Swimming with Dolphins: The Assessment Framework, New Labour and New Tools for Social Work with Children and Families

Paul Michael Garrett

Paul Michael Garrett is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Nottingham. His book, Remaking Social Work with Children and Families *(Routledge), is to be published later this year. He is also the author of a recent report for the AU-Party Irish in Britain Parliamentary Group. This is called* The Hidden Ethnic Minority: Social Work, Social Services Departments and Irish Children and Families *(Action Group for Irish Youth).*

Correspondence to Dr Paul Michael Garrett, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD, UK. E-mail: paul.garrett@nottingham.ac.uk

Summary

Local authorities, in England, implemented the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families* in April 2001. The Framework is the first 'official' standard assessment model intended for use in the initial assessment of all 'children in need' under Part 111, section 17 of the 1989 Children Act. This new 'conceptual map' needs to be understood in terms of previous policy documents and earlier technologies of intervention related to child protection and, more broadly, child welfare. However, it also needs to be more expansively perceived, fixed and located as it relates to other elements in New Labour's political 'project'. The Framework's preoccupation with an ecological approach to assessments and with questionnaires and scales are likely to have major implications for social work practice and for micro-engagements with children and families.

Introduction

> The introduction of the Assessment Framework can be seen in terms of a journey that needs to be made by the workforce between the 'island of current assessment practice' and the 'island of new assessment practice'. . . . The sharks can be seen as the . . . barriers to the introduction of change. The dolphins are the promoters of change (Department of Health, NSPCC, University of Sheffield, 2000, p. 75).

This article seeks to analyse and comment on aspects of *The Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families* (Department of Health, Department for Education and Employment, Home Office 2000) and accompanying materials. Chief amongst the latter are the contributions in the following:

- *The Child's World—Assessing Children in Need: Reader* (Department of Health, 2000*a*);

- *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance* (Department of Health, 2000*b*);

- *The Child's World: Assessing Children in Need—Trainer Modules* (Department of Health, NSPCC, University of Sheffield, 2000);

- *The Family Pack of Questionnaires and Scales* (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000).[1]

Below the intention is to provide part of the context for the evolution of the *Framework* by referring to some of the comments of its primary definers and a number of the relevant background documents which have been issued by the Department of Health since the late-1980s. This will be followed by an articulation of the new assessment paradigm featured in the *Framework*. It is then suggested that the *Framework* can be more fruitfully understood, not only in terms of previous policy documents and earlier technologies of intervention related to child protection and, more broadly, child welfare; it also needs to be more expansively perceived, fixed and located as it relates to other elements in New Labour's political project (see also Powell, 1999). In this context it is further suggested that the trajectory of welfare policies in the United States are relevant. The discussion will then conclude by examining, in more detail, two facets of the *Framework* which are of major importance for social workers' micro-engagements with children and families: first, the *Framework*'s theoretical pre-occupation with an ecological approach to social work assessments; second, the significance of the questionnaires and scales which accompany the *Framework*.

Framing the Framework

The *Framework* is issued under section 7 of the 1970 Local Authority Social Services Act which requires local authority social services to act under the general guidance of the Secretary of State. As such the *Framework* lacks the full force of statute, but will be complied with 'unless local circumstances indicate exceptional reasons which justify a variation' (Department of Health *et al*., 2000, Preface). In practical terms, therefore, the *Framework* is likely to be viewed as mandatory. Making clear the centralizing consequences of this development it is emphasized that the 'protocols, procedures, forms and methods of record keeping and practice

---

[1] All references to *The Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families* will use the shorthand the '*Framework*' and (Department of Health *et al*., 2000). The Department of Health publication *The Child's World: Assessing Children in Need—Reader* that appeared in 2000 was subsequently published as Howarth, J