.

In 1957, the Board's Director undertook a full appraisal of the situation.97 He gave nine main reasons for the shortage of post-graduate students. In practically every field there was a shortage of trained social workers. Social work training via Arts took five years, via Economics six years, while psychologists, applied scientists and many teachers could become professionally qualified in three years. Some intelligent people well suited for social work did not have the particular type of academic interest and application required for a degree. In relation to comparable professions, social work's salaries and status were still low, and while better and longer training could assist these, it could not do so rapidly. Social work students could receive Commonwealth Government financial assistance, but this compared unfavourably with grants to student teachers. The cost of a long course and the low

Reasons for the 1955 re-organization were given at the schools' meeting that year.
Record of Meeting of the Australian University Schools of Social Work, Melbourne, August 1955, (typescript).
97 In an un-named document, he examined the origins of social work teaching in the University, the recommendations of the Vice-Chancellor's Committee, the new course for the post-graduate diploma, the operation of the new course, the reasons for the failure to
level of salaries deterred possible women students, many of whom were destined to work professionally for only a relatively short time. The limited opportunities for advancement were a particular obstacle with possible male students. Uncertainty about the future of the courses had hindered recruitment. Finally, social work training at a post-graduate level was at a competitive disadvantage, for many of its possible students, particularly the best students, tended to be drawn off into other disciplines at an earlier stage.

Unless an alternative to the post-graduate diploma was provided, it seemed that important agencies would be forced to look elsewhere for trained staff. The old diploma was condemned as being unworthy of a university. A four-year course for a Bachelor of Social Work degree had much to commend it, but it was against the University's traditions and also was still unlikely to have sufficient students. A three-year undergraduate diploma was therefore favoured.

Guided by the Director's study, a sub-committee of the Board decided the situation demanded a complete reconstruction of the social work training. The old diploma was extended for a further

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97 (cont.)

attract sufficient students, the reactions of employing bodies to the new course, the social work training in other university systems, and some principles which should underly the reconstruction of social work training.

98 'It is too short and sketchy to deserve a place in a university,' said the Director. Ibid.

99 S.U. B.S.S.W., Minutes, 19.6.57.
year until 1959, when a three-year diploma was at last instituted. In the new diploma, teaching in professional subjects did not begin until the second year. In the third year, in Principles of Social Work II, there was a choice between social casework and social group work. Those who did the former studied generic social casework, and then chose between three casework specialisms—medical social work, psychiatric social work, and family and child welfare. Sydney University's Department of Social Work was now more than ready for a period of stability and consolidation.

The post-war improvement in university social work courses was not confined to the two largest cities. Until the early 1950's, the Adelaide course appears to have been in a University backwater.

The 1960 curriculum briefly was as follows:

Academic Work
First Year - Psychology I, and two of Philosophy I, Economics I and History I.
Second Year - one first or second year Arts subject in sequence with a first year course taken, Physical and Mental Health I, Sociology, and Principles of Social Work I.
Third Year - Social Theory and Policy, Physical and Mental Health, and Principles of Social Work II.

Practical Work
Second Year - two days a week for two terms; block period of eight weeks at the end of the year.
Third Year - two days a week for three terms; block period of twelve weeks at the end of third term.

S.U. B.S.S.W., Prospectus 1960.
Students could take this diploma and an Arts degree in four years.

With the introduction, in 1950, of Social Biology and Social Economics, the number of overlapping Arts and diploma subjects was increased, but there was no basic reorganization of the course.
But then came a Vice-Chancellor keen to eliminate sub-graduate diploma courses, and some academic newcomers who challenged the right of the social science diploma in particular to be in the University. In November 1952, matters were brought to a head when the Board of Studies in Social Science sought from the Council through the University's Education Committee, a full-time lecturer in group work. The outcome was a Committee appointed by the University Council to investigate the scope and nature of the work and the staffing of the Department of Social Science. Illness held up the Committee's work, but so did its lack of relevant knowledge. Evidence was gathered from social work training bodies and professional associations throughout Australia and from overseas literature. From the documents Amy Wheaton prepared at the time, it is clear she had fears for the fate of the training she had sus-

102 After a tour of British universities in 1950, the Vice-Chancellor, A.P. Rowe, presented the University Council with suggested aims for the University. Among these was:

'To reduce the number of sub-graduate diploma courses with a view to their eventual elimination.'

A.P. Rowe, *If the Gown Fits*, p. 51.

103 A.U. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 5.11.52; 13.11.52.

The Education Committee drew attention to the apparently excessive amounts of work already done by the two existing full-time members of the Department's staff.


105 It consisted of the Master of Lincoln College and the Rector of Aquinas College, both clergymen not familiar with education for social work, and Dr. Helen Mayo, who had had a long association with the training movement in Adelaide, but was now well beyond retiring age.
She herself favoured a four-year degree course which included professional education, but she realized this was unacceptable in the University even though there were precedents such as clinical medicine.

The Committee's eventual resolutions were approved by the University Council in November 1955. The Department's name was changed to 'Department of Social Studies.' From 1957, the diploma was extended to cover three years, although graduates in Arts or Economics could complete it in two; and in the diploma's final year, specialized training in medical social work was offered. The status of the Department's head was raised, and it seemed that social work training in the University was about to enter a new phase.

A.P. Rowe has said that a university should have imparted to first-degree men:

(i) professional knowledge which will be more or less immediately useful in their chosen spheres;

(ii) an understanding of the fundamental principles of their professional knowledge, so that they can adapt themselves to a changing world;

(iii) a lifelong desire to keep abreast of advances made in their professional fields;

In Scheme to Raise the Status and Widen the Scope of the Social Science Course, (typescript), she set down in some detail why the training should be retained in the University and why non-university schools of social work should not be started.


AU. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 10.10.56.
(iv) a background of general education, including a knowledge of the history of their subjects, of work in related fields, and of the place of their work in the whole fabric of society; and 

(v) the almost indefinable results of discussion and friendship with fellow students in the process of leading full university lives.109

This coincides well with the aims of the reformers of social work education in post-war Australia. A four-year professional degree appeared to be the next major move in their attainment. The example had already been set in 1957 by the University of Queensland offering a four-year Bachelor of Social Studies degree.110

Different conventions, trends and regulations in the various universities affected the courses and each school had its own problems and opportunities. When the schools met in 1955, they agreed that rather different approaches were probably not harmful, and that experimentation was beneficial.111 It could be argued, however, that in these later post-war years, there had developed a far deeper understanding of what was needed for a minimum professional education for social work, and experimentation tended to be within agreed limits.112

109 If the Gown Fits, p. 205.
110 It also offered a three-year diploma and a combined Arts degree and diploma course of five years, but it was the four-year course which was considered to give sufficient time for an adequate academic background together with full professional content. 'University of Queensland - Courses in Social Work,' Forum, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1956.
111 Record of Meeting of the Australian University Schools of Social Work, Melbourne, August 1955, (typescript).
112 Although it is true that comparative studies of Australian curricula were still not being undertaken, nor were studies of the relevance of the education for actual professional practice.
The reward of the post-war struggle for full university recognition was security for the schools of social work in their universities. They had still a long way to go before they enjoyed the reputation of the schools of the established professions, but they had weathered a crucial period in their development. Being small units in large, mainly indifferent or unfriendly educational institutions had tested their patience and endurance. For the sake of the growth of a genuine social work profession, it was as well that their university hold was made secure.

**Teachers, Teaching Materials, and Students**

Changes in the curricula of the schools were only one aspect of the improvement in education for social work which occurred in the post-war years. Better teachers and teaching materials also played their part. Each school increased the number of its full-time staff, which allowed individual staff members to improve their teaching. But the background subjects still tended to be given by people outside the school; in Sydney and Adelaide, more from other university departments than in Melbourne. During these post-war years, all the university departments with which the schools were

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112 (cont.)

(Sydney University's Department of Social Work began to study the latter subject in 1956, but it was discontinued because of staff changes.)

113 In 1944, the Sydney school had two full-time staff members, the Melbourne school three, and the Adelaide school one. In the later 1950's, these figures were respectively eight (seven of them qualified social workers), five (three qualified social workers), and two (one a qualified social worker).
connected expanded, but their large student numbers tended to make individual teaching difficult, and left teachers with little time for research.

In the immediate post-war years, the Australian Red Cross Society offered each of the three schools financial assistance to increase their teaching facilities. At this time in particular, suitably qualified social work teachers proved difficult to obtain, and throughout the whole period a shortage persisted both overseas and in Australia. This meant the Australian schools often had to resort to make-shift arrangements in the professional subjects in the course. A handful of overseas social workers did spend periods teaching in Australia, and their contribution was valuable.

The original request for assistance came from the Melbourne school. Because it was a national body, the Society decided to assist all schools. The money had few strings attached. £10,000 was the initial sum offered, but it was subsequently cut. M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 10.8.45. S.U. B.S.S., Minutes 23.7.47.

In Adelaide, a suitable casework teacher could not be obtained to use the Red Cross grant. (A.U. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 28.5.46; 16.8.46; 20.5.47; 10.10.47; 4.11.48; 28.3.49) The search for such a teacher was not, however, extended to North America until 1954, and then it was merely to Canada. (A.U. B.S.S.Sc., Minutes, 5.5.54.)

An American was on the staff of the Sydney school, 1946-8, and two were attached to it in 1953 while on Fulbright grants. In 1947, two English social workers joined the Melbourne school. One left in 1956, the other was still with the school in 1960. An American was a part-time lecturer in the Adelaide school in 1954, and 1955-6, a Canadian social worker was the school's first full-time lecturer in social casework. During 1956, an American on a Fulbright was shared by the Adelaide and Sydney schools and in 1958, a South African joined the Adelaide school.
number of Australian social workers who gained significant academic appointments in the 1950's was a sign of a coming of age of the Australian training movement. 117

As the schools became better known, their staffs became involved in much besides university teaching, research and administration. Agencies consulted them, they were on a variety of community and professional committees, and they gave lectures in various training schemes and talked to community groups. In the view of the Melbourne Director, time spent in this way was probably inevitable in a profession such as social work. In any case, it helped the teachers to keep close to the community and was a fair return to agencies whose qualified staff spend so much time on student supervision. 118

Although the uncertain quality of the teaching in the field work was still a bar to the diplomas becoming degrees, supervision standards received increasing attention during these post-war years. The period opened with a supervisors' conference in Adelaide, addressed by interstate speakers. 119 In the next few years, the

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117 Very few had a long professional experience behind them, but the more recently they had qualified, the more likely were they to have received an adequate basic training, especially when this was strengthened by further education overseas. Because teaching salaries tended to be higher than those gained from professional practice, the more intellectually able social workers had an inducement to turn fairly quickly to teaching positions.

118 M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 5.12.56.

119 S.A. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 15.10.45.
Sydney and Adelaide schools in particular, with their swollen student numbers, were hard-pressed to find suitable supervisors. The former had much greater resources, however; some of its field work supervision was done by staff members or by social workers paid by the school for the time they spent on supervision in their agencies. The relationship between the Sydney school and the agencies providing field work opportunities was generally close and healthy.¹²⁰ From 1946, the school conducted occasional courses on supervision, and from 1948, it instituted regular meetings between field work supervisors, students, and classroom teachers.¹²¹

The Adelaide and Melbourne development of supervision standards occurred more in the 1950's. The Adelaide effort, owing to staff changes, was spasmodic. The Melbourne school attempted a systematic development of student units in a few selected agencies, each unit being run by a social worker responsible for class-room teaching in the professional part of the course.¹²² In 1953, the social workers' association arranged discussions on students' supervision,¹²³ and the following year, the school instituted a course for new supervisors. The school's staff began frequent visits to agencies to discuss

¹²² There were practical difficulties in the arrangement, but it had obvious advantages. The great bulk of the supervision was still done by honorary supervisors in a wide variety of agencies. (M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 12.12.55.)
supervision problems. In addition, there began an annual supervisors' conference, whose papers produced the beginning of an Australian literature on student supervision.

During the post-war years it is likely that the teaching in the field work improved, but even in Sydney and Melbourne by the end of the period, much of it was still being done by relatively inexperienced social workers. The structure of the young profession made this difficult to avoid, unless the bulk of the supervision were to be done within student units run by experienced social workers paid by the schools.

There is no question that the teaching materials in the background subjects improved to some extent. Early in the post-war years, the facilities available for teaching the social sciences to undergraduates were found to be inadequate in every Australian university, and in some, grossly inadequate. In the subsequent improvement, sociology still lagged behind. An increasing amount of what could be broadly described as sociological research was undertaken within university departments, but Australian universities were

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125 In 1953, an Australian recently returned from a study of supervision in the United States questioned the relevance of the considerable amount of American literature on the subject, and made out a case for a local literature.

Kathleen B. Crisp, 'Student Supervision,' Forum, Vol. VI, No. 3.
126 See p. 367.
reluctant to form departments specifically responsible for sociological teaching and research. 128

In 1956, a social work teacher in Melbourne declared,

Although we are so well tutored in the social sciences of other people we cannot be sure that they apply entirely to ourselves. I believe that there exists at present a widespread awareness of our ignorance about our own society and a sense of urgency about the need to overcome this, and that social workers are as much concerned about this as any other group in the community. 129

In these post-war years, then, Australian teaching materials in the social sciences became increasingly available, but the large gains still lay in the future. Much the same could be said of the teaching materials in the professional section of the course. An Australian social work literature began to emerge, although very slowly. 130 Moreover, American professional literature, as it increased its social content, 131 became more relevant for Australian

128 S.F. Nadel, Sociological Research in Australia, (typescript), January 1953. Within the Social Sciences Research School of the Australian National University was a Department of Anthropology and Sociology, but not until the late 1950's did any university have a full department of sociology, and that was in another fledgling post-war university, the University of New South Wales.


130 'Our individual experience, formulated and examined critically, is rarely available to our colleagues in either book or journal form.' Ibid., p.8.

131 Putting the 'social' back into 'social work' became a conscious aim.
Because of English and local influences, Australian social work, even in Sydney where American influence was strongest, had never been in tune with the extreme psychiatric orientation found in some of the earlier American literature.

The Sydney school had the best library facilities, in sharp contrast to those of the Adelaide school. In general, the number and size of Australian social work and social science collections increased markedly, although the cost of overseas, especially American, literature was a retarding factor.

The choice of those responsible for selecting field work placements for students was greatly widened by the spread of professional social work in these post-war years. Because of changing staffs and the relatively short period in which many of the agencies had employed qualified staff, only a few of the agencies, however, could have been illustrations of well-established professional practice. In Sydney, there was apparent a declining interest

American professional literature was still dominant, although other countries were becoming more articulate. In Britain, the 1950's marked the first British books on the social work methods of social casework and social group work.

Cherry Morris (ed.) Social Case-Work in Great Britain.
Peter Kuenstler (ed.) Social Group Work in Great Britain.

In 1957, the Sydney school appointed a full-time librarian to tend its growing departmental collection. The Adelaide school's library grant was increased six-fold in 1958.

S.U. B.S.S.W., Minutes, 29.4.57.
A.U. B.S.S.S., Minutes, 27.3.58.

Field work placements tended to be short to enable as many students as possible to have experience in the best agencies.

Kathleen B. Crisp, 'Student Supervision,' Forum, Vol. VI, No. 3.
in visits of observation as an educational method in the field work.  

Even if, by and large, the curricula, the teachers, and the teaching equipment of the schools did improve, what of the students who took the post-war courses? In the immediate post-war years, student numbers, especially in Sydney and Adelaide, increased very considerably, and they included a small group of males, many of them ex-servicemen on Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme grants. The Sydney male group was by far the largest, partly because the New South Wales Public Service Board resumed its child welfare cadetships, and because men took an evening course, 1945-7. The Board of Social Studies agreed to run this one three-year evening course to allow existing Child Welfare Department officers to become fully qualified. Relations between the Board and the Department became strained, however, over the field work requirements to be met by these officers. In the 1950's, the cadetships dwindled

135 First, in 1950, their number was reduced and those undertaken were linked with the study of a particular topic; later, they were eliminated. Occasionally in their field work, the students assisted in surveys undertaken by the Department of Social Work. S.U. B.S.S., A.Rs., (typescript).

136 See Appendix 4 for the number and sex of successful students over these years.

137 The Department's officers were unable to fulfill the original field work requirements agreed upon. Substantial further concessions were sought for them by the Department's Director, but eventually the Board decided it could bend no further. S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 4.4.45; 28.45; 9.10.45; 8.4.46; 15.9.47; 10.11.47. Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee considering the practical work of Social Studies evening students from the C.W.D., 22.10.47, (typescript).
in number, and the Child Welfare Department turned more to a sub-professional course which had been established at the Sydney Teachers' College.

The desire of the Director-General of the Commonwealth Department of Social Services for fully qualified administrative staff could have greatly increased the number of male students, but nothing came of it. In general, by the end of the period, apart from the ex-service group after the war, the Child Welfare Department group in Sydney, and a few clergymen, hardly any men had chosen social work as their professional career, a dismal record after the high hopes of the post-war reconstruction period. Not until the late 1950's in Victoria were the prospects of advancement sufficient for social work to begin to attract its share of male professional talent.

A feature of the post-war years was the increased amount of government financial aid available to university students. First, there was the Commonwealth's assistance to ex-service students and its continued assistance to civilian ones; and then, from 1951, its fairly extensive Scholarship Scheme. This general financial aid increased student numbers, but it also opened to able students

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139 S.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 27.2.46; 7.3.46. F.H. Rowe to Miss N. Parker, 3.6.49.
140 In 1952, there was a Commonwealth Public Service cadet from the Department, but this was not repeated.
141 See pp.36-40. Male student numbers in particular responded quickly to the much improved prospects of advancement in Victoria.
a wide range of alternatives with which social work found it difficult to compete in terms of status, salary, and advancement. In Melbourne and Sydney, a few agencies provided assistance to social work students, usually on the condition that they were bound to work for them for two or three years after they qualified. Both the Victorian Hospitals and Charities Commission and the New South Wales Hospitals Commission were forced to adopt such measures to obtain medical social workers. Unless such financial aid schemes were attractive enough to add to the total number of social work students, they merely competed internally with each other for the limited supply of recruits. The various post-war schemes of financial aid did, however, continue the process of broadening the social base of social work student bodies.

Each of the schools in these post-war years attracted a few first-class students. The great majority of Melbourne students combined a degree with their professional qualification; in Sydney, a considerable proportion did this; in Adelaide, a lesser proportion. With higher standards being sought in the Sydney and Adelaide diploma courses in the later 1950's, the quality of their student

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142 About the mid-1950's, the former decided to provide an unspecified number of bursaries to students in financial need and the latter to make an allowance equivalent to the female basic wage to students specializing in medical social work in their final year.

M.U. B.S.S., Minutes, 12.12.55; 5.12.56.


143 Some of these were, however, enticed into better established disciplines.
bodies could be expected to improve, bringing them into line with the Melbourne school.

One other feature of the post-war student bodies should be mentioned. The schools of social work had their share of the Asian students who attended Australian universities in this period. The Sydney school became concerned about the cultural irrelevance of its diploma course for these students, the difficulties they had in adjusting to university study in a strange country, and their consequent high failure rate. After careful study, it instituted in 1955 a special course adapted to their needs. Having drawn for so long on British and American social work facilities, the Australian training movement now had the opportunity to make, in turn, some contribution to the needs of less developed countries.

The various developments in these post-war years add up to an improving education for social work. The immediate need now was a great expansion in the number of students, particularly male, who would take advantage of the improved courses. Towards the end of the 1950's, the total cumulative output of the Australian social

144 They were financed privately or, from 1950, through the Colombo Plan.
work training movement since its inception had reached about a
thousand qualified social workers. This was a small number in
view of the size of the population and the extent of its social
provision - especially when only between a third and a half of
the qualified social workers worked as such.

The university schools of social work were still without
serious competition from other narrower training schemes. In 1960, there were at least three hundred people undertaking various
sub-professional courses usually geared to the work of a sponsoring
organization. Only a small proportion of these were, however,
matriculated students, and apart from those in the New South Wales
Child Welfare Department, there was no evidence that the status
conferred by such courses was as high as that obtained through the
full professional qualification.

The next chapter will consider the employment of fully quali­
fied social workers in the various fields of post-war Australian
social provision. In the final chapter, the organization of the
qualified social workers as a responsible professional group will
be examined.

146 By 1958, 483 women and 70 men had been trained in New South
Wales (53 women and 1 man by the N.S.W. B.S.S.T.); in Victoria
212 women and 23 men (14 women by the V.I.A. before the V.C.S.T.'s
existence, and 36 women and 3 men by the V.C.S.T.); and in South
Australia, 180 women and 23 men (14 women and 1 man by the S.A.
B.S.S.T.) - a total of 875 women and 116 men.

See Appendix 4.

147 This was shown in a survey undertaken by the professional associ­
ation - A.A.S.W., Courses in social welfare work offered by organi­
zations other than Universities, (typescript), 1960.

148 Ibid..
CHAPTER 9

THE EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKERS

In Australia, the post-war years were marked by vigorous economic growth, full employment, sustained inflation, substantial population growth, much of it through an immigration program, increases in the government, especially Commonwealth Government sector of the economy, and political stability at a national level. Each of these features had significance for the country's social provision.

Meeting Basic Social Needs

When in 1948 the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared the right of everyone to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, Australia was well on the way to achieving this. The older achievement of fair minimum living wages had been added to by the new social policy of the war years. Now, as a matter of national policy, full employment was to be maintained, and all Australians were to have some income security against the major hazards of life. When the Federal Labour Party went out of power in 1949, its main unfinished social service business was the health services. Its Liberal-Country Party

1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, 10th December, 1948), Article 25.
2 See pp. 199-206.
3 By what Cairns calls 'one of the most effective refusals to carry out the law that has even taken place in Australia' (Cairns, The Welfare State in Australia, p. 319), the medical profession obstructed Labour's 1948 National Health Services Act.
successor which was still in power some dozen years later, subsequently introduced a number of limited health services; it also introduced child endowment for the first child, in 1950, and extended the range of other benefits.

As the following table shows, Federal Government expenditure of social security measures grew steadily until in 1960-61, it was more than six times what it had been in 1945-46.

| Commonwealth Government Consolidated Revenue Expenditure on Social Security | £m. | Years ended 30th June |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Services: | | | | | | |
| Age and invalid pensions | 27.0 | 41.7 | 59.8 | 88.0 | 121.6 | 157.9 |
| Child endowment | 18.0 | 24.3 | 46.6 | 52.5 | 58.7 | 74.3 |
| Widows' pensions | 3.2 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 6.9 | 9.8 | 13.5 |
| Other | 3.8 | 4.2 | 4.8 | 6.8 | 11.8 | 12.1 |
| **Sub-total** | **52.0** | **74.6** | **116.8** | **154.2** | **201.9** | **257.8** |
| Health Services: | | | | | | |
| Hospital benefits | 1.1 | 5.9 | 6.7 | 9.3 | 10.8 | 20.7 |
| Medical benefits | | 4.2 | 7.1 | 10.0 | | |
| Pharmaceutical benefits | 0.1 | 7.3 | 9.4 | 12.9 | 20.5 | |
| Medical and pharmaceutical | | | | | | |
| benefits for pensioners | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | |
| **Sub-total** | **1.1** | **6.2** | **20.8** | **35.1** | **45.6** | **72.8** |
| War and Service Pensions and Widows' Allowances | | | | | | |
| **Total** | **67.2** | **100.9** | **171.2** | **233.8** | **306.4** | **404.1** |

Source: Commonwealth Government Budgets
In 1954-55, social security expenditure replaced payments to or for the States as the largest item in the Federal budget. In 1960-61, it accounted for a quarter of the current Federal expenditure and absorbed about three-tenths of total taxation, or alternatively over three-quarters of income taxes on individuals. 8

This vast increase in Commonwealth money payments to categories of people assumed to be in need of outside assistance reduced markedly the relief activity of State Governments, non-government agencies, and of individual families and citizens; but the need for it was by no means eliminated. The greatly increased expenditure reflected a rising cost of living and increased numbers of beneficiaries owing to population growth and broader terms of eligibility, rather than increases in real benefit levels. 9 Many beneficiaries still needed supplementary assistance to reach even an austere minimum living standard, 10 some needed assistance while waiting for their benefit to be determined, and there were still some ineligible for Commonwealth benefits. As yet no system of supplementary assistance had

8 Ibid., pp. 59-61. The States still remained out of the income tax field. In 1960-61, payments to or for the States amounted to £352.9m. and £198.2m. was spent on defence services. These items together with the £404.1m. on social security accounted for almost three-fifths of the total consolidated revenue expenditure.

9 Although the age pension increased from £1 to £5.5.0. a week, 1946-61, it has been estimated that after 1949, the real benefit level actually fell. Ibid., p.63.

10 See R.I. Downing, Raising Age Pensions.
Brotherhood of St. Laurence, 100,000 Depressed Pensioners.
Red Cross Welfare Service - New South Wales Division,
Unemployment.
Brotherhood of St. Laurence, "On Benefit."
been established within the Commonwealth's social security services.\textsuperscript{11}

Wherever they worked in these post-war years, the qualified social workers had to be familiar with the Commonwealth's provision and also with other sources of relief, but only occasionally was relief-giving their main function. No person with a social work qualification directly administered the Commonwealth's social security program. The administrators at all levels came from the general public service pool without any special educational preparation. Their's was difficult work and their status was not high. The main Department involved, Social Services Department, was a relative newcomer among Commonwealth Government Departments. Its Minister was not a senior one despite the size of the Department's expenditure. Political expediency and Treasury dictates rather than welfare needs tended to bring social service changes, partly because the Department's senior officers were not experts in social welfare matters and the Department was still somewhat remote from the rest of the community's social welfare services.

Although they did not administer social service benefits, qualified social workers were employed by the Commonwealth Department of Social Services in a separate Social Work and Research Section.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{12} The head of the Section was immediately responsible to the Department's Director-General, and the senior social worker in each State had direct access and responsibility to the local Director of Social Services.
According to the Section's head, Lyra Taylor, in 1947, they were to provide a skilled casework service for the Department's beneficiaries, to make the Department's administration as humane as possible, and to form a useful instrument for social progress by assembling evidence on social questions. The following year, the Department's Director-General requested an experienced American social worker to report on the Section's work.

In the resultant report, it was stressed that social security measures should be of the maximum benefit to the recipient and society. It was claimed that the Department's files showed innumerable instances of beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries who could benefit from a social worker's help, and these were not just confined to a few categories. The acceptance of social work within the Department was found to range from enthusiastic cooperation to active hostility and obstruction. Difficulties cited were the failure to refer suitable cases, the denial of the existence of


14 Dorothy Sumner, Report on Professional Social Work and Research Activities in the Commonwealth Department of Social Services to the Director-General of Social Services, March 1948, (typescript).
social problems, interference with a social worker's handling of a case, the intrusion of others into social casework, and certain mechanical impediments like lack of privacy for interviewing. The Section was considered grossly understaffed. To play its part in the expansion of the Department's rehabilitation program and at the same time merely to maintain its existing work, at least fifty social workers, twice the existing number were needed. Moreover, the central office of the Section needed to expand to carry out its many-sided program effectively.

Almost a decade later, however, the Section was still much the same size. When Lyra Taylor retired in 1959, the attitude that a monetary payment was a sufficient solution for problems of social maladjustment was said to be changing. To no small extent this was the achievement of her Section in the Department. But many of the hopes centred around the Commonwealth Social Services Department

15 'It is as wasteful and harmful for others to dabble in social casework as it would be for social workers to dabble in medicine or occupation therapy or another profession.' Ibid., p. 7.
16 See pp. 346-7.
17 In December 1957, the Department employed eight social workers in New South Wales, five in South Australia, three in Western Australia, two in Queensland, and one in Tasmania. During that month, they had 2,117 cases open and had a further 2,581 casework contacts. The pattern of referrals from branches within the Department varied greatly from State to State.
had gone unfulfilled. Right at the end of the post-war period, Lyra Taylor described as a major deficiency in the social services, 'the lack of sufficient numbers of suitable people trained for social work and for social services administration.' She queried whether Australia was using her few trained social workers as effectively as possible, and in this connection mentioned the attitude towards and discrimination against women which persisted in Australia's public life.20

The increased interest of government authorities in the health of individual Australians during the post-war years took a number of forms.21 The Commonwealth Government provided free certain life-saving and disease-preventing drugs on medical prescription.22 In 1948, in conjunction with the States, it began a very successful national campaign against tuberculosis.23 Two years later, again with the cooperation of the States, it instituted free milk for school children. In 1951, there was introduced the pensioner medical service for recipients of social service or repatriation pensions and tuberculosis allowances. This service provided for them and their dependants free drugs and consultations with a general

   She looked to some 'future date when this country has learned to use effectively and not merely to exploit senior women officers of its public service.'

21 Commonwealth Year Books.
   Mendelsohn, in Public Administration in Australia, ed. Spann.
   Cairns, The Welfare State in Australia, Chapter 11.

22 In 1960, the range of drugs was greatly extended, but a 5/- charge for each prescription was imposed.

medical practitioner.

The Commonwealth Government immediately after the war subsidized the fees of patients in approved hospitals. From 1951, it added a further payment if the patient belonged to an approved hospital insurance organization. Reflecting the political party in power, this voluntary insurance principle was again used when the Commonwealth Government introduced a medical benefits scheme in 1953, under which it supplemented insurance payments by approved private organizations. The coverage of the hospital and medical benefits schemes was, however, far from complete, and frequently those most vulnerable were not insured.

During this post-war period, a wide range of social security measures gave people some protection against the financial hazards of illness. In many cases the vicious circle of poverty and ill-health, which had taken up so much of medical social workers' time, was broken. But in some it remained; moreover, many people still needed outside assistance to make full use of the new provision.

24 1958-59, 2, 749,308 members of 116 approved organizations were eligible for the Commonwealth's additional hospital benefit, and 2,666,984 members of 82 approved organizations for Commonwealth medical benefits. The actual coverage is not known. These figures do not include members' dependants.

The post-war climate was generally favourable to a large expansion of medical social work. In 1949, a visiting teacher of medicine predicted that the time would soon come when the quality of a hospital's service would be assessed by the degree of integration between the work of its medical and almoner staff. The growth of medical social work in Australian hospitals was, however, comparatively slow. Opportunities were missed because qualified people were not available, or they were lost, at least temporarily, because of the turnover of staff and the professional inexperience of social workers appointed. It is true that towards the end of the 1950's compared with 1946, there are almost twice as many almoners in civilian hospitals in Victoria, and almost three times as many in New South Wales. But this does not represent great development when the almost desperate staff position in civilian hospitals at the end of the war is remembered.

In 1946, eight Sydney and six Melbourne hospitals and hospitals at Newcastle and Geelong employed qualified almoners. Towards the period's end, the figures were fifteen in Sydney, twelve in Melbourne,

26 F.A.E. Crew, Professor of Public Health and Social Medicine, University of Edinburgh - guest of the Australian Post-Graduate Foundation in Medicine. N.S.W. I.H.A., A.R.1950.
27 The following information on almoner appointments comes from 'List of Hospitals and Other Institutions in Australia in which Almoners are Employed,' N.S.W. I.H.A., A.Rs., 1946-58.
28 See p. 212.
two in Newcastle, and three in country districts in Victoria.29

Outstanding among the new post-war almoner employers in
either State was the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital in Sydney.
In 1948, it appointed Joan Lupton30 to establish a modern almoner
department in place of its existing social service department.31
Despite staffing problems,32 the new department grew steadily until
a decade later it was employing almost a dozen social workers. At

29 N.S.W. Hospitals employing almoners: Sydney (4 almoners in 1946; 9 in 1958), St. Vincent's (3; 5), Rachel Forster (2; 2), the Royal Alexandra for Children (2; 3), the Royal North Shore (2; 6), the Women's (2; 4), Lewisham (1; -), Prince Henry (1; 1), Newcastle (1; 2). In addition, the Royal Hospital for Women (from 1948), the Western Suburbs (1953), the Mater Misericordiae (1954), St. Luke's (1954), the Mater Misericordiae in Newcastle (1957), the St. George and District (1957), the Lidcombe State (1958), and the South Sydney (1958), and the Royal Prince Alfred (1948).

Victorian Hospitals employing almoners: The Royal Melbourne (8 almoners in 1958), the Alfred (7), the Royal Women's (5), the Royal Children's (4), the Queen Victoria (2), Prince Henry's (1), the Geelong and District (1). In addition St. Vincent's (from 1947), the Victorian Eye and Ear (1949), the Footscray and District (1953), the Austin (1954), the Fairfield Infectious Diseases (1955), the Ballarat and District (1956), the Mooroopna and District (1956), the Box Hill and District (1957).

30 M.A. (Oxon.), A.M.I.A. (Lond.); almoner in London and Oxford, 1929-36; on holiday in Australia, 1936; first almoner, Adelaide Children's Hospital, 1937-44; started the Family Welfare Bureau in Adelaide (see p. 216); field work supervisor of students in Family Welfare Bureau and Red Cross in Sydney 1944-7.

31 Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, Almoner Department, Report for the period March 1948 to June 1949.

32 e.g. Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, Almoner Department, Report for the period July 1953 to June 1954, p. 3.

The use of a number of English almoners helped to maintain staff numbers but not stability.
its head was a person whose contribution to professional social work in Australia was significant. Unlike most of the other early leaders, her influence was not so much in the training movement as in the professional field. Increasingly in these later years, practitioners of her calibre were needed for senior positions and for the adequate representation of the practising social workers with the training authorities.

In the State without medical social work training, social work in hospitals remained relatively undeveloped. In South Australia and Western Australia there was some extension of almoner work, but as late as 1957, it could be written in Queensland:

...there are no trained social workers in the general hospitals in Brisbane. It has been said that social workers are not needed as the hospitals are free and there is no fee assessing to be done.

Only in 1958, was the first almoner appointed at the national capital's single hospital.

Not all the medical social work in these post-war years was done in hospitals. There were appointments with certain handicapped groups and with ex-servicemen. Moreover, a few other social work

33 The Royal Adelaide, the Adelaide Children's, and the Royal Perth Hospitals increased their almoner strength, and there were new almoner appointments at the Perth King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women (1956), and the Adelaide Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital (1957). In Tasmania, the Royal Hobart Hospital appointed an almoner in 1956.

positions primarily in a medical setting became available. But none of these non-hospital medical social work developments was, as yet, extensive.

The fairly slow growth of Australian medical social work was both a cause and a result of the comparatively slow recognition by the Australian medical profession of social and psychological factors in health and disease. The post-war Australian medical social workers accepted a broad responsibility for these neglected areas of medicine, but their professional strength was still very limited, and in addition, their practice often did not match their ideal functions. One of their leaders after visiting North America in 1954 reported medical social work in America more advanced than in Australia - in terms of knowledge, skill and general professional maturity, and in terms of its community status and recognition. It

35 e.g. with the Institute of Child Health (1953), and the Anti-Tuberculosis Association (1956) in Sydney; with the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute (1947), the Cancer Institute Board of Victoria (1950), the Tuberculosis Bureau of the Department of Health (1950), the Maternal and Child Hygiene Department (1953), and the Mount Royal Geriatric Unit (1958), in Melbourne; in Perth, with the Tuberculosis Sanatorium (1952) and the University's Department of Medicine (1957); and with Adelaide University's Anti-Cancer Committee (1951).


Eric G. Saint, 'The Health of the Australian Community,' First National Conference of Social Welfare, May 1960. (Anyone complacent about Australian health services should read this paper.)

attracted people of ability, she said, who in turn demonstrated convincingly the part medical social work could play in the treat-
ment and prevention of ill-health.  

The training of qualified social workers in Australia was designed to make them aware of the psychological as well as social implications of the cases they handled. But the absence of further training to equip them specifically for psychiatric settings severely restricted the development of psychiatric social work. In 1951, there were only about half a dozen qualified psychiatric social workers throughout the country, together with a few other qualified social workers working in psychiatric settings. Generally, social work in the nation's mental health services was much less developed than in its general health services.

With Victoria's Mental Hygiene Authority leading the way, Australia's mental health services in the 1950's began the transition 'from custody to treatment, from asylums to hospitals and from in-patient to non-residential care.' In the mid-1950's the Stoller Report defined the nature, size and cost of Australia's mental health problem. Amongst the many deficiencies found in the mental health services:

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38 Alison Player, Report Submitted to the Australian Association of Almoners, (typescript).
40 E. Cunningham Dax, Asylum to Community.
42 Alan Stoller, with the assistance of K.W. Arscott, Report on Mental Health Facilities and Needs of Australia.

For five years from 1949, the Commonwealth Government had contributed about 1/- a day for each patient in the State Government's
health services was a shortage of trained professional staff. Referring to social workers, the Report said they were badly needed in all States, but the shortages were so chronic that a relative inertia had been induced.  

In the later 1950's, Commonwealth Government finance helped capital building projects, mental health associations became increasingly active, the general public became more aware of mental health problems, and psychological medicine gained ground in the medical profession. Some of the leaders in this new mental health movement stressed the need for social workers in a community's mental health services. For instance in 1959, W.H. Trethowan, Professor of Psychiatry at Sydney University, stated that social workers had an invaluable and essential part to play in modern psychiatric diagnosis, in working with patient's relatives, and in carrying forward rehabilitation measures. Two years earlier, Dr. J.E. Cawte recommended that the South Australian Government con-
sider establishing a Social Service Division in its Mental Hygiene Department. This would not only provide a social work service in the mental hospitals, but would also supervise community facilities - family care schemes, licensed nursing homes, halfway houses - for treating mentally ill patients outside the hospitals. From observation overseas, he concluded that such a Division would need to have reasonable autonomy. It would work 'in close liaison with the medical profession in the total handling of the patient population, but it should not be dominated by individuals with training in other fields.' Salaries would need to be 'commensurate with the skill and value of the profession of psychiatric social work.'

So far, attention has been concentrated on social provision to meet the basic social needs of material welfare and health. Provision for five other such needs - housing, employment, education, recreation, and family welfare - will be mentioned.

47 J.E. Cawte (Deputy Superintendent, Enfield Receiving House), Report on the Principles of Operation of Mental Health Services Overseas with Recommendations for South Australia.
48 He argued that this would make the use of existing hospital facilities more effective, it would keep many patients in the community and rehabilitate them more quickly, and it would save the capital cost of adding beds to existing hospitals (£3,000 a bed, according to the Stoller Report).
49 What is considered 'basic' to human living does, of course, differ from society to society and from time to time within the one society. Basic needs tend to be those which are already met for the great bulk of the society. This means that while 'basic needs' is primarily a normative concept, it has strong descriptive overtones.
Without sufficient low-cost housing, the social security program was not only incomplete, it was likely to be jeopardized. Before the Second World War both State and Commonwealth Governments assisted home purchase and some States became interested in slum clearance. In the post-war period, the housing shortage, the greater emphasis on home ownership, and the size of employment in the housing industry, all encouraged housing to be seen as ultimately a government responsibility, and increasingly a Federal Government responsibility. In 1945, the Commonwealth Government undertook to provide State Governments with finance mainly to increase low-cost housing for people in lower income groups, and a scheme of rental rebates was introduced. £250 million had been advanced under the original Agreement when in 1956 a new Agreement was made. This time, because a different political party was in power, there was greater emphasis on home ownership and no scheme for rental rebates was included. The continuing housing shortage meant that slum clearance projects were delayed.

Inadequate or expensive accommodation was a frequent problem

50 Family casework agencies took an active interest in the subject in Victoria, and that State in fact was the only one which continued to provide rental rebates. Despite approaches by the Victorian agencies, the Victorian Council of Social Service, and the Australian Social Welfare Council, the Commonwealth Government could not be induced to reintroduce its financing of rebates. Housing for Lower-Income Groups, Proceedings of the Sixth Biennial National Conference of the A.A.S.W., Adelaide, 1957, pp.130-5.

51 Mendelsohn, in Public Administration in Australia, ed. Spann, pp. 149-150.

of social workers' clients in these post-war years. Very few social workers, however, worked directly with the various government housing programs, despite the fact that at the beginning of the period, the Commonwealth Government's housing authorities had stressed the need for good management on the States' housing estates, and for trained personnel to carry out all management. One of the problems in New South Wales had been whether or not property management and helping with individual problems could be combined by the one person.

In the mid-1950's, the Brotherhood of St. Laurence in conjunction with the Victorian Housing Commission began a notable social work experiment with a group of 'problem families' in a government temporary housing area. By 1960, through intensive social casework and group work, there was some progress in helping the families to manage their own affairs and to attain the standards necessary for a Housing Commission home.

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52 This was not confined to the immediate post-war years. See S.M.H., 17.12.58 - 'Human Bitterness in the Long Waiting Lists'; and Citizens' Welfare Service of Victoria, A.R.1958-59.
53 Department of Post-War Reconstruction, Training of Social Workers and Other Officers, Conference with Training Authorities, Melbourne, August, 1945, (typescript), p. 11.
54 In the abortive discussion between Commonwealth and State housing authorities and S.U. B.S.S. in 1946, the former referred to Octavia Hill's combination of the two functions.
The post-war full employment policy was very successful, and playing a useful part in this success was the Commonwealth Employment Service within the Department of Labour and National Service. This was a national employment exchange which tried to match men and jobs as well as possible. To assist in this, it employed psychologists, whose aptitude testing had come to be used so extensively during the war. At first it seemed that social workers would also be an integral part of the new agency. Social workers lent by the Australian Red Cross Society demonstrated the usefulness of social casework within the service, but hardly any social workers were subsequently appointed.

In connection with the employment of handicapped people, the Commonwealth Employment Service did cooperate to some extent with medical social workers in hospitals and other settings, and with the social workers engaged in the Rehabilitation Service of

55 (cont.)
56 Social agencies were quickly aware of any falling away in employment levels. See Millie Mills, 'Analysis of Unemployment by Social Work Agencies,' Social Service, Vol. 5, No. 2, September-October, 1953, pp. 2-4.
58 The Service came to provide specialized facilities for young people, handicapped persons, ex-service personnel, migrants, rural workers, and people with professional and technical qualifications.

the Commonwealth Department of Social Services. This last service was a civilian program which developed from an ex-service one in 1948. Its main object was to assist beneficiaries of the Department to become economically independent by gaining employment. Much of the time of the social workers in the Social Services Department was spent in connection with its rehabilitation program. Towards the end of the post-war period in New South Wales, it was recommended that more social workers should be employed in both government and non-government agencies concerned with the rehabilitation and employment of handicapped persons.

During these years, few social workers helped people at their place of employment. Generally, the post-war growth of personnel work in Australia was not closely linked with social work. The social workers who did work in industrial settings often found themselves with a variety of functions difficult to combine.

In the United States, some trade unions employed social workers; in

62 This was true even in Victoria where training in personnel work was offered by the local school of social work. At the end of the 1940's in Sydney, a study group on social work in industry formed within the N.S.W. A.A.S.W. urged with little effect that their Association and the Personnel and Industrial Welfare Officers Association work more closely together.
63 Ibid..
this way social work help was disconnected from the management.  

In the late 1940's, the Sydney Metropolitan Branch of the Federated Ironworkers' Association appointed a social worker, but this proved an isolated appointment.

Social workers were vitally concerned that the basic need for education be met, for on this depended so much of the community's welfare. Often they themselves saw their task as primarily educational - to help clients, administrators, and other professional people to gain insight into the forces of social and personal break-down, and to understand how to combat them. The employment of social workers by specifically educational authorities was, however, still extremely limited. A few worked at a pre-school level, but a school social work service did not develop at a primary and secondary level, nor did the growing counselling services at a tertiary level become the responsibility of social workers. That social and psychological factors could interfere with students' educational progress was increasingly realized, but because of the general absence of social workers in educational settings and the presence of psychologists, social factors tended to take second place to psychological ones.

63 (cont.)
64 'Social Workers and the Trade Unions,' Social Service, March 1947, pp. 7-9.
66 N.S.W. A.A.S.W., 'Social Work and Education,' Conference Programme and Study Material, August, 1949, pp. 21-3.
In helping individuals and families, the post-war social workers sometimes found their work hampered by a lack of suitable group recreational facilities. The Commonwealth Government, through its National Fitness scheme, stimulated Government and non-Government recreation programs and brought some coordination in their work, but its main focus was the physical health of the young.

The education of social workers who specialized in group work aimed to provide them with knowledge and skill to help any group make maximum use of its internal and external resources in running its affairs, and to give its members optimum satisfaction. At this stage, the fully qualified group workers still tended to be found in youth clubs, although a few did work with adult groups.

In the late 1950's, it was said in Sydney that the confused environment facing adolescents, the need for learning to take responsibility, and the need to assimilate newcomers required youth workers 'with a philosophy, an understanding of youth and direction in their work.' Keeping youth off the streets by merely entertaining them was not sufficient. Voluntary leadership training

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68 For a definition of social group work by Australian group workers see A. Livingstone, 'Group Work,' Third National Conference of the A.A.S.W., Adelaide, August 1951.
69 e.g. the aged and migrants. A social worker's employment in the adult education movement in Sydney was an interesting development. Madge Dawson, 'Social Work and Adult Education,' Social Service, Vol. 9, No. 6, May-June 1958, pp. 2 - 5.
70 The first two were stressed in W.F. Connell and Others, Growing Up in an Australian City.
71 Betty Battle, 'Current Trends in Youth Work,' Social Service,
schemes had increased, but the need for paid, fully trained people was only gradually being recognized, partly because youth work agencies were poor financially. The professional youth worker's status and salary was still fairly low, even though the work was, it was claimed, as important as teaching and often more demanding because of the hours involved. In New South Wales, the 1960's promised to be a period of considerable development in youth work, but whether this would include a substantial growth of paid, university-trained group workers was uncertain.

At the end of the post-war period in other States, and in other fields of social group work in New South Wales, the situation was no more developed. In fact, in many instances, it was much less developed.

In meeting at least some of the needs already considered, the post-war social provision relieved the Australian family of

71 (cont.)
72 Ibid.
73 Early in the 1950's, the Associated Youth Committee of the National Fitness Council unsuccessfully suggested an adequate youth policy to the Minister for Education. In 1961, the idea was again taken up by an official Youth Policy Advisory Committee.
74 It depended upon the drawing up of an adequate youth policy, the extent to which local government authorities would use their power to make appropriate appointments, upon the number and quality of the fully qualified people available, employment conditions in youth work and in other fields of social work, and upon the availability of people with other kinds of training and the employment conditions they were willing to accept.
responsibilities it had formerly carried. Yet in much of the provision, the family unit was recognized as being worthy of special maintenance. Many writers pointed to changes in the structure and functions of the family in Western society. In the first collective study of marriage and the family in Australia, it was suggested that the Australian family was becoming more specialized in its function, but that it was no less important as a social institution. It was stressed that the newer democratic partnership form of marriage was more demanding than the former authoritarian form, particularly with regard to 'emotional maturity, responsibility and adaptability.'

Wherever they worked, social workers were concerned with the social relationships of their clients, especially their family relationships. The post-war growth of specifically family welfare agencies was, however, slow. Although restricted by finance, there was some extension of church family agencies employing

75 e.g. dependants' and maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, and housing policy.
78 'The central purpose of the family service agency is to contribute to harmonious family inter-relationships, to strengthen the positive values in family life, and to promote healthy personality development and satisfactory social functioning of various family members.' Family Service Association of America, 1957 - quoted, Citizens' Welfare Service of Victoria, A.R. 1958-59.
qualified social workers. Service and ex-service family agencies continued to employ social workers, but their's was a special, although large, clientele. Only in Sydney and Melbourne were there non-sectarian, civilian general family agencies with fully qualified staff, and these were limited by a shortage of funds. Immediately after the war, the services of the Sydney Family Welfare Bureau were opened to all members of the community. In 1948 began the transformation of the Charity Organisation Society of Victoria into a modern family service agency, the Citizen's Welfare Service of Victoria.

Among the problems family agencies handled were marital ones. A leading social worker insisted in 1952 that marriage counselling could not be separated from the whole of family counselling, and that this work was, therefore, not in a field separate from social

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79 A notable one in Victoria was the increasingly vigorous Brotherhood of St. Laurence under the auspices of the Anglican Church.
80 A need for such agencies was felt in the smaller States. e.g. The W.A. A.A.S.W., A.R.1950, (typescript), speaks of 'the tremendous need...for a general family agency.'
81 Social Service, April 1946, p. 10. In 1950, most of the Bureau's clients were self-referred, and a large proportion of them were troubled without the presence of acute financial need. The American development of charging fees was known, but not implemented as yet anywhere in Australia. Social Service, April 1946, p. 10; February 1951, p. 31.
82 A decade later, it described as its main work, the counselling and practical help given by its social workers. 1958-9, 1,835 families and individuals sought the agency's help. Citizens' Welfare Service of Victoria, A.R.1958-59.
83 Ibid.
Beginning in 1948 in New South Wales, however, a marriage guidance movement largely based on British models spread throughout the country. Its counselling work was done by voluntary lay counsellors backed by an array of experts. The counsellors were trained by courses which inevitably were short, narrow, and scrappy, compared with the full professional education for social work. Some qualified social workers were concerned over the development since cases involving disturbed marital relations tended to be as complex as any they handled. Two of them described as 'nonsense' the contention of Dr. David Mace, the high priest of the movement in Britain, that marriage counselling was too strenuous for people to do more than a few hours of it each week.

In all States there were qualified social workers associated with the Marriage Guidance Councils, but generally they remained apart from the movement. Separate from questions about the quality of the

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84 Alison Player, 'Marital Conflict,' Papers of the Social Work Institute, August-September, 1952, Forum, Vol. VI, no. 4, p. 22.
85 Social workers learned in their basic training how and when to use specialist consultation.
86 L.J. Tierney and S.H. Lovibond, 'A Review of "Marriage Counselling,"' by Dr. David R. Mace,' Forum, III, No. 4, March 1950. They severely criticized the use of voluntary marriage counsellors, the nature of their training, and the tendency to regard marital breakdown as a specific and isolated problem.
counselling activity, professional social work, because of its predominantly unmarried female nature, was not in any case well placed to affect the movement.

The influence of the National Marriage Guidance Council was evident when the Commonwealth Attorney-General introduced his uniform divorce legislation in 1959. When speaking of his proposal to subsidize approved marriage guidance organizations, he said the work would best be done by trained volunteers. Subsequently, after considerable further discussion, he publicly declared that ideally the counsellors would be fully qualified social workers if they were available.

Agencies designed to meet the society's basic social needs naturally found themselves dealing with categories of people who tended to fall below accepted community standards of well-being. There were, in addition, agencies created to help a particular disadvantaged or vulnerable group - increasingly by members of certain of the groups themselves. A few social workers were employed specifically to assist physically handicapped groups; others in the late 1950's to help groups of aged people. Special mention should, however, be made of employment of social workers with agencies concerned with the welfare of ex-servicemen, of migrants, of children,

87 Its general educational program was much less open to criticism. Its marriage counselling and conciliation work, however, was its best-known activity and the one which absorbed 'by far the greatest amount of time and effort.' W.G. Coughlan, Hon.Secretary, National Marriage Guidance Council, A.R. June 1959.
88 See Ibid.
89 In a lecture on marriage guidance at St.Mark's Library, Canberra, 1960.
and of legal offenders.

Helping Special Groups.

Much of the post-war social provision for ex-service men and women was administered through the Commonwealth Repatriation Department. As with the Department of Social Services, no-one with a social work qualification administered the provision, but the Department did begin employing a few medical and psychiatric social workers soon after the war. Easily the largest social work employer among the Service agencies in each State was the Red Cross Society.

By 1960, Australia's population had grown to over ten million. The net gain from post-war migration exceeded one and a quarter million; some sixty per cent of whom were of non-British, but still European, origin. The broad social implications of the post-war migration still remained largely a matter for speculation, although the subject was beginning to be studied seriously. Many of the qualified social workers, however, became very aware of individual

91 This was after social workers from the Australian Red Cross Society demonstrated to the Department the usefulness of a social work service. Lyra Taylor, in Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Social Work, p. 27.
92 Except in South Australia, where the Family Welfare Bureau of the World War II Services Welfare Fund (see p. 216) also employed a number of qualified social workers.

Jerzy Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia - Foreword by W.D. Borrie.
migrants' difficulties in these post-war years. Almost all worked in agencies which included migrants among their clients.

In addition, from 1949, the Commonwealth Department of Immigration decided to offer its own migrant social work service in each State, and within five years, it was employing almost as many social workers as the Department of Social Services. At the end of the period, however, the Department cut back its social work staff so that migrants would use the social agencies available to the rest of the population.

Of all the State Government child welfare departments, the New South Wales one enjoyed the highest public reputation during the post-war period. But all was not well within the Department. Most of its officers were still inadequately trained, and the field officers were asked to carry huge case loads, which made casework almost impossible and held in check the Department's preventive

94 The Government hoped that this would make the assimilation of the newcomers quicker and easier, as the social workers would be able to help new arrivals with their personal difficulties.

The New Australian, No. 8, August 1949.

Soon after the war, the Federal Present of the A.A.S.W. had approached the Department about social workers' contribution to the immigration program. Norma Parker, Report Presented to the Federal Council of the A.A.S.W., December 9th, 1950, (typescript), pp. 4-5.

95 This meant there was no social work service which specialized in migrants' problems. The Good Neighbour Councils did not provide a casework service.

The Department's change of policy did not meet with full approval in social welfare circles. See A.S.W.C., A.R.1958-9.

96 This in itself was quite an achievement in the light of its previous history.
work and much-needed expansion of its foster home program. Further, many of its limited number of fully qualified personnel left it during the 1950's.

The Victorian State Government began to move into a more progressive phase in its child welfare program in the second half of the 1950's. A new development was the opening up of responsible administrative positions to people with a social work qualification. Right at the end of the period, high hopes were held for an extension of this trend in a proposed Social Welfare Branch of the Chief Secretary's Department. The new Branch was to incorporate all the existing social welfare services run by the State Government.

Qualified social workers made little, if any, impact on government child welfare services in the smaller States. In Queensland, the position was particularly under-developed. As late as 1957, there

98 A feature of the 1955 Children's Welfare Act was the establishment of a Children's Welfare Advisory Council. This Act incorporated 19 of the 27 recommendations made by the Victorian Council of Social Service.

In a document prepared by the Victorian qualified social workers (Vic. A.A.S.W., Comments on the Proposed New Department of Social Welfare, (typescript)), the idea of the Training Division was supported provided its courses did not come either to be regarded as a substitute for professional training or act as a deterrent to the entry of professional workers to the field.
was no juvenile probation service, no trained social workers were employed in the State's child welfare services, policemen often reported on adopting homes, and the majority of dependent children not suitable for adoption were kept in institutions. Generally throughout Australia in 1960, government child care programs still left much to be desired, and non-government, often church provision, was frequently worse. The child welfare field in each State still awaited social work leadership.

Provision for the under-age legal offender was usually part of each State's child welfare system. In some States, however, voluntary probation officers were still largely used. The 1956 Barry Report in Victoria recommended an increase in the number of professional probation officers, and commented that the system of honorary probation officers now appeared to be outdated.

A feature of the 1950's was a new consideration of the treatment of adult legal offenders. In 1951, the New South Wales Adult Probation Service was established as an independent branch of the Department of the Attorney-General and of Justice. At its head was

See also Proceedings of the Sixth Biennial National Conference of the A.A.S.W., Adelaide, 1957, pp. 135-6.
101 This was confirmed by a study made by Elizabeth Watson from the California State Department of Social Welfare, 1960-61. See her paper, 'Is It Well with the Children?', (typescript), August 1961.
102 Report of Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee to Chief Secretary of Victoria, Melbourne, July, 1956, pp. 56-7, 93.
a qualified male social worker, who saw the Service's work as essentially social work, although of course in an authoritarian setting. To allow effective work to be done, caseloads were strictly limited. The continued expansion of the Service outstripped the available supply of qualified male social workers, and regretfully an in-service training had to be resorted to.¹⁰³

A parallel development in the correctional field in New South Wales was the growth of a parole and after-care service. As part of a series of reforms, in 1951 parole officers were appointed in the Department of Prisons. They were to provide a casework service for prisoners and to help them become re-established in the community after their release. In the latter part of their work, they were greatly assisted by widely-representative civil rehabilitation committees. As with the probation service, caseloads were kept within bounds. In 1959, all seven of the parole officers were qualified social workers, but then, faced with the need for expansion and with no qualified men available, the service was forced to accept people with less appropriate educational qualifications.¹⁰⁴

The development of professional adult probation and parole services was rather later in Victoria and took a different form. In 1937, a professional section was established within the Penal Department to perform both probation and parole functions. The section expanded quickly, and again, because of a dearth of qualified male social workers, an in-service training scheme had to be instituted. The people who did the training were university graduates, yet the head of the section wrote in 1959 that the arrangement was in no way a substitute for a full diploma of social studies course. In particular, it failed to develop attitudes in the direction of recognized social casework principles. In contrast with their counterparts in New South Wales, the Victorian officers carried hopelessly heavy caseloads. 105

In addition to these developments in the two largest States, a small adult probation service headed by a qualified male social worker began in South Australia in 1954, 106 and in 1959, an adult probation and parole service was started in Queensland. 107

104 (cont.)

106 S.A. A.A.S.W., Minutes, 15.10.57 - Address by A.A. Glastonbury.
107 One of the first appointments went to a qualified male social worker. A.J.S.W., Vol. XII, No. 2, December 1959, p. 44.
This development of adult correctional work was important to the future of professional social work in Australia. To the heads of these new services this was very properly a field of professional social work. Yet the shortage of qualified staff was likely to limit the work's expansion, or alternatively it would expand with people with a lesser training which would separate the correctional field from social work, to the detriment of all parties. Moreover, because most of the clients were men, and salaries were relatively good, this field tended to drain the few qualified males away from other fields where they were urgently needed. Any division of the profession itself on sex lines was likely to hinder its broad development. A concentration of men in the one field encouraged this.

To this point, two major groups of social agencies have been considered - those concerned with meeting basic social needs, and those concerned with the needs of special groups. One other important group remains - the coordinating social services.

Coordinating Social Services.

Through their regular cooperation with their colleagues in many different fields of social provision, the qualified social workers themselves acted as coordinating agents. In addition, they usually strongly encouraged agencies specifically designed to achieve coordination. The growth of general coordinating bodies was, however, slow. A struggle to form a national coordinating social
welfare body, which amongst other things would give Australia official status with the International Conference of Social Work, occupied most of the post-war period. The main problem was that the Minister and officers of the Department of Social Services and leaders in the non-government sector of social provision held different views on what should be such a body's role, its finances, and the degree of government participation and control in its affairs. When the Australian Social Welfare Council was eventually formed in 1956, it was without full government cooperation, and at the end of the period its existence was still precarious.

At a State level, both the New South Wales and Victorian Councils of Social Service employed qualified social workers as their executive officers, but in terms of the size of the communities they were serving, they remained comparatively weak bodies. The similar organizations developing in the smaller States were considerably weaker. None of the councils of social service was connected with a community chest. As yet joint fund-raising was not

109 The A.S.W.C. immediately gained recognition as the Australian National Committee of the International Conference, but already 27 nations had preceded Australia - a poor record for a 'developed' country. A.S.W.C., A.R.1956-7.
110 In 1959 the A.S.W.C. became the Australian Council of Social Service (A.S.W.C. A.R.1958-9). Its Chairman the following year said: 'So far the Government has shown a lamentable reluctance to recognize us in any tangible way. Cordiality we have slowly acquired, but of Government representation or money, not a trace... I think it the height of folly to allow conflict or misunderstanding between voluntary and statutory agencies to continue. The future has a secure place for both...'
extensively used, despite the parlous financial condition of many of the voluntary agencies. Again, there was obvious lack of conviction about the usefulness of a Central Index.

A significant new development in the post-war years, at least in the larger States, was a rising number of limited coordinating bodies outside the framework of the councils of social service. In 1951 in Victoria, for instance, an Old People's Welfare Council was established to coordinate and promote work with the aged, and six years later a similar body was formed in New South Wales. But neither appointed a qualified social worker as its Director.

Another feature of these years was the growth of general community-serving, male organizations, like Rotary, Lions, and Apex Clubs, and Junior Chambers of Commerce. Sydney Rotary Club

111 See: Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne, Financing of Voluntary Welfare Agencies in Victoria. There was, however, increased interest in the subject, particularly since individual agencies, including the churches, began to use expert assistance for mass promotion schemes. See: 'A Community Chest for Australia?' Social Service, January 1949, pp. 6-8.


National Fund Raising Counsel of Australia Pty.Ltd., The Answer to Multiple Appeals...A United Fund. (Presented, on request, to the Lord Mayor of Sydney in 1961).

112 Old People's Welfare Council of New South Wales, First Annual Report, June 1957, (typescript). 22 organizations were then represented on the Council.

In 1961, it was pointed out that at least 22 similar coordinating councils existed in Victoria, and it was asked 'Who is to coordinate the coordinating bodies?' Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne, Financing of Voluntary Welfare Agencies in Victoria, p. 36.
set an example to these organizations when in the late 1950's it appointed a qualified social worker to make its welfare sponsorship more effective. Another social work appointment which was partly a community organization one was with the South Melbourne City Council immediately after the war. Towards the end of the period other municipal bodies in both Sydney and Melbourne began to follow suit, although not always with qualified people.

Generally there was some post-war movement towards coordination, but a variety of factors restricted it. Important among these were the lack of a tradition of government and non-government partnership in social welfare programs, the financial weakness of most voluntary agencies, the general shortage of qualified social workers, and the particular dearth of ones specifically equipped for community organization positions.

The Broad Scene

Occasional surveys for special purposes gave a glimpse of the developing employment pattern for qualified social workers. One in 1954\(^{114}\) revealed the following over-all picture:

\(^{114}\) By Mary McLelland for a Current Affairs Bulletin. The information was gathered through the branches of the general professional association.
The Employment Distribution of Qualified Social Workers in Australia, 1954.

Commonwealth Government Departments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repatriation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and National Service</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sub-Total** 56

State Government Agencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare</td>
<td>40 (33 in N.S.W.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Hospitals or Clinics</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Guidance Clinics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation and Parole</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and Social Welfare</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sub-Total** 89

Local Government Agencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total employed in Government Agencies</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Government Agencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Welfare (including Red Cross)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically Handicapped</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-service</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's services (kindergartens, etc.)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Associations</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous (the universities, councils of social service, etc.)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sub-Total** 217

**Total** 368
It was apparent from this that since the early war years there had been a strong trend towards employment in government agencies, a trend which would have been much more pronounced if more qualified males had been available. The survey also showed that over ninety per cent of the qualified social workers were employed in the three cities with training bodies.

A much more intensive survey of qualified social workers in New South Wales was undertaken two years later. Its findings covered about half the qualified social workers then employed in Australia, and they were likely to be roughly paralleled in the other States.

The 184 people covered by this 1956 survey worked under no less than 54 different titles. It was difficult enough, without this further impediment, to identify a social work professional group in the wide variety of social work settings. In all, they were working in 53 different agencies, 40% of them in 14 government agencies.

Of the social workers who had qualified since 1940, the study found that, mainly because of marriage, only about a third of the

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115 See p. 208.
116 Sydney University Department of Social Work, *The Employment of Professional Social Workers in New South Wales*, 1956, (typescript). *(The present author wrote up these findings.)*
117 An attempt to extend the study to the whole of Australia was unsuccessful.
118 At the time, 186 qualified social workers were employed in N.S.W.; a further ten people worked as social workers but had not yet finished their qualification.
119 Ibid., Preface and pp. 2-3.
females remained in social work employment, and, because of better opportunities for advancement elsewhere, only a half of the males.\textsuperscript{120} The existing group in employment was very largely female and unmarried, and about half of these were thirty years of age or older.\textsuperscript{121}

Most of the men were married and the great majority of them worked in government agencies.\textsuperscript{122} None of them had had a professional experience of more than ten years. The proportion in the whole group with a long professional experience was comparatively small. Two out of every five had had less than five years' professional experience, and four out of five less than ten years. Two-thirds of the total group had, however, known other employment experience before taking the social work qualification.\textsuperscript{123}

The study found that the females had had a much greater tendency to move from agency to agency than the males.\textsuperscript{124} This tendency had aggravated staff situations, already unstable because of professional wastage.

The great bulk of the social workers were shown as being primarily engaged in social casework, but it was also apparent that there was not much division of labour within areas of professional

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., pp. 25-6.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., pp. 9, 16, 19.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., pp. 11-12, 16.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., pp. 20, 28, 30.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., pp. 31-2.
activity, and most of them actually carried multiple-function jobs.  

The conditions of work were far from ideal. The large majority worked overtime, some long and often; and almost none were paid for it. In many instances, especially in government agencies, case-loads were impossibly large, which made effective work difficult and threatened the professional identity of the caseworker. Not everyone had privacy for their interviewing, and less than a half had adequate secretarial assistance.

As a group, their qualifications were by no means confined to the basic two-year diploma. Almost two-fifths had an additional social work qualification, and almost a third had university degrees. Yet it was found that the additional educational qualifications counted for little in salaries received.

The salary picture gave the obvious explanation for the failure of professional social work to attract and hold large numbers of able men and women, particularly men. Almost ninety per cent of the total received less than £1,200 a year; almost three-quarters, less than £1,000 a year; and about a third less than £800. Male levels were higher than female ones. The State public service salaries were

125 Ibid., pp.40-3.
Functions observed were casework, administration, community relations, education, group work, and research.
Alison Player claimed in 1954 that an important factor in the progress of medical social work in North America was specialization of function. Report Submitted to the Australian Association of Almoners, (typescript).
126 Ibid., pp. 43-50.
127 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
better than the Commonwealth's; non-government agencies tended to follow Commonwealth rates or were lower. Of those with more than ten years' professional experience, only one-tenth received more than £1,050, and this was mainly because they were engaged in social work education.  

In general, the social workers' salaries compared unfavourably with those of teachers and psychologists, both initially and after some years of service. In the late 1950's, however, the salary scene began to change, especially in Victoria where the three-year minimum professional qualification had existed for some years. There, salaries of qualified social workers in the State public service

128 Ibid., pp. 50-9.
129 In 1957 in New South Wales, salaries for social workers went from £690-750 for females and £873-903 for males to £929-1,000 for experienced females and £1,100-1,160 for experienced males; with some higher salaries for a few selected posts.

Beginning salaries for teachers with a two-year training were similar to social workers' but they rose to £1,148 for females and £1,348 for males. Teachers with a four-year training began at £850 for females and £1,000 for males and rose automatically to £1,316 for females and £1,539 for males. In addition, teachers could receive higher salaries through promotion, e.g. a headmaster of a high school received £2,160, a headmistress £1,944.

The salaries of psychologists (with a three-year qualification) in the State Department of Labour and Industry, for males, went from £1,001 to £1,459 or £1,560 under certain conditions; for females £851 to £1,240 or £1,342 under certain conditions. By comparison, the top salary for an experienced female almoner (also with at least a three-year qualification) in charge of six or more almoner staff was £1,006 a year.

(Rates quoted on a basic wage of £12.30 per week) Document prepared by Marven S. Brown for S.U. B.S.S. (See p. 311), p.10 and Appendix D.
became fully competitive with those of other professional groups, and new opportunities for advancement into administrative positions greatly extended possible financial rewards. As well-paid, administrative social welfare positions became available, however, there was a danger that the more experienced qualified social workers would be drawn away from practising and teaching casework, group work, or community organization. For balanced growth, professional social work needed roughly equal financial rewards for first-rate, experienced people in all its fields.

At the end of the post-war period, qualified social workers were still very unevenly distributed in fields of social provision and geographically. This could only be rectified if increased numbers, especially men, became available, and to some extent this depended upon employment conditions able to compete with other professions with comparable training and satisfactions.

130 In 1959, a qualified male social worker in probation and parole began at £1,250 and his maximum was £1,591 (the female rate was £180 a year lower). The senior probation and parole officer received £1,771; the chief £1,991. A.J.S.W., Vol. XII, No. 2, December 1959, p. 22.  
131 £4,000 p.a. was quoted as a possible salary for a qualified social worker in Victoria in 1961. See Statement of Salaries prepared for the 7th National Conference of the A.A.S.W., (typescript).
CHAPTER 10

TOWARDS EFFECTIVE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

If social work was to be a profession worthy of the name, it was important that qualified social workers throughout each country combine in a single, effective, over-all professional association, rather than remain isolated, either geographically or in specialist associations. But for this to happen, members had to identify with the national body and there had to be adequate provision for specialist interests inside it.

Again it was American social work which gave the lead. In 1955, four well-established specialist professional associations, two embryonic specialist groups, and a long-established general association, were all absorbed by the new National Association of Social Workers. Provision was made within the new Association for specific interests, and by 1958, there were sections concerned with group work, medical social work, psychiatric social work, school social work, and social work research, and committees on community organization and international social welfare. To be a member of

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1 The three established before 1930 (See p. 53), plus the American Association of Group Workers, formed in 1936.
2 The Association for the Study of Community Organization and the Social Work Research Group, formed in 1946 and 1949 respectively.
3 The American Association of Social Workers (See p. 53).
the Association, a person had to hold a degree from a graduate professional school of social work accredited by the Council on Social Work Education. Any membership requirement for a section was additional to this general requirement. The Association at the beginning of 1957 had roughly 22,500 members in 1943 chapters.4

The stage of development reached by British social workers in their professional organization was very much less advanced. They remained largely organized in a number of specialist associations. Some of these, like the Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and the Institute of Almoners insisted on a full professional qualification for membership but others were far more open.

The wide variety of British training schemes and much less emphasis on a generic professional training and a social work profession, made it difficult for a united national professional association to emerge. The British Federation of Social Workers5 was plagued by a shortage of money and by disagreement over membership requirements. After becoming almost moribund, it was replaced in 1951 by the Association of Social Workers of Great Britain. Amongst other aims, the new Association was 'to promote unity of interest and purpose between specialist groups.' Full membership was opened to individuals with a recognized training. In addition, specialist

5 See p. 53.
associtions for whom professional training based on a university course of social studies was an approved way, though not necessarily the only way of entering the specialized field, could become affiliated. In 1959, when it had eight affiliated specialist associations and 320 individual members, its Chairman described it as still a small body. There were indications, however, that a need for a strong, informed, national coordinated body which could deal with training and employment questions and could make a significant contribution to social policy, was being felt. 6

Notable post-war changes took place in the way qualified social workers in Australia were organized professionally. The three outstanding features were the establishment of a national general association with branches in each State, the closing of the association to unqualified people, and the eventual absorption of the one well-established professional specialist group, the almoners' Association, by the general national body, a development similar to the American one, although, of course, on a very much smaller scale.

A National Comprehensive Professional Association

In 1945, 1946, and 1947, general associations of qualified social workers were formed in Queensland, Western Australia and

Tasmania respectively, matching the earlier development of general associations in the three States with training bodies. As the war came to a close, a national general association to parallel the almoners' Association began to be discussed seriously, not only to unite professional social workers throughout the country, but also because of the growth of national and international social welfare programs. On the initiative of Norma Parker who urged speed in establishing a national body which might carry some weight in Australian government circles, a constitution was drawn up and subsequently adopted after interstate conferences in Sydney in June and in Melbourne in September, 1946.

The aims of the Australian Association of Social Workers were those of a fully developed national professional association.

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7 Q.A.S.W., A.R.1945-6, (typescript).
8 W.A. A.A.S.W., A.R.1946-7, (typescript).
10 S.A. S.W.A., Minutes, 2.8.45; Exec., Minutes, 26.11.45.
11 V.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 13.8.45; 3.10.45; 4.11.45; 11.12.45.
12 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 20.8.45; 14.11.45.
13 Norma Parker to Miss E. Lyons, Acting President, N.S.W. S.W.A., 2.4.46.
14 N.S.W. S.W.A., Exec., Minutes, 8.4.46; 8.5.46: Suggestions for an Australian Constitution, (typescript), 24.5.46.
15 V.A.S.W., Minutes, 7.8.46.
16 A.A.S.W., Minutes, 7.9.46.
17 Delegates from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia were present at the Melbourne conference. Immediately following it, the Commonwealth Department of Social Services held a national conference of its social work staff. In subsequent years, this Department and the Australian Red Cross Society often synchronized such staff meetings with the meetings of the Federal Council of the A.A.S.W.
18 See Constitution; the Australian Association of Social Workers, (typescript), adopted 7.9.46.
but whether it could be an effective body depended upon its mode of organization, the nature of its executive officers, its financial resources, the characteristics of its general membership, and the extent to which qualified social workers were distracted by other professional loyalties. Each of these will be examined in turn.

The Association's constitution was far from settled during these post-war years. At first it was experimental, then came the need to conform to the Commonwealth Arbitration Court's requirements, and later the need to provide for special groups within the Association. But the broad structure and machinery of the Association remained largely unaltered. The governing body was a Federal Council on which each Branch had equal representation. Apart from questions connected with membership, the division of responsibility between it and the State Branches was left vague. Throughout the whole period, the Federal Council met only at half-

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13 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 9.12.50; 16.6.51; 8.12.51; 20.6.53; 2.10.53; 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 25.3.56; 8.9.56; 14.4.57; 17.5.58; 13.9.58: Constitutions, (typescript).
14 The Council consisted of seven office-bearers (a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer) and two delegates from each Branch (at least one of them had to be a member of the Branch).
yearly intervals. It became customary for the federal executive officers to refer most matters to State Branches through correspondence; further, when the Council did meet, it frequently wished to have its decisions confirmed by the State Branches. This meant federal action tended to be slow and much of each Branch's time was absorbed by federal business. By the end of the period, no solution had been reached in the problem of making Federal Council decisions more rapid and confident; while retaining the active interest and approval of the general membership. So far, the Council had been located only in the two most developed, and the most central, States, and these had provided its chief officers.

The organization of the Australian Association of Social Workers at a Branch level during these post-war years varied widely, because of differences in the size of Branches, and also because of a general tendency towards unstable organizational forms. The larger the Branch, the more the Association's affairs were carried on through committees, the most important being an executive committee, or the Committee of Management as it came to be called. In both the

15 The meeting usually took a full day, often a Saturday, and in the later 1950's sometimes extended to a second day as agendas became increasingly congested. A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes.
16 See A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 25.3.56.
17 How much depended upon the claims of other business and the way business was handled.

See Appendix: 5C.
New South Wales and the Victorian Branches, a great number of sub-groups existed for variable periods and under a variety of names and terms of reference. Periodic attempts to regularize the relations between these groups and the executive group failed. Even when rules were drawn up for the purpose, they appear to have been either unknown by later convenors of the sub-groups and executive officers, or ignored by them. In general, there was

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From A.Rs. and Minutes.

(Examples of groups in each of the categories are ones concerned with 1. the Programme and the Membership, 2. Migration and Social Action, 3. a Code of Ethics and the Employment of Male Social Workers.)
recurring uncertainty about the roles of the executive and other sub-groups in relation to each other and to the general membership. Right at the end of the period, both the Victorian and New South Wales Branches began to make a determined effort to rectify this.

Another administrative problem, this time encountered in all States, concerned the role of Branch representatives on outside organizations. Branches did not as yet have an established policy on the subject, although in the late 1950's, the two largest Branches were giving some thought to it.

Problems of organization naturally were more complex in the larger Branches, but throughout the whole Association they were

21 As late as 1957, the Secretary of the Victorian Branch could find in the Branch's records no definite policy on the formation of sub-committees.
22 Outside organizations on which the Branches were represented, either continuously or for a period, included the following - the Councils of Social Service in all States where they existed; the National Councils of Women in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and Tasmania; the Good Neighbour Councils in all States but Queensland; the State Divisions of the Australian Association for the United Nations in New South Wales and South Australia; the Old People's Welfare Councils in New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland; the Marriage Guidance Councils in South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania; the New South Wales Association for Mental Health; and Wanslea in South Australia. In addition, all Branches were temporarily connected formally or informally with a variety of other organizations.

The records of the various Branches of the A.A.S.W.

23 e.g. Vic. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 3.11.55.
N.S.W. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 2.4.57.
rarely handled successfully. A certain degree of flexibility was desirable. This was not, however, a conscious policy, and in any case it could well have been argued that an organization so prone to changing membership needed stable organizational forms together with adequate records. Older members were often aware that certain problems of organization kept recurring, and many members were dissatisfied with ineffectual discussions on Association machinery. Owing to defective, non-existent, or inaccessible records, and a lack of awareness of the past among the many newcomers, there was little building from an established position.

A partial explanation given for the administrative weakness of the Association was that most members and executive officers had no particular interest in broad policy and administrative issues because they were women and also because they were mainly case-workers. If many of the members had a sense of only short-term commitment to the work, this too would have led to a concentration on day-to-day details.

A strong factor in the Association's effectiveness was the nature of its executive officers at both a federal and branch level. From the records, it is apparent that their competence was variable. Often Presidents and Secretaries were inexperienced in their functions, and sometimes they were inexperienced in the Branch's affairs.25

25 In 1950, the Federal President reported that one of the Federal Council's difficulties had been 'the extremely frequent changes in personnel among office bearers and executive committees in the
Throughout the whole period, the Association relied upon changing, honorary, spare time officers. The load borne by the officers, particularly the Secretaries in the larger Branches, became overwhelmingly heavy in the 1950's. Either the Branch's work or the officer's own professional work was therefore likely to suffer.  

Being unpaid as well as overworked, it was difficult to call the officers to account if they were inefficient. As an experiment in 1956, the Victorian Branch employed part-time, one of its female married members as its Secretary.  

By 1960, all the federal executive officers remained unpaid, yet some thirteen years before, the federal President had said the burden of the Association's work at a federal level was becoming intolerable.  

In 1949, part-time clerical assistance was employed.  

Three years later, the federal executive officers argued strongly for the appointment of a permanent full-time executive secretary, and the outcome was a money-raising scheme by a Committee in the New South Wales Branch. After four years of toil, this yielded the equivalent of only a year's salary of a well-qualified, full-time, 

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25 (cont.)

various State Branches.  

26 See Vic. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 10.3.55.

27 Vic. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 10.3.55; 4.8.55; 3.11.55; 1.12.55; 2.2.56: A.Rs., 1955-6, 1956-7, (typescript).

One hazard in the arrangement, the possibility that family responsibilities would distract the Secretary, was soon encountered.  


29 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 10.12.49.

Not only did the Association now need salaried services, but it also needed, at least in the largest States, premises of its own - to provide a tangible witness of the existence and serious intention of the Association, to give a sense of continuity and permanence to the social workers themselves, and, not least important, to provide a permanent home for the Association's records. The New South Wales Branch in 1960 set about acquiring its own premises.

By the end of these post-war years, it was apparent that the only realistic long-term solution to the Association's inefficiency was considerably increased membership fees. Yet there was still hesitation to take this step for fear that it might deter membership of the Association. The initiative lay with the Association's members, since they were its only source of income.

The movement of the New South Wales general association in 1945 towards an association exclusively for qualified social workers.


32 (Miss) M. Mills to Members, N.S.W. A.A.S.W., 12.9.60.

33 By 1960, the subscription in the larger Branches was £5 a year, and rather less in the smaller ones. Just before the Federal Council was formed in 1946, the level of subscriptions in N.S.W. and Victoria was £1.1.0., in South Australia 10/6d., and in Queensland 5/- (A.A.S.W., Minutes, 7.9.46). At first 5/- of each Branch's membership fee was paid to the Federal Council. In 1949 this was raised to 10/-, and in 1952 to £1.10.0.

34 See p. 219.
was carried to its conclusion by the founders of the Australian Association of Social Workers. After June 1947, only a qualified social workers were to be admitted to membership. When the constitution was recast to meet the Arbitration Court's requirements, it was specified that membership was open to professionally employed social workers holding a qualification from a school of social work approved by the Federal Council. Usually it was considered desirable to have as associate members qualified social workers not professionally employed, but there continued to be doubt over their legal position. Occasionally, in the smaller Branches in particular, the admission of unqualified people with limited rights was suggested, but normally there was strong opposition to this.

For membership purposes, the Federal Council automatically accepted the qualifications of the Australian schools of social work. British and other overseas qualifications sometimes presented a problem, however, since some were academic rather than professional in character, whilst others were only specialized in scope.

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36 A.A.S.W., Constitution, (typescript).
38 e.g. A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 16.8.57.
39 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 10.12.49.
In the mid-1950's, the Federal Council sought the guidance of the Australian schools in setting admission standards, and towards the end of the period, the trend was in the direction of raising them.

In 1949, the Association had roughly 300 members; eight years later, the number was 360. During these years, roughly three-quarters of the membership was in New South Wales and Victoria, while the Branches in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania were extremely small. Although the actual proportion varied

40 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 26.3.55; 11.8.55; 13.9.58. Record of Meeting of the Australian University Schools of Social Work, Melbourne, August 1955 (typescript).
41 The exact size of Branches of the Association at any one time is difficult to determine - because of the flow of members interstate, overseas and into marriage, because financial and unfinancial, and associate and full members were frequently not distinguished, and because of irregular records and lack of standardization in the collection of fees.
42 360 actually paid fees in 1957, about 30 of them as 'associate members.' A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 17.5.58.
43 The proportion of the Association's total membership found in each Branch in 1949 and 1958 respectively was approximately as follows - New South Wales, 44% and 43%; Victoria 28% and 32%; South Australia, 14% and 12%; Queensland, 8% and 4%; Western Australia, 4% and 5%; and Tasmania, 2% and 4%. See Appendix 5A.

Because of lack of numbers, the Tasmanian Branch formally went out of existence between 1951 and 1956, although during some of this period, the Tasmanian qualified social workers met regularly.

Correspondence between Tas. A.A.S.W. and A.A.S.W., 28.8.51; 8.10.51; 14.11.51; 12.11.51; 16.3.56; 28.6.56; 19.7.56; 11.10.56.

Tasmanian Members, A.A.S.W., Report 1954-6, (typescript).

In the 1950's small groups of qualified social workers began meeting in Canberra and Newcastle, laying the foundation for future Branches of the A.A.S.W.
according to the fluctuating attention given to fostering membership, the great majority of qualified social workers in employment in the various States were members. The low proportion of professionally experienced people, and the wide variation in the degree of professional commitment found amongst social workers in employment was likely, therefore, also to be found in the Association's membership.

Because of the dearth of qualified male social workers, the Association's membership remained largely female, and for the most part its officers were women. This made it easy for outside bodies to dismiss the Association as 'just another women's organization,' especially when in four States its Branches were affiliated with the National Council of Women.

The extent to which the qualified social workers were distracted by other professional loyalties from participating in the general association depended largely upon the activity of the Australian

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44 See e.g. A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 24.6.50. The figure was over 90% in New South Wales at this time.  
45 See p.367.  
46 See Appendix 5C.  
47 Attitudes in Australia to women's organizations were frequently unsympathetic. Occasionally these organizations were placated by government authorities by the appointment of someone on an official committee to represent 'the woman's point of view' - whatever that might mean.
Association of Almoners. Its Branches in New South Wales and Victoria were roughly a third the size of the local Branches of the general Association, and they met with about the same frequency. The almoner group in South Australia was proportionately rather larger, but it met less often. In the period 1947-57, the almoners' Association's Central Council met between four and eight times a year.

During these post-war years, the two Associations cooperated quite frequently at federal and State levels. Many almoners belonged to both, and leadership of the general association was often in the hands of an almoner. For instance, its first two federal Presidents were qualified as medical social workers. The climate in the post-war years was favourable to an even closer relationship between the general and almoner groups. The post-war emphasis on a generic professional education stressed the common core of all social work. Further, the absorption of training for

48 In 1949, 'hospital' was dropped from the title, in belated recognition that medical social work was no longer confined to hospitals.
49 In addition, a tiny Branch in Western Australia survived briefly in the late 1940s.


A.A.A., Central Council, Minutes, 29.4.50.

50 See Appendix 5B.

Once a year, efforts were made to have delegates from interstate present at a Central Council meeting. The Council was located in Adelaide 1946-8, Melbourne 1948-52, and Sydney 1952-9.

51 Joint Branch meetings were sometimes held, the almoners were responsible for a session at three of the A.A.S.W's. national conferences, from 1949 the A.A.A. was represented at the meetings of the A.A.S.W's Federal Council, the professional journal was published
medical social work by the university schools and the emergence of other specialist interests within the broad professional discipline encouraged social workers to think in terms of a common association which would cater for specialist interests inside it.

Eventually in May 1958, after over a decade of intermittent discussion, the Australian Association of Social Workers made provision for special groups at a Branch level of members with distinctive professional interests. The arrangements were such that specialist interests could have wide scope within the Association, although they were under the general surveillance of the Branch's Committee of Management. By the end of 1958, a Medical Social Work Special Group had been formed in both New South Wales and Victoria, each group having identical objects and almost identical terms of membership. The disbanding of the Australian Association under their joint names, and they combined on many questions including the employment of Australian social workers overseas, publicity and the recruitment of students, and social action.

51 (cont.)

52 See Chapter 8.
53 Margaret Whale, 'President's Address to S.W.A.,' 27.3.46, ms.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 31.7.48; 10.12.49; 20.6.53.
A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 24.4.48; 23.4.49; 12.12.49.
A.A.A., Central Council, Minutes, 17.2.50; 29.4.50; 26.6.50; 19.5.51;
19.4.52; 29.5.52; 31.7.52; 4.12.52; 18.4.53; 18.2.56; 25.5.57;
Statement Regarding the Possible Relationship of the Australian Association of Social Workers and Other Social Work Groups, (typescript), 10.12.52.
Zoe D. Proud, Honorary Secretary, A.A.S.W., Memorandum Re Possible Organizations of Special Groups Within The Australian Association of Social Workers, (typescript), 28.6.54.
54 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 17.5.58.
55 A.A.S.W., Rules Providing for the Establishment of Special Groups, (typescript).
56 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 13.9.58.
tion of Almoners in March 1959\textsuperscript{57} marked the end of a phase in the
development of professional social work in Australia. The substitu-
tion of 'medical social work' for 'almoner' signified a wider
professional identification and a general levelling up in the
standards of social workers in other than medical settings.

The need to accommodate special groups within the Australian
Association of Social Workers presented it with yet another orga-
nizational problem. For the Association to be efficient in its pur-
poses, it now needed more than ever greater continuity of member-
ship and executive officers, better records, more stable functions,
paid staff and proper accommodation.

Although only halting post-war progress was made by the qualifi-
ced social workers in becoming better organized professionally,
there was all the same some collective achievement. This was quite
notable in educational activity, but less so in social action, and
less again in self-protective endeavour despite the emerging interest
in this during the war years.\textsuperscript{58}

\textbf{Protecting Social Workers' Interests}

The poor employment conditions experienced by most of the
qualified social workers in these post-war years\textsuperscript{59} was partly a
commentary on their continued relative weakness in self-protective

\textsuperscript{57} A.A.A., Central Council, Minutes, 21.3.59.
\textsuperscript{58} See p. 225.
\textsuperscript{59} See pp. 368-9.
activities. What they did manage to achieve, however, perhaps partly to the detriment of short-term gains in employment conditions, was keeping clear of various industrial groups who might break up their unity or lower their prestige. One solid post-war achievement was registration with the Commonwealth Arbitration Court which provided some safeguard to their corporate existence. But as yet the second step of seeking an award had not been taken, even though much of the discussion before registration had concentrated upon this.

The experience of three different groups of qualified social workers in the immediate post-war years brought the question of registration with the Arbitration Court to the notice of the Australian Association of Social Workers. First, in South Australia, almoners were handicapped in their negotiations with the State Public Service Board because there were no recognized employment conditions for social workers. Next, a group in the Commonwealth public service were required to join a union to obtain full salary rights even though no unions with the appropriate interests and status were available. And then the almoners in New South Wales were threatened

60 From 1956, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. See J.D.B. Miller, Australian Government and Politics, p. 130.
by absorption by the inappropriate Homes and Hospitals Employees' Union. The matter was brought to a head in 1949 by the Federation of Scientific and Technical Workers claiming to industrial authorities that it could cover social workers in industrial matters.

To help carry the general membership with a unanimous Federal Council decision to take the first steps towards registration, the case was put to them in a detailed memorandum. It was argued that social workers' professional status and skills could only be protected by suitably defined employment conditions. The individual discussion of the past on these questions had proved ineffectual. Some social workers, interested in new developments, had taken posts which were under-paid, but it was doubtful if they served the interests of social workers or their clients if they continued to accept this. Unless recruitment figures could be increased by improved status, salaries and working conditions, 'a period of frustration and stagnation (appeared) inevitable for professional social work in Australia.'

To counter doubts about the propriety of a professional group registering as a trade union, the memorandum pointed out that unlike

61 Executive Officers, A.A.S.W., Memorandum on the Registration of the Australian Association of Social Workers as a Trade Union, 15.5.50, (typescript).
62 Letter from solicitors to the Secretary, A.A.S.W., 31.5.49.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 18.6.49.
63 Ibid.
medicine and law, but like teaching and nursing, the social work profession did not consist primarily of self-employed persons; further, when doctors were in government employment, they had sought industrial protection. In Australia, trade unionism was widely accepted as desirable for employed persons, and generally agencies employing social workers would welcome employment conditions being placed on a sounder basis.

Registration would prevent social workers being included in unions foreign to their interests, but it would not prevent social workers belonging to another union if they wished to. If only a certain number of the Association's members registered as a union, this was likely to cause bitterness and dissension in the profession since only a small group would be spending their efforts and money for the benefit of the whole.  

The memorandum's arguments were convincing, and in September 1950 the general membership of the Association very firmly endorsed the Federal Council's decision to seek registration. Eventually,

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64 Executive Officers, A.A.S.W., Memorandum, 15.5.50, (typescript).
65 In a secret ballot, 93% of the 206 members who voted supported the decision.
66 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 24.6.50; 9.12.50.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 9.12.50; 16.6.51; 8.12.51; 21.6.52; 13.12.52; 20.6.53; 2.10.53; 30.1.54; 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 11.8.55; 25.3.56.
in November 1955, the Association became registered with the
Commonwealth Arbitration Court - as an organization of persons
'usually employed for hire or reward in or in connection with the
industry of professional social work.'

The Association did not press on to seek a federal award for
a number of reasons. It was deterred by the possible cost, the
difficulty of explaining much of its work because of its intangible
nature, the fear that an award might prevent some voluntary agencies
from employing qualified staff, the anticipation that State groups
might seek State awards, and finally, general uncertainty about
industrial matters. The Association could have received assistance
on the last point if it had accepted an invitation to affiliate with
the Council of White Collar Associations (later the Australian Council
of Salaried and Professional Associations), but it decided to remain
independent.

Although the Australian Association did not seek an award, from
its beginning it took some responsibility for its members' employment

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67 A.A.S.W., Constitution and Rules, (typescript).
68 This Council consisted mainly of clerical and 'professional' groups
not covered by the Australian Council of Trade Unions.
69 The matter was raised in 1954. Five of the Association's Branches
then favoured affiliation, but the Victorian Branch and the federal
executive officers were against it because they considered little
would be gained, other bodies affiliated were not professional
groups, and there was some risk of being involved in political
matters. The decision not to affiliate was affirmed in 1958.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 17.5.58.
conditions. In the immediate post-war years, an increasing number of agencies, particularly government ones, sought from it information about salaries and working conditions, and the need for an authoritative statement like the British Simey Report was felt. In 1949, a federal committee of the Association sent to each Branch a statement on possible employment conditions, and then began a study of actual conditions in New South Wales. Not until 1952 did it report, and the study was not extended as originally planned.

The Association did, however, begin an enquiry through another New South Wales committee into the employment of male social workers. This found that the main male employment opportunities were within government agencies for these could pay a suitable salary, and recommended that cadetships be used more extensively and that administrative posts be opened to qualified men. The findings of both this and the earlier general New South Wales study were sterile.

In the later 1950's, there was increased interest in employment conditions in the two largest Branches of the Association. In 1955, a Personnel Practices Committee was established in New South Wales to

70 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 14.12.46; 28.6.47.
73 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 21.6.52; 13.12.52; 20.6.53; 24.10.53; 30.1.54; 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 11.8.55; 25.3.56.
N.S.W. A.A.S.W., A.R.1956, (typescript).
keep itself informed on social workers' employment conditions, but by 1957 it was without a convenor.\textsuperscript{74} In 1956, a Status and Salaries Committee was set up in Victoria to achieve some coordination between the various groups of Association members who were negotiating about salaries, since 'what (happened) in one group (had) a vital effect on others.' It was slow to become effective, however.\textsuperscript{75} It was, in fact, the success in 1958 of a sub-group in the Victorian State public service\textsuperscript{76} which made Commonwealth Government and voluntary agencies re-examine their salary levels.

Medical social workers' salaries continued to be linked with those of inappropriate hospital groups. A new departure occurred in 1959, however, when the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Association of Social Workers negotiated with the Hospitals Commission on behalf of the medical social workers. It agreed, with some success, that their salaries should be related to those of social workers in other fields and not to those of other hospital groups.\textsuperscript{77} The Branch declared its policy was now to work for equitable salaries for all social workers, and it hoped employers would accept this.\textsuperscript{78} But to do this effectively, in one Branch or throughout the Association,

\textsuperscript{74} N.S.W. A.A.S.W., A.Rs., 1955 and 1957, (typescript).
\textsuperscript{75} Vic. A.A.S.W., A.Rs., 1956-7 and 1957-8, (typescript).
\textsuperscript{76} See pp. 369-370.
\textsuperscript{77} N.S.W. A.A.S.W., A.R.1959, (typescript).
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid..
up-to-date knowledge of members' employment conditions and ways of changing them was needed, and it was doubtful if changing honorary spare time services could meet this need.

Periodically during these post-war years, the subject of unqualified people using the term 'social worker' was discussed, but as yet the qualified social workers could claim no monopoly on the title. Moreover, some of them were not comfortable with it, because of its 'charity' overtones and non-professional sound. Until the title 'social worker' was used exclusively and normally for a qualified person performing social work functions, the public image of the social worker was likely to be very blurred, or a false one as far as qualified social workers were concerned.

The question of Australian social workers having a written code of ethics was raised in 1954 when a Queensland Red Cross official demanded access to social workers' case records. Subsequently the Federal Council of the social workers' Association asked Branches to consider the subject. Two major problems emerged in the resulting discussion, the level of generality of a code and its degree of relevance for actual practice. In August 1957, the Association agreed to use, although without any interpreting

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79 e.g.: Tas. A.A.S.W., A.R.1947-48, (typescript).
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 2.10.53; 13.9.58.
80 See p. 366.
81 The discussion was assisted by a bibliography compiled by the Commonwealth Department of Social Services.
or enforcing machinery, an experimental code for a set period. This code reflected the philosophy and general principles of professional social work:

Social Work is a profession, the philosophy of which affirms the worth and dignity of every individual, regardless of colour, creed or circumstance and the mutual responsibility which each individual and his community have to one another.

1. Social workers recognise the confidential character of social work as being fundamental to its practice, and affirm that the relationship between client and social worker is one of mutual confidence and trust. Social workers must preserve and protect the client's confidences and privacy within the framework of society's laws.

2. Social workers recognise the client's right to make his own decisions, to use his own resources and to work out his own problems.

3. In situations of conflict between individuals and society, a social worker shall try to interpret the rights of society and balance the pursuit of the welfare of the individual with a sense of responsibility to the general public.

4. The social worker has an ethical responsibility to arrive at an understanding of himself and his own emotional needs and to acquire objective attitudes of tolerance and understanding.

5. A social worker shall endeavour to increase his professional competence, shall be willing to share his professional knowledge with his colleagues, and to apply it for the good of the community.

6. In all matters appertaining to his agency's policy, personnel or practice, the social worker should exercise the highest degree of professional integrity and moral conduct.

7. A social worker shall do all in his power to maintain and raise the standards of his profession, and to enhance the esteem in which it is held.

82 The federal executive officers based this code on drafts drawn up by the New South Wales, South Australian, and Western Australian Branches.
83 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 11.8.55; 25.3.56; 8.9.56; 14.4.47; 16.8.57.
84 A.A.S.W., Interim Code of Ethics, August 1957, (typescript).
Social Action

Turning from the qualified social workers' protective activities to their post-war efforts to improve their communities' social welfare, it is apparent that compared with the war years, there was some waning of interest. Many and diverse factors at different times held their collective social action in check—the continued concentration on casework in their education and practice, the inexperience and employment instability of many of them, their lack of specialized knowledge in many areas of social policy, fear of political involvement, identification with employing agencies rather than with the professional group, fear of losing cooperation in social welfare and professional circles, lack of a tradition for social policy makers to use specialist opinion especially when it came from women, the ability of some of them to change agencies' policies from within, and so on. 85

Frequently action taken by the qualified social workers was not publicised, which meant they appeared far more timid and complacent about social provision than in fact they were. Nevertheless, the following challenge issued to American social workers in the 1930's, could well have been issued to Australian social workers in the 1950's:

Do social workers believe that any other profession is better able to speak authoritatively of need for, and method of, achieving maintenance of normal family life, protection of children, prevention of delinquency, extension of public social services including public health and medical care, creation of social group activities, or improvement of housing conditions? To the extent that the solution of these problems is within the competence of any profession, it is certainly within that of social work.  

The variety of the community interests of the post-war qualified social workers is illustrated by a glance at the experience of the New South Wales Branch of their general association. The interests of its members during this period ranged over the extension of medical benefits to sick age and invalid pensioners in their homes, women's employment problems, various issues connected with migrants' welfare, marriage guidance, fostering inter-agency cooperation, compiling a resource file on leisure-time activities, publishing a newsletter for the local Council of Social Service, radio talks on social welfare topics, the needs of country people, the care of the aged, recreation for special groups, the use of the central index, the non-payment of pensions to patients in mental hospitals, the welfare of unmarried mothers and their babies, the welfare of pensioners' children, support of the local Council of Social Service, 'The Call to the Nation,' the employment of the physically handicapped, the inclusion

86 Esther Lucile Brown, Social Work as a Profession, p. 186.
87 The following topics are arranged roughly in the chronological order in which the Branch became involved in them.
of family casework services in a list of parent education facilities published by the Minister for Education, contributing to the Lord Mayor's Flood Victims' Appeal Fund, supporting the Australian Social Welfare Council financially, preventing sensational newspaper articles on social work cases, cooperation with the Department of Education, the Australian Rheumatic Council, and the University of Technology, in various surveys, promoting and supporting the New South Wales Association for Mental Health, housing needs and the Commonwealth-States Housing Agreement, anomalies in legislation relating to deserted de facto wives, the relationship between State and federal children's allowances, support of the Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association, the housing position for marginal families, the New South Wales Child Welfare Act, evidence to a Committee preparing legislation on the care of the intellectually handicapped, and letters to the press about pension anomalies and hospital benefit payments. 88

Similar lists, though rather shorter in the smaller States, could be given for each of the Branches of the general Association and for each of the three Branches of the almoners' Association. 89 But it must be remembered that frequently the interests cited were not spread throughout the whole group and often were shared with

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88 N.S.W., A.Rs., (typescript).
89 See their respective A.Rs., (typescript).
outside groups, that the amount of time spent on each varied greatly, and that the above list covers about one and a half decades of endeavour in the largest of the groups.

**Educational Opportunities**

The post-war improvement in education for social work was not confined to the basic training. An increasing number of educational opportunities became available to the qualified social workers, especially if they were in New South Wales and Victoria and if they were medical social workers. These opportunities were provided by the training schools, some employing agencies, other social welfare organizations, overseas experience, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, by their professional association.

By their greater concentration on standards of student supervision, the training schools helped many practitioners to increase their skill and knowledge. In addition, both the Sydney and Melbourne schools provided occasional refresher courses. In the mid-1950's, there was a significant new development in Sydney when an autonomous Committee for Post-Graduate Study, consisting of people

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90 See p. 319-321.
91 e.g. the Sydney school held such courses in 1946 on social casework and public administration, and in 1953 on social casework. The Melbourne school combined with the local Branches of the general and almoner Associations in 1952 in a 'Social Work Institute' on social casework, administration and research.
from the school and the professional association, was established. In subsequent years it sponsored various lectures and discussion courses, and in 1961 brought out a new publication, 'The Australian Journal of Social Issues.'

A feature of this post-war period was a growth of staff development programs within agencies employing qualified social workers. Two national agencies, the Commonwealth Department of Social Services and the Australian Red Cross Society, paid particular attention to this. Each had its library, its staff meetings, and its national staff conferences. Moreover, the Social Work section of the former regularly fed agencies, associations, and social workers throughout the country, with selected journal articles, and general and specific bibliographies of material in its library. By the end of the period, it was customary in most agencies to set aside working time for professional staff development.

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92 N.S.W. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 5.5.55; 2.6.55; 7.7.55; 4.8.55; 9.4.56. Committee for Post-Graduate Study in Social Work, Minutes. The Australian Journal of Social Issues, Vol., No. 1, Spring 1961. This was not a professional social work journal. Each issue was to deal with a general topic in which social policy makers might be expected to take some interest. In addition, there was an abstracting service which covered Australian journal material on social issues.


94 Close supervision of inexperienced social workers by those with experience, a feature of the American scene, was, however, rare in Australia - because agencies were generally small and overworked, there were relatively few experienced social workers, and consultation rather than supervision accorded better with Australian notions of personal and professional independence.
The growing number of coordinating bodies in particular fields of social welfare often provided the qualified social workers with opportunities to learn. Added to this were the addresses, discussion, study, and occasional research, on a wide variety of social welfare topics, undertaken by the various councils of social service. By now, the journal of the New South Wales Council was well-established, although a similar one in South Australia lapsed after a trial period. In the 1950's, both the Victorian and New South Wales Councils held State social welfare conferences. But there was not a national social welfare conference until 1960, because of the delay in establishing a general national social welfare body.

This delay had also meant that for the greater part of the period, Australia had no official representation at the International Conference of Social Work. But the Australian Association of Social Workers was represented, sometimes only after considerable

95 See p. 363.
96 To cite just one instance - by 1958, the Australian Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped had held nine conferences. (This Council was formed in 1944, largely because of concern about the insecurity of employment of disabled persons. Both the A.A.A. and the A.A.S.W. became members.)
97 The Social Service Record.
100 See p. 361-2.
101 After preliminary meetings at Brussels and The Hague, a re-vitalized, re-formed International Conference of Social Work met for the
effort, at each of the Conference's post-war meetings, and some of the Association's members became acutely aware of Australia's international social welfare obligations, especially to the underdeveloped countries. Directly and indirectly, many qualified social workers also benefited from other conferences held overseas during the period.

Many qualified social workers went abroad in these post-war years. The federal President of the general Association commented in 1950 on the migration overseas, especially of more senior people, in search of professional education and experience. In the early 1950's, it was estimated that about forty Australian social workers

101 (cont.)

fourth time in its history, in 1948 at Atlantic City. F.H. Rowe, The Director-General of Australia's Commonwealth Department of Social Services was elected at this meeting as one of the Conference's six Vice-Presidents. (Kathryn Close, 'Rallying Point for the World,' The Survey, Vol. LXXXIV, No.5, May 1948, pp.139-144.)

Unlike the American National Conference (see p. 51), the International Conference had not by the end of the post-war period, called itself a social welfare, instead of a social work conference.

102 At the preliminary meetings and the Fourth; and at the Fifth in Paris, 1950; the Sixth in Madras, 1952; the Seventh in Toronto, 1954; the Eighth in Munich, 1956; the Ninth in Tokyo, 1958; and the Tenth in Rome, 1960.

About 200 people (3 Australians, all qualified social workers) from 35 countries attended the 1948 Conference. 1,589 (19 Australians led by qualified social workers) from 42 countries together with representatives of 15 international organizations, inter-governmental and voluntary, attended the 1958 Conference. A.S.W.C., 3rd A.R. 1958-9.

103 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 7.9.46; 14.12.46; 28.6.47; 8.9.47; 13.12.47; 31.7.48; 11.12.48; 24.6.50; 9.12.50; 16.6.51; 21.6.52; 13.12.52; 20.6.53; 2.10.53; 30.1.54; 11.8.55; 25.3.56; 16.8.57; 13.9.58.

104 e.g. Australian social workers were present in 1948 at the International Youth Conference in Britain and the 75th American National Conference of Social Work, in 1950 at National Conferences
were outside the country - seven in the United States, one in Canada, and most of the remainder in Britain. This pattern was to be expected while entry into the country, money problems, and finding employment, were far easier in Britain than in North America, and in addition, of course, there was a general inclination for Australians to visit Britain. Both the general and almoner Associations concerned themselves with overseas opportunities for their members, and especially notable was the establishment by the general Association in 1956 of machinery to give professional endorsement to social workers who sought to work and study in North America.

The post-war educational opportunities most generally available to the qualified social workers were those provided by their own

104 (cont.)


107 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 11.12.48; 18.6.49; 10.12.49; 24.6.50; 9.12.50; 16.6.51; 8.12.51; 21.6.52; 20.6.53; 2.10.53; 30.1.54; 25.9.54; 26.3.55; 11.8.55; 25.3.56; 8.9.56; 14.4.57; 16.8.57; 17.5.58; 13.9.58.

A.A.A., Central Council, 5.2.51; 23.7.53; 27.8.53; 14.12.53; 21.1.54; 25.2.54; 18.3.54; 22.4.54; 21.4.55; 28.5.55; 30.8.55; 6.10.55; 25.5.57; 6.12.57.

Katharine Ogilvie, Notes on an enquiry into the work of the British Committee on the Interchange of Social Workers—possibilities of cooperation between this and Australian Social Workers, (typescript).


108 Alison Player, President, A.A.S.W., to Members, A.A.S.W., 3.4.56.
professional organization - through meetings, seminars, study groups, conferences, and journal. The general membership in each Branch of the general Association and of the almoners' Association met regularly. Association business absorbed some of the time, but the greater part of it was usually spent in listening to and discussing addresses by members on their work and experience, or by non-members (visiting social workers, doctors, psychologists, nurses, government officials, university teachers, and so on).

Occasionally, usually when an overseas social worker was available, Branches of the general Association held refresher courses and seminars. To help qualified social workers from interstate or abroad, orientation programs were also provided by some of the

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109 See Appendix 5B.

110 When these were of the eminence of George Haynes, General Secretary of the British National Council of Social Service and President of the International Conference of Social Work, and Jane Hoey, Director of the Bureau of Public Assistance in the United States Social Security Administration, who visited Australia in 1950 and 1952 respectively, they usually spoke to large public meetings at least partly sponsored by the professional social workers' Association.

111 e.g. casework refresher courses in Melbourne, 1947 and 1953, and Brisbane, 1958; a summer school on social work in Adelaide, 1950; seminars in child welfare, 1953, and community organization, 1954 and 1956, in Adelaide; seminars on medical rehabilitation, in Sydney, 1955; and seminars on the philosophy of social work, in Melbourne, 1957. In 1949, following a national conference, the A.A.S.W. held a week's refresher course in social casework. From the various A.Rs., (typescript).
social work groups.112

To give close attention to a subject, to provide opportunities for many members to participate, and to allow for specialized interests, various study groups were formed in the Branches, especially the largest Branches, of the general Association.113 With encouragement from the Federal Council, most of the Branches tried, usually through study groups, to prepare for the Association's national conferences, and in 1952 and 1954 for the International Conferences of Social Work. All Branches in 1954 reported difficulty, however, in arousing members' interest in pre-conference study groups, and by 1957 there was little preparation for the Association's national conference, except in New South Wales.114

The founders of the Australian Association of Social Workers agreed that one of its first activities was to hold a conference.115

S.A. A.A.S.W., A.R.1952, (typescript).

113 The most substantial of the study groups of the N.S.W. A.A.S.W. were on migration, 1947-53; marital guidance, 1947-8; agency cooperation, 1948-9; public relations, 1948-55; social action, 1949-51, '55-8; the welfare of mothers and babies, 1949-58; group work, 1949-51, '53, '57-8; and psychiatric social work, 1952-3.

Equivalent groups in the Vic. A.A.S.W. concentrated on public relations, 1945-58; migration, 1946-50, '57-8; social legislation, 1946-8; housing, 1948-9, '54-6; case discussion, 1950-1; professional education, 1951-7; child care, 1953, '56-8; and juvenile delinquency, 1956-7. From A.Rs., (typescript), and Minutes.

114 Branches, A.A.A.S.W., A.Rs., (typescript), and Minutes.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 30.1.54.

115 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 7.9.46; 14.12.46.
From 1947 to 1957 at two-yearly intervals at Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in rotation, the Association held national conferences. At times, because as yet there was no national body to run a social welfare conference, pressure was placed upon the Association to make its own conference much broader in scope. Occasionally it did invite outside speakers and opened some of the sessions to the public, but the conferences were kept mainly for the professional development of qualified social workers. Members of the Fourth Conference decided the national conferences of social work should widen the horizons of the Association and of individual social workers.

116 e.g. Lyra Taylor to Federal Executive, A.A.S.W., 30.11.51. A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 8.12.51; 21.6.52.
117 e.g. The opening address at the Second Conference was given by the Commonwealth Minister for Health and Social Services, and at the Fifth Conference, by the Assistant Secretary-General of the International Conference of Social Work and Executive Secretary of India's National Conference of Social Work. At the Fourth Conference, four of the six speakers came from outside the A.A.S.W.
118 Attendance at the National Conferences of the A.A.S.W., 1947-57.
Sydney 1947 ('The Place of Social Work in Australia Today'): Over 200 people - about 40 from interstate.
Adelaide 1951 ('Social Work at Home and Abroad'): 90 from all States.
Melbourne 1955 ('The Contribution of Social Work in the Field of Mental Health'): 174 - Victoria 85 (5 students), N.S.W. 58 (8 students, 11 Colombo Plan students), S.A. 13, Tasmania, W.A. and A.C.T. 2 each, Queensland 1, and 11 visitors.

From various records of the A.A.S.W.
help develop a common body of knowledge and purpose for Australian social work, and provide educational and personal stimulation.\textsuperscript{119}

The Australian Association of Social Workers did not hold a conference between 1957 and 1961 so that its members could give their maximum support to the first National Conference of Social Welfare. This social welfare conference was in no way a substitute for the Association's conferences, but once it was well established, the Association could concentrate unashamedly upon its members' professional development.

The Association's national conferences had an important public witness aspect. The publicity they received in the general press\textsuperscript{120} and amongst employers\textsuperscript{121} assisted in the recognition of qualified social workers as a distinct national occupational group with professional aspirations.\textsuperscript{122} With the growth at various levels, however, in the number of conferences of social welfare significance, it was becoming important to think clearly about the function of each - to avoid overlapping and to steer clear of the dangers parodied in the following passage:

\begin{center}
\textsuperscript{120} See e.g. \textit{Advertiser}, 14.8.57.
\textsuperscript{121} Many employers were requested to release their staff to attend the Conferences.
\textsuperscript{122} The Proceedings of the First Conference were published very belatedly, and those of the Second not at all, but thereafter, all were published and distributed fairly widely.
\end{center}
(1) Profess not to have the answer. This lets you out of having any. (2) Say that we must not move too rapidly. This avoids the necessity of getting started. (3) Say that the problem can't be separated from all the other problems. Therefore it can't be solved until all the other problems have been solved. (4) For every proposal set up an opposite one and conclude that the "middle ground" (no motion whatever) represents the wisest course of action. (5) Discover that there are all kinds of "dangers" in any specific formulation or conclusion. (6) Appoint a committee. (7) Wait until an expert can be consulted. (8) State in conclusion that you have all clarified your thinking. This obscures the fact that nothing has been done. (9) Point out that the deepest minds have struggled with the same problem. This implies that it does you credit even to have thought of it. (10) In closing the meeting thank the problem. It has stimulated discussion, opened new vistas, shown us the way, challenged our inventiveness.

The general, if slow improvement in social science and social work literature in Australia in these post-war years assisted in the expansion of educational opportunities. To some extent, the development of an Australian social work literature was so slow because much of what was produced was rarely printed in a permanent form and it tended to be non-cumulative in character. There was, however, movement towards an adequate national professional social work journal.

The first move in this direction occurred when in September 1945

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124 See pp 321-3.
the New South Wales Social Workers' Association began publishing a monthly 'Social Workers' Digest. At the formation of the Australian Association of Social Workers, it was suggested that it should take over the publication, but though a national journal was considered desirable, the question was postponed and soon after the 'Digest' lapsed. The next move was in Melbourne when the Public Relations Committee of the Victorian Branch of the general Association began a slim two-monthly publication called 'Forum.' Early in 1949, it became a quarterly and in mid-1949 a joint publication with the Victorian Branch of the almoners' Association. In 1950, on the suggestion of its Victorian Branch, the Australian Association of Social Workers decided to develop 'Forum' into a national journal concerned with professional social work. The Australian Association of Almoners, who had themselves been showing interest in a journal, agreed to join in the venture,

125 This was to complement the N.S.W. C.S.S.'s. Social Service, and was only for professional social workers. N.S.W. S.W.A., Current Events Cttee., Minutes, 28.8.45.
126 N.S.W. S.W.A. Exec., Minutes, 10.12.46.
A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 14.12.46.
127 Mainly because of the fluctuating active strength of the publishing Committee which consisted largely of married women. See Social Workers' Digest, December 1946, p. 2.
129 Vic. A.A.S.W., Exec., Minutes, 8.2.49; 10.6.49.
130 A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 10.12.49; 24.6.50; 9.12.50.
131 In 1946 the Central Council of the A.A.H.A. published a booklet, Medical Social Work in Australia. This was to be the first of a series, but only one other was published, in 1948, mainly because of the cost. A.A.H.A., Central Council, Minutes, 9.4.46; 25.7.46; 31.1.47; 19.4.47; 3.11.47; 24.4.48; 8.11.48.
but the major responsibility rested with the general Association.

Initially the new 'Forum'\textsuperscript{132} had financial problems, but these were solved in 1955, when the membership fee of the general Association was extended to cover receipt of the journal. Problems of control and responsibility were settled the previous year by a Federal Council decision that the committee to publish 'Forum' should be one of its standing committees even though its members were drawn from and nominated by the one Branch. At the same time, issues settled down to two a year, mainly because of cost and the dearth of contributors.\textsuperscript{133}

For a variety of reasons,\textsuperscript{134} only a handful of the total membership of the Association made contributions to the journal during the 1950's, and many of these were solicited not volunteered, or were a record of papers given on other occasions. In the absence of plentiful material, editors could not be very selective and description rather than analysis predominated. 'Forum' did, however, slowly improve both in form and content, and in 1959, a change of name to 'The Australian Journal of Social Work' was considered justified. It was now intended to make the journal a truly national

\textsuperscript{132} The first issue was in March 1951.
\textsuperscript{133} A.A.S.W., Federal Council, Minutes, 9.12.50; 16.6.51; 8.12.51; 21.6.52; 13.12.52; 20.6.53; 2.10.53; 30.1.54; 25.9.54.
\textsuperscript{134} Lack of time, little professional inducement since any advancement was usually not related to articles published, readiness to discuss questions but not commit themselves on paper, difficulty in writing, professional inexperience, the journal's issues were too infrequent to sustain interest, and so on.
publication which would,
provide the opportunity for members to demonstrate the
application of techniques and practice to conditions...
in their own working environment,...encourage the expression
of new ideas, publish reports and news on those subjects...
of interest to the total membership, and not the least
important, promote professional unity.\footnote{135}

There were, then, expanding educational opportunities for
social workers during this post-war period, and many of them were
provided through the professional association. But whether indi­
vidual social workers made full use of the opportunities depended
on where they lived, where and how long they worked, their finan­
cial resources, and their sense of professional commitment.

The ideal towards which the qualified social workers in
Australia appeared to be moving was an Australia-wide association
containing all qualified social workers, an association which
catered fully for both general and specialist needs; one which
provided a wide range of educational opportunities, alone and in
conjunction with other bodies; an association which was effective
in its community activities, both in its independent action and in
combination with other groups; and one which protected the interests
of its members through raising their status and salaries, through
defining their areas of professional competence, and through sponsoring
a common ethical code.

\footnote{135 A.J.S.W., Vol. XII, No. 1, June 1959, p. 2.
The December 1959 issue was mainly devoted to a single theme,
adult probation and parole. This was an experiment spasmodically
suggested in previous years.}
THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

Returning to the features which tend to be strong in the established professions. To what extent did the occupational group which has been the subject of this study demonstrate these, fifteen-odd years after the second world war?

1. Members of the profession and the rest of the community recognize that it is a distinct occupational group with certain privileges and responsibilities.

Most qualified social workers in Australia now considered they belonged to a distinct occupational group. Their qualification was a university one, similar in broad outline from place to place and over time. The only high-level specialized training which had existed - in medical social work - had become fully integrated with the general social work course. The majority of social workers belonged to a common professional association which had recently absorbed the specialist almoner association. Almoners, the most cohesive group among qualified social workers were now identifying themselves firmly with the group at large. Apart from organisational changes in their training and their professional association, a sign of their identification with all qualified social workers was their use of the term 'social worker', rather than 'almoner', or even 'medical social worker'.

In the community, there was a growing number of people in social welfare, university, and other professional circles, who
were aware of social workers as a distinct occupational group with at least some corporate solidarity. This awareness would, however, have been much stronger in the larger States. The extent to which social workers' clients realized they were using the services of a distinct and responsible occupation group would have varied greatly.

But while there was some measure of recognition, among members themselves and in important sections of the community, that this was a distinct occupational group with collective responsibilities, a number of factors were holding back a greater degree of recognition. Members worked in a bewildering variety of agencies and often not under the titlè of 'social worker', or with the same-named qualification. Sometimes to gain acceptance in the early stages and to meet some genuine need, they assumed work other than that for which they had been trained. Their relationships, particularly with people from other professions, were frequently determined as much by their personal characteristics, their sex, age, and personality, as by their professional competence. Teamwork among various professional team members tended to be haphazard because of changing personnel, the relative newness of some of the professions, and very different ideas about the relative roles of each profession. The likelihood of there being a clear demonstration of professional competence in social work was reduced when social workers did not stay in the one position for any length of time, when they were inexperienced, and when they carried large case loads.
There was no legal bar to anyone attempting to practise social work. Because of the general shortage of qualified social workers, and the continued reliance by numerous agencies, especially in the smaller States, on unqualified or semi-qualified labour, there were still many outside the group claiming to practise social work. Yet the attitudes, skills and knowledge of these people would have been different from qualified social workers'. Where there were substantial numbers of qualified social workers, their work tended to be called social work, the work of others being called welfare work or some other name.

By and large, Australian communities were not alive to their social problems or thought they could be bought off, and so did not connect any professional group with them. The qualified social workers did not publicize their work to any great extent, one reason being that, for many of them, this smacked of self-advertisement. The limited effectiveness of their professional association also held back community recognition of them as a distinct occupational group with collective responsibilities.

But the group could be widely recognized throughout the community without it necessarily having the social standing accorded to the established professions. Many of the qualified social workers' predecessors enjoyed a high social status partly because they did the work voluntarily, but perhaps more important, because they already belonged to the higher socio-economic groups for other reasons.
The grounds on which the new occupational group could expect social recognition were that its work was useful, responsible, and difficult, and it required a preparation comparable with that of the established professions. The very recently improved salaries were a sign that such arguments were beginning to carry weight with employers and that future status would be linked with such factors.

2. A general common purpose, e.g. healing the sick, guides the members' work. The purpose is in reasonable accord with the goals of the wider community.

Through their professional education and organization, qualified social workers had learned to pursue a common purpose. Briefly stated, it was - to help individuals, groups, and communities, to make the most constructive use of themselves and their environment in the solution of their social and personal problems. This was a humanitarian purpose, strongly based on a democratic philosophy.

Social work's aim was not usually in conflict with the goal of economic efficiency adhered to by large parts of this increasingly industrialized society. Repeatedly it was stressed that social work was good business. Social and personal problems were major impediments to the nation's economic productivity. Moreover, so much in terms of money, time, and effort, was spent on social services in the modern society that any improvement by social work in their more effective application was likely to be an economic saving. The helping of individuals and groups to help themselves when possible, was well in accord with the business community's formal emphasis on
individual independence. Generally, although the extent to which human values were placed above others varied in Australian communities, social work's aims were at least in reasonable accord with the goals of a society which, increasingly, was recognizing social rights.

3. A shared intellectual technique, or series of techniques, which is acquired only after a prolonged training at a tertiary educational level. The application of the technique demands originality and judgment, and is not a routine, rule-of-thumb matter. The group recognize a responsibility to maintain and develop the technique which is peculiar to their practice.

From their education at a tertiary level, qualified social workers had learned to apply certain techniques in helping with social and personal problems. They had learned how to practise social casework, social group work and community organization. These techniques required thought and judgment. Any rule-of-thumb application of them was likely to have disastrous consequences, and this was generally recognized. For many social workers, lack of professional experience was limiting the quality of their practice.

There was some awareness of a responsibility to maintain and develop the techniques of social casework, but there was a noticeable lack of systematic study of technique under Australian conditions. Very much less time was spent on developing and maintaining social group work and community organization as techniques for achieving social work's purpose.
4. The fundamental knowledge, or theory at the basis of the group's practice is capable of being set forth systematically, and is at a level of difficulty requiring tertiary education. The group recognise a responsibility to define, develop, and systematise their fundamental knowledge, and have relative freedom to do so. This is a direct responsibility with regard to their own clinical or practitioner experience. For the part of fundamental knowledge borrowed and adapted from other groups, it is the indirect responsibility to support and encourage the activity of those groups. In a scientific age, fundamental knowledge usually means science-based knowledge.

The theory of social casework was by now systematically set down, but again this did not apply so much to the other two methods, group work and community organization. There was no question that students needed to be at a tertiary level to grasp existing theory. As with the application of the technique, the maintenance and development of social casework was much more evident than with the other two methods, but still there was a notable lack of examining casework theory in the light of Australian conditions.

With regard to the part of social work knowledge which was borrowed and adapted from other disciplines, social workers drew heavily from psychology and the social sciences. While subjects themselves may have been systematic, the parts of them relevant to social work practice in many instances still needed to be systematized. Moreover, the social sciences in Australia, especially sociology, were under-developed; in some States much more than in others. Social workers looked favourably upon any extensions of these disciplines, but usually did not actively press for their extension.
5. To safeguard both clients and themselves, members of the group conform to certain standards of behaviour in their relations with their clients and among themselves. The safeguard is needed on two counts. Their practice involves them in details of a private and sometimes intimate nature, and they are experts advising non-experts.

Persons practising social work were involved in details of a private and sometimes intimate nature. Further, they possessed and used information not known by their clients. Through their education and associating together professionally there was some agreement on what was proper professional behaviour. How much their actual behaviour conformed to this is difficult to tell. An ethical code was being made explicit, but questions of its implementation still had to be answered.

6. In their dealings with their clients, service to the client and the community rather than gain to the practitioner or the group is stressed in the ethical code.

There was no suggestion of qualified social workers using clients for their own personal gain. Perhaps no group of people stressed more, both in theory and practice, that service to their clients and the community was their intention. The fact that social workers did not rely upon their clients' fees for their livelihood released them from a self regarding pressure found in other professions.

7. The group as a whole accept responsibility to use their knowledge for the benefit of the community, over and above services to individual clients.

Individually, many social workers felt a responsibility to use their knowledge gained from professional practice to benefit
the community; indeed, many would have seen this as an integral part of their professional practice. Collectively, mainly through their professional association, they assumed similar responsibilities. Social action was still part of the Australian social work tradition, even though it had undergone fluctuating fortunes. Singly and together, social workers were being consulted by a variety of individuals and community bodies about social problems and ways of combating them. The extent of consultation was limited, however, by such major restricting influences as a lack of awareness of the collective existence of qualified social workers, parochialism and suspicion of expertise in social welfare circles, the relatively small numbers of qualified social workers, and the disproportionate number of unmarried, female and inexperienced members in their ranks.

There was not one of these features, then, on which Australian professional social workers did not score at least to some degree. Whether their existing composite score was sufficient to warrant calling them a full-blown profession depended on personal choice, attitude, and knowledge of other professions. For those responsible for the further development of Australian professional social work, the challenges were obvious.
APPENDICES

1A Organizations Represented on N.S.W. B.S.S.T., 1929-40.
B Members of the Executive of N.S.W. B.S.S.T., 1928-40.

2A Organizations Represented on V.C.S.T., 1937 and 1940.
B Members of the Executive and Officers of V.C.S.T., 1933-42.
C Members of M.U. B.S.S., 1941-58.
E Members of the Executive and Officers of V.I.H.A., 1929-50.

3A Organizations Represented on S.A. B.S.S.T., 1936-41.
B Officers and Members of the Executive and Committee for Studies of S.A. B.S.S.T., 1936-41.

4 The Yearly and Cumulative Output of Qualified Social Workers by the Australian Training Bodies, 1931-58.

5A Known Membership of the General Social Workers' and Almoners' Associations in Australia up to 1958.
B Meetings and Average Attendance of Members of the General Social Workers' and Almoners' Associations in Australia up to 1957.
C Presidents and Secretaries of the General Association of Social Workers.
D Presidents and Secretaries of the Almoners' Association.
APPENDIX I

1A Organizations Represented on the New South Wales Board of Social Study and Training, 1929-40

The University of Sydney, 1929-40.
The National Council of Women, 1929-40.
The Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Institutional Church '34/5, Presbyterian Metropolitan Mission and Social Service Dept. '37/8), 1929-40.
The Salvation Army, 1929-40.
City Health Department, 1929-37/8.
Royal Sanitary Institute, 1929-30.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1929-40.
Young Men's Christian Association, 1929-40.
Dr. Barnado Homes Association, 1929-40.
Boys' Brigade, 1929-40.
Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, 1929-40.
Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, 1929-30, '31/2-40.
The Kindergarten Union of N.S.W., 1929-40.
Baby Health Centres (Dept. of Maternal Welfare '34/5...), 1929-40.
Child Welfare Department, 1929-40.
Education Department, 1929-40.
Sydney University Women's Settlement, 1929-40.
Girl Guides' Association, 1929-40.
Toc H, 1930-40.
Rachel Forster Hospital for Women and Children, 1930-40.
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1930-40.
St. John's Ambulance Association, 1930-40.
The N.S.W. Society for Crippled Children, 1931/2-40.
Hospitals Commission of N.S.W., 1931/2-40.
Students' Representation, 1931/2-40.
Children's Court, 1931/2-40.
Church of England Deaconess Institute, 1933/4-36/7.
Benevolent Society of N.S.W., 1933/4-40.
Smith Family, Joyspreaders Unlimited, 1933/35/6.
N.S.W. Community Hospital, 1933/4-40.
Social Workers' Association of N.S.W., 1933/4-36/7.
Red Cross Society (N.S.W. Division), 1933/4-38/9.
St. Vincent de Paul Society, 1933/4-40.
Queen's Jubilee Fund, 1933/4-40.
Children's Library, 1933/4-40.
Child Guidance Council of N.S.W., 1933/4-40.
After-Care Association, 1934/5-40.
Bush Book Club, 1934/5-40.
Catholic Women's Association, 1934/5-40.
Chief Secretary's Department, 1934/5-40.
Department of Family Endowment, 1934/5-40.
Methodist Church of Australasia, 1934/5-40.
Municipal Council of Sydney, 1934/5-40.
National Council of Jewish Women, 1934/5-40.
N.S.W. Bush Nursing Association, 1934/5-40.
Prisoners' Aid Association of N.S.W., 1934/5-40.
Royal Hospital for Women, 1934/5-40.
Royal North Shore Hospital, 1934/5-40.
Sydney Hospital, 1934/5-40.
The Great Synagogue, 1934/5-40.
The Women's Hospital, 1934/5-40.
Lewisham Hospital, 1936/7-40.
Parks and Playgrounds Movement of N.S.W., 1936/6-40.
St. Vincent's Hospital, 1936/7-40.
Council of Social Service of N.S.W., 1937/8-40.
Charity Organisation Society, 1938/9-40.
Diocesan Secretariat of the Apostolate, 1938/9-40.

1B Members of the Executive of the N.S.W. B.S.S.T., 1928-40.

Office Bearers
President: ('Chairman' before '31/2 Report)
Professor H. Tasman Lovell, M.A., Ph.D., 1928-37,
(University).
Professor Harvey Sutton, O.B.E., M.D., B.Sc., D.P.H.,
Vice-Presidents: ('Vice-Chairmen' before '31/2 Report)
R.H. Swainson, O.B.E., 1928-33, (Young Men's Christian Association).
Professor W.S. Dawson, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., D.P.M., 1931/2, '33-40,
(University).
Professor R.C. Mills, LL.M., D.Sc. (Econ.), 1933-5, (University).
Secretary: ('Honorary Secretary' to June, 1932).
Miss B. Buring, 1928-29, (National Council of Women).
Miss M.C. Davis, B.A., 1929 (acting), '30-40.

Honorary Treasurer:
R.H. Swainson, O.B.E., 1930-3 (acting), '33-7, (Young Men's Christian Association).

Director: ('Students' Supervisor' in '30 Report, and March '33 Report).
Miss B. Buring, 1930, (National Council of Women).
Miss Aileen Fitzpatrick, B.A., 1930 (acting), '31-40.

Other Members of the Executive: (None listed in the March '40 Report).
Mrs. A.H. Austin, M.A., 1928-33, (Young Women's Christian Association).
Miss M. Kidd, 1928-39, (Education Department).
Professor R.C. Mills, LL.M., D.Sc. (Econ.), 1928-33, (University).
A.H. Martin, M.A., Ph.D., 1928-38, (University).
J. Purdy, M.D., Ch.M., D.P.H., 1928-33, (City Health Department).
Alderman E.S. Marks, C.B.E., 1933-9, (Municipal Council of Sydney).
Professor Harvey Sutton, O.B.E., M.D., B.Sc., D.P.H., 1933-7, (University).

(From N.S.W. B.S.S.T., Reports and Prospectuses, 1929-40.)
Members of the University of Sydney's Board of Social Studies, 1940-54, and Board of Studies in Social Work, 1955-8. (In some cases, qualifications etc. are not cited.)

Chairman:
Professor A.K. Stout (Moral and Political Philosophy), 1940-58.

Director:

Supervisor of Professional Training:

Members:
The Chancellor, 1940-54.
The Deputy Chancellor, 1940-54.
The Vice-Chancellor, 1940-58.
Professor F.A. Bland (Public Administration), 1940-51.
Dr. Grace Cuthbert-Browne, 1940-54.
E.W. Hogan, 1940-4.
Professor H.T. Lovell (Psychology), 1940-7.
G.D. Martin, 1940-4.
Professor R.C. Mills (Economics), 1940-4.
Mrs. B. Muscio, 1940-54.
Dr. G.E. Phillips, 1940-9.
*Miss Helen Rees, 1940-1.
Professor Harvey Sutton (Preventive Medicine), 1940-7.
Miss Margaret A. Telfer, 1940-54.
*Miss Katharine Ogilvie, 1941-58.
*Miss Lyra Taylor, 1941-2.
Professor A.P. Elkin (Anthropology), 1942-54.
*Mrs. J. Moffatt, 1944-54.
R.H. Hicks, 1945-54.
Professor S.J. Butlin (Economics), 1945-8, '55-8.
W.D. Borrie, 1945-50.
Professor E. Ford (Preventive Medicine), 1948-58.
*Miss Norma Parker, 1946-9.
Professor W.M. O'Neil (Psychology), 1948-58 (Acting Chairman, '49-50).
Professor P. Partridge (Social Philosophy), 1948-52.
Professor J. Ward (History), 1950, '55-6, '58.
T.H. Kewley, 1951-8.
Dr. Morven S. Brown, 1952-4.
Professor J. Anderson (Philosophy), 1955-8.
Professor R.N. Spann (Government and Public Administration),
'55-8.
Dr. F.W. Clements, 1955-8.
Dr. R.E. Murray, 1955-8.
Acting Professor M. Jacobs, 1957.
Professor W.H. Trethowan (Psychiatry), 1957-8.
Professor J.A. Barmes, (Anthropology), 1957-8.
E.L. Wheelwright, 1957-8.

*Qualified social worker

(From the Board's A.Rs. and the University's Calendars)
Members and Associates of the New South Wales Institute of Hospital Almoners, 1938-58.

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Figures at June of the year stated.
From 1951, the Associates figure includes 1 male.
The marriage figures are minimum figures.
Up to 1943, Reports did not clearly distinguish between Associates and Associates who were also Members of the Institute.

(From N.S.W. I.H.A. A.Rs., 1938-58.)
1E Members of the Executive Council and Officers of the N.S.W.

President:

Chairman:
Sir Robert Wade, ... ... , 1937-8.
Colonel Wilfred Vickers, ... ... , 1938-46, (B.M.A.).
Laurence Hughes, ... ... , 1946-58.

Secretary:
Miss M.A. Telfer, B.A. 1937-40.
Miss I. McKinney, B.A., 1940/1.
Miss H.J. Grassick, B.A., 1941-4.
Miss O.M. Elliott, A.I.H.A., 1946/47.
Mrs. P. Alderson, 1949-51.

Honorary Treasurer:

Almoner in Charge of Training:
(53-8 ex officio Council member.)

Tutors in Medical Social Work:
Miss D. Sumner, B.A., MSc., 1947/8.
Miss J. Lupton, ... ... , 1947-54.

Council Members:
Hon. A.E. Colvin, C.B.E., M.C., M.B., Ch.M., F.R.A.C.S., ...
Wilfred Vickers, ... ... , 1937/8, (B.M.A.).
Dame Constance D'Arcy, D.B.E., M.B., Ch.M., F.R.A.C.S., 1937-40,
(S.U.).
Professor Harvey Sutton, O.B.E., M.D., Ch.M., D.P.H., B.Sc.,
Miss A. Fitzpatrick, B.A. 1937-40, (B.S.S.T.)
Miss Frances M. Gillespie, 1937-47.
A.W. Holmes a'Court, M.D., Ch.M., F.R.C.P., 1937-38.
Miss A.M. Kellett, C.B.E., R.R.C., 1937-44.
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Miss S. Davies</td>
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<td>1937-42</td>
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<td>Miss K. Egan</td>
<td>M.B.E.</td>
<td>1937-49</td>
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<td>John Hoets</td>
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<td>Laurence Hughes</td>
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<td>1938-46</td>
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<td>Miss E. Bryson</td>
<td>Cert. B.S.S.T., A.I.H.A.,</td>
<td>1940-3</td>
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<td>E. Sydney Morris</td>
<td>M.D., Ch.M., D.P.H.</td>
<td>1940/1, (H.C.)</td>
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<td>Professor A.K. Stout</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>1940-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Norman Paul</td>
<td>M.B., Ch.M., F.R.A.C.S.</td>
<td>1941-2</td>
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<td>Miss M. Carr</td>
<td>A.I.H.A.</td>
<td>1942-5</td>
<td>(A.A.H.A.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. E. Fordham</td>
<td>B.Sc., A.I.H.A.</td>
<td>1942-4</td>
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<td>Miss A. Maxted</td>
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<td>1943-6</td>
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<td>Miss R. Kirkcaldie</td>
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<td>Miss S. Dovey</td>
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<td>R.A.R. Green</td>
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<td>A.N. Finlay</td>
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<td>C.B. Stinson</td>
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A.A.H.A. - Australian Association of Hospital Almoners (N.S.W. Branch)
B.M.A. - British Medical Association (N.S.W. Branch)
B.S.S. - University Board of Social Studies
D.S.W. - University Department of Social Work
H.C. - Hospitals Commission
S.U. - Sydney University

(From N.S.W. I.H.A., A.Rs., 1938-58.)
APPENDIX 2

2A Organizations Represented on the Victorian Council for Social Training, 1937 and 1940.

1940

University of Melbourne
Charities Board
Children's Welfare Department
Children's Courts
Education Department
Health Department

Housing Commission, Victoria
Mental Hygiene Department
Pensions Office
Sustenance Office

Almoners, Institute of

Anti-Cancer Council
Anzac House Children's Clinic
Baby Health Centres Asscn., Victoria
Baptist Union of Victoria
Benevolent Societies, Vic. Asscn. of
Blind, Asscn. for Advancement of the

Boys' Clubs, Vict. Asscn. of
British Medical Asscn.
Catholic Social Service Bureau
Catholic Women's Social Guild
Charity Organization Society
Children's Welfare Asscn.
Church of Christ, Dept. of Social Service
Church of England Training Institute
Country Women's Asscn.
Crippled Children, Vict. Society for

Domestic Science Asscn.
Brotherhood of St. Laurence
Fred J. Cato Charitable Fund
City Council

Education Reform Asscn.
Educational Research, Ausn. Council for

Headmasters' Asscn.
Headmistresses' Asscn.

Hospitals, Metropolitan:
Royal Melbourne
Alfred
St. Vincent's
Children's
Queen Victoria
Prince Henry's
Eye and Ear
Women's
Household Employment Committee
N Invergowrie Homecraft Hostel
Janet Clarke Hall
N Jewish Welfare Society, Australia.
Kindergarten Union, Free
McPherson College, Emily
Magistrates' Association, Special
Melbourne City Mission
Mental Hygiene, Vict. Council for
Methodist Church Social Service
N Mothers' Clubs, Vict. Federation of
National Council of Women
N New Education Fellowship
N Nurses' Assco.n., Industrial and Insurance
N Nursing Society, Melb. District
N Opportunity Clubs for Boys and Girls
Playgrounds Assco.n. of Victoria
Presbyterian Church
Presbyterian Deaconesses' Training Institutes
N Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Society for
Probation Officers' Assco.n.
N Queen's Fund
N Red Cross Society, Australia
N Rotary Club
St. Mary's Hall
St. Vincent de Paul Society
Salvation Army - Men's Social Work
Women's Social Work
N Social Workers' Vict. Assco.n.of
Stanley Heath Fund
N Superintendents' and Matrons' Assco.n.
Toc H
Travellers' Aid Society
N Understanding of Human Adjustment, Assoc. for the
Vocational and Child Guidance Assco.n. of Vict.
N Women's College, University
Women Graduates Assco.n., Victoria
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Men's Christian Association, National Assco.n.
Young Women's Christian Association

N = not represented in 1937.

The following were represented in 1937 but not in 1940:
Victorian Women Citizens' Assco.n.
Church of England
Central Council of Victorian Benevolent Societies
Girls' Employment Movement
Y.W.C.A. National Organization

(From V.C.S.T., A.Rs., 1937 and 1940.)
Members of the Executive and Officers of the V.C.S.T., 1933-42.
(The Board of Social Studies and the Executive were identical, 1935-40).

President:

Vice-President:
Professor A. Boyce Gibson, M.A., 1936-42.
H.F. Maudsley, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.P.M., 1940.

Chairman of the Board of Social Studies:
Associate-Professor G.L. Wood, M.A., Litt.D., 1933-5.
Professor A. Boyce Gibson, M.A., 1935-40.

Chairman of the Executive:
Professor G.W. Paton, M.A., B.C.L., 1942.

Hon. Secretary:
Professor J.A. Gunn, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., 1933-40.

Secretary to the Board of Social Studies:
Miss L.M. Henderson, M.A., LL.B., 1933-4.

Hon. Treasurer:
S. Greig Smith, F.A.I.S., 1933-4.
D.I. Menzies, LL.B., 1938-41.
Mrs. C.H. Kellaway, B.A., 1942.

Director:


Field Work Tutor:

Executive:
R.S. Ellery, M.D., 1933-4.
K.S. Cunningham, M.A., Ph.D., 1933-4.
J. McRae, M.A., 1933-4.
Mrs. G.G. Henderson, 1933-4.
Atlee Hunt, C.M.G., 1933-4.
Members of the University of Melbourne's Board of Social Studies, 1941-58. (In most cases, qualifications etc. are not cited.)

Chairman:
Professor G.W. Paton (Jurisprudence), 1941-3.
Professor A. Boyce Gibson (Philosophy), 1943-7.
Professor R.M. Crawford (History), 1948-50, '54-7.
Professor O.A. Oeser (Psychology), 1951-3.
Professor R.I. Downing (Research Economics), 1958.

Director of Social Studies:
* Jocelyn S. Hyslop, B.Sc.(Econ.), 1941-4. (Senior Lecturer)

Members:
The Vice-Chancellor, 1941-58.
(The Dean of the Faculty of Arts, 1941-58)
(The Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce, 1956-8)
Professor P. MacCallum (Pathology), 1941-50.
Professor Wright (Physiology), 1941-54.
Professor G.L. Wood (Commerce), 1941-53.
G.F. James, 1941.
*Miss D. Bethune, 1941-58.
S. Greig Smith, 1941-58.
Mrs. C.H. Kellaway, 1941-4.
Mrs. Herbert Brookes, 1941-58.
Mrs. C.J.Z. Woinarski, 1941-2.
Mrs. E.W. Tilley, 1942-3.
C.R. Badger, 1941-7.
Mrs. J.D.G. Medley, 1941-9.
Dr. Georgina Sweet, 1941-5.
Dr. C.V. Mackay, 1941-2, (Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria).
Professor Crawford (History, 1942, '44-7, '53, '58.
Dr. R.A. Willis, 1942-4, (Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria).
Mrs. K. Fitzpatrick, 1943-4.
Dr. H.M.L. Murray, 1943-50.
*Miss T. Wardell, 1943-8.
Professor Chisholm (French), 1944.
Professor Paton (Jurisprudence), 1944-6.
*Miss J. Tuxen, 1944-7, (Australian Red Cross Society).
Dr. R. Kaye Scott, 1944-'50, (Victorian Institute of Hospital Almoners).
*Miss R. Hoban, 1944.
Professor Prest (Economics), 1945-6, '48-56.
*Miss A. Player, 1945-9.
*Miss G.V. Gaetjens, 1945-6.
Dr. R.C. Johnson, 1946-52.
Dr. A.E. Brown, 1946-7, (Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria).
Professor Oeser (Psychology), 1947-50, '54-8.
*A.S. Livingstone, 1947-52.
*Miss M. Yeomans, 1947.
*Miss L. Taylor, 1947-52.
Miss R. Clarke, 1947-8, (Australian Red Cross Society).
Professor Maxwell (English), 1948-50.
*Miss A. Hyde, 1949-58.
Mrs. L. O'Brien, 1949-58.
*Miss G.A. Rennison, 1949-56.
Acting Professor Weller, 1949.
*Miss M. Urquhart, 1949-50, (Australian Red Cross Society).
Professor Henderson, (Mechanical Engineering), 1950-5.
Professor Burke (Fine Arts), 1951-4.
*Miss A. Hartshorn, 1951-4.
Professor Moorhouse, 1951-8.
*Miss J. Borthwick, 1951-4, (Australian Red Cross Society).
Professor MacMahon Ball, (Political Science), 1952-4, '56, '57-8.
Professor Cowen (Public Law), 1953-8.
Professor Hunt (Classical Studies), 1955-7.
Associate Professor Morris (Criminology), 1955-6.
Miss D. Coverlid, 1956-8.
Mrs. A. Cahn, 1956-8.
Dr. W. Richards, 1956-8.
Dr. L. Thomas, 1956-8.
Dr. L.H. Whitaker, 1956-8.
Mr. Justice Barry, 1956-8.
Dr. E. Cunningham Dax, 1956-8.
*Miss Betty Dow, 1956-8.
Professor Sir Alexander Fitzgerald, 1957.
Acting Prof. Polglaze, 1957-8.
*Dr. R.G. Brown, 1957-8.
Professor Lovell (Medicine), 1957-8.
*Miss N. Hillas, 1957-8.
*Miss Margaret Kelso, 1958.

*Qualified social worker

(From the Board's records, and the University's Calendars).


Austin Hospital, 1929-33.
Children's Hospital, 1929-48.
Eye and Ear Hospital, 1929-33, 1945-8.
Homoeopathic Hospital (Prince Henry's Hospital, 1934), 1929-33, '48.
Melbourne Hospital Almoner Auxiliary, 1929-33.
Queen Victoria Hospital for Women and Children, 1929-33, '38-48.
St. Vincent's Hospital, 1929-37, '45-8.
Women's Hospital, 1929-48.
Convalescent Home for Men, 1929-33.
Melbourne District Nursing Society, 1929-38.
Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy, 1929-33.
University of Melbourne, 1929-48.
Health Department Central Tuberculosis Bureau, 1929-48.
Central Council of Benevolent Societies, 1929-33.
Presbyterian Church Social Services Committee, 1929-33.
Baptist Union, 1929-33.
Methodist Church, 1929-33.
Church of Christ Social Service Department, 1929-33.
Australian Association of Hospital Almoners (later, Vict. Branch), 1933-48.
Melbourne Board of Social Studies (Victorian Council for Social Training), 1933-43.
Alfred Hospital, 1936-48.
Geelong and District Hospital, 1936-48.
Anti-Cancer Council of Victoria, 1940-8.
Australian Red Cross Society (Victorian Division), 1944-8.

2E Members of the Executive and Officers of the V.I.H.A., 1929-'50.
(In most cases, qualifications etc. are not cited. The initials in brackets refer to organizations in Appendix 2D).

President:
B.T. Zwar, F.R.C.S. - Acting 1932.

Vice-Presidents:
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Dr. C.V. Mackay, 1940-4.
Dr. R. Kaye Scott, 1940-50.
Miss J. Tuxen, 1941-2.
Miss C. Good, 1942-5.
Mrs. Alistair Hay, 1942-5.
Mr. A.R. Henderson, 1942-9.
Miss J. Bage, 1942-50, (R.M.H.).
Miss R. Hoban, 1945-50, (B.S.S.).
Prof. P. MacCallum, 1945-50.
Miss U. Riall, 1945-8.

(From V.I.H.A., A.Rs., and Minutes.
For some periods these are incomplete.)
APPENDIX 3

3A Organizations Represented on the South Australian Board of Study and Training, 1936-1941.

University of Adelaide, 1936-41.
Department of Education, 1936-41.
Police Department, 1936-41.
Adelaide Children's Court, 1936-41.
National Council of Women, 1936-41.
Women's Non-Party Association, 1936-41.
Young Men's Christian Association, 1936-41.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1936-41.
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1936-41.
Kindergarten Union of South Australia, 1936-41.
Mothers' and Babies' Health Association, 1936-41.
Toc H, 1936-41.
Boy Scouts' Association, 1936-41.
Legacy Club, 1936-41.
Minda Home, 1936-41.
District and Trained Nursing Society, 1936-41.
Central Methodist Mission, 1936-41.
Queen's Home Inc., 1936-41.
Salvation Army, 1936-41.
Prisoners' Aid Society, 1936-37.
Adelaide Benevolent Society, 1936-41.
Council of Churches, 1936-41.
Women Graduates' Association, 1936-41.
Headmistresses' Association, 1937-41.
League of Women Helpers (Toc H), 1937-41.
Mental Hygiene Council, 1937-41.
South Australian Committee for Crippled Children, 1937-41.
National Council of Jewish Women (Adelaide Section), 1938-41.
Housewives' Association, 1938-41.
Catholic Guild for Social Studies, 1939-41.
Occupational Therapy Association, 1940-41.

3B Officers and Members of the Executive and Committee for Studies of the S.A. B.S.T., 1936-41 (to 1940 only for the Committee for Studies).

President:
Hon. Mr. Justice F.W. Richards, 1936-41.

Vice-Presidents:
The Lord Bishop of Adelaide, 1936-41.
Professor Sir Stanton Hicks, M.D., M.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C., F.C.S., 1936-41.
Professor G.V. Portus, M.A., 1936-41.
Professor J. McKellar Stewart, M.A., D.Phil., 1936-41.
Miss Harriet Stirling, O.B.E., 1936-41.

Honorary Secretary:
Miss Stella Pines, 1936.
Miss Irene L. Glasson, 1936-8.
H.H. Penny, M.A., Ph.D., 1938-41.

Treasurer:

Director:
Mrs. Amy Wheaton, M.A., BSc. (Econ.), 1936-41.

Chairman of the Executive:

Executive:
Colin Badger, 1936.
Constance M. Davey, M.A., Ph.D., 1936-41.
Mrs. E.S. Levinson, B.A., J.P., 1936.
Mrs. M. Wilcher, 1936-41.
Miss Doris Beeston, 1936-9.
Miss R.M. Winter, 1936.
Mrs. D.P. McGuire, 1936-9, '40-1.
Miss AnnaMenz, B.A., 1936-41.
Ethel Hillier, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., 1937-41.
Miss Irene L. Glasson, 1938-41.
Professor J. McKellar Stewart, 1938-9.
A.J. Gibbs, 1939-41.
Professor K.S. Isles, B.Com., M.A., MSc., 1940.

Chairman of the Committee for Studies:
Constance M. Davey, M.A., Ph.D., 1937-40.

Committee for Studies:
Constance M. Davey, M.A., Ph.D., 1936.
Helen Mayo, O.B.E., M.D., BSc., 1936.
Mrs. C. McDonnell, 1936.
Miss Stella Pines, 1936-7.
*Miss Neall, 1938-40.
Marjorie P.C. Smith, M.B., B.S., 1940.
Professor K.S. Isles, B.Com., M.A., M.Sc., 1940.
The Director.
The Honorary Secretary.

*Qualified social worker.

(From S.A. B.S.S.T., Reports and Minute Books, 1936-41.)

Members of the University of Adelaide's Board of Social Science, 1942-8, Board of Studies in Social Science 1948-57, and Board of Studies in Social Studies, 1957-8. (In most cases, qualifications etc. are not cited.)

Chairman:
Professor J. McKellar Stewart (Philosophy), 1942-53.
Professor P.H. Karmel (Economics and Statistics), 1954-6.

Lecturer-in-Charge (Senior Lecturer-in-Charge, 1955):
Mrs. Amy G. Wheaton, M.A., B.Sc. (Econ), 1942-58.

Members:
The Chancellor, 1942-58.
The Vice-Chancellor, 1942-58.
The Dean of the Faculty of Arts, 1949-58.
His Grace Archbishop Beovich, 1942-56.
The Chairman of the Education Committee, 1957-8.
Sir Frederick Richards, 1942-56.
Professor K.S. Isles (Economics), 1942-5.
Professor G.V. Portus (History and Political Science), 1942-50.
Dr. Constance Davey, 1942-56.
R.J. Coombe, 1942-56.
Dr. H.A. Powell, 1942-4.
Dr. H.M. Southwood, 1942-56.
Dr. M. Gasley Smith, 1942-56.
Miss Estelle Bennell, 1942-53.
Miss D. Curtis, 1942-7.
Miss I.L. Glasson, 1942-6.
*Miss J. Lupton, 1942-6.
Miss A. Menz, 1942-55.
Dr. H.H. Penny, 1942-56.
Dr. C.E. Fenner, 1943-9.
Dr. Helen Mayo, 1943-58.
Professor Sir Mark Mitchell (Biochemistry and General Physiology),
1943-58.
C.G. Lewis (Children's Welfare and Public Relief Dept.), 1943-56.
Mrs. Brian Cornell, 1943-6.
Mrs. H.M. Lewis, 1946-56.
Professor A.A. Abbie (Anatomy and Histology), 1948-56, '58.
Rev. Father Russell, '49.
Professor W.G.K. Duncan (History and Political Science; Politics,
Dr. N.D. Crosby, 1952.
*Miss F.J. MacLennan, 1952-8.
U.T. Place, 1952-4.
Professor J.J.C. Smart, 1952-6.
L.W. Lawless (Commonwealth Dept. of Social Services), 1953-6.
Miss F. Christian, 1953-5.
*Miss Mary Jury, 1955-6.
Dr. A.W. Meadows, 1956-8.
Professor E. Stretton (History), 1956-8.
Dr. H.R. Gilmore, 1957-8.
*C.E.M. Harris (S.A. Branch, A.A.S.W.), 1957-8.
Dr. B.S. Hetzel, 1958.
Dr. P.G. Martin, 1958.
*Miss F.C. Shaw, 1958.

*Qualified social worker.

(From the Board's records and the University's Calendars.)
## APPENDIX 4

**THE YEARLY AND CUMULATIVE OUTPUT OF QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKERS BY THE AUSTRALIAN TRAINING BODIES, 1931-58.**

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|        |      |    | 430 | 69 | 499 | 158 | 20 | 178 | 166 | 22 | 188 |      |      |      |

**S.U. B.S.S.**
|        |        | 8  | 62 | 2  | 13 | 4  | 43 | 8  | 40 | 3  | 15 |      |      |      |

**M.U. B.S.S.**
|        |        | 12 | 75 | 7  | 20 | 7  | 50 | 5  | 45 |     | 7  | 22 |      |      |      |

**A.U. B.S.Sc.**
|        |        | 14 | 3  | 131 | 14 | 145 | 7  | 22 | 4  | 2  | 151 |      |      |      |

**TOTALS**
- N.S.W.: 157
- V.C.S.T.: 23
- S.A.: 203

**University-Trained**
- N.S.W.: 157
- V.C.S.T.: 23
- S.A.: 203

|        |        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

**F = Female**
**M = Male**
**C.T. = Cumulative Total**

*(From A.Rs. and University Calendars)*
### APPENDIX 5

**5A Known Membership of the General Social Workers' and Almoners' Associations in Australia up to 1958.**

| Year | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| N.S.W. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 6  | 15 |   |   |   | 90 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 140| 140| 154| 122| 122|   |   | 130| 134| 163|   |
| Gen.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Alm.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| VIC.  | 9  | 16 | 18 | 21 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 25 | 27 | 33 | 37 | 36 | 37 | 40 | 39 | 48 | 48 | 36 | 41 | 39 | 38 | 36 | 40 | 114| 118|   |   |    |   |
| Gen.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Alm.  | 6  | 8  | 9  | 12 | 15 | 18 | 23 | 21 | 27 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| S.A.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 49 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
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| Alm.  | 8  | 16 | 24 | 24 | 15 | 17 | 10 | 11 | 16 | 11 | 15 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Q.    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 13 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gen.  | 7  | 13 | 11 | 22 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 15 | 14 | 19 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| W.A.  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gen.  | 7  | 6  | 6  | 8  | -  | -  | -  | 9  | -  | 1  | 12 | 14 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

These figures give only a rough guide - see p.

(Largely from A.Rs. of the Association)
5B. Meetings and Average Attendance of Members (in brackets) of the General Social Workers' and Almoners' Associations in Australia up to 1957.

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G = Meetings of the general membership.  
Ex = Meetings of the executive group.  
M = Monthly meetings, usually about 8 a year.  
- = Details not known.

These figures do not necessarily give the total attendance at meetings. Interested outsiders were sometimes invited to the general meetings, particularly in the smaller Branches, and to the annual general meetings of all Branches.

In addition to the above, members met at conferences, and in the study groups and special committees which were becoming prevalent in the larger Branches in the 1950's.

(From Minute Books and A.Rs. of the Associations.)
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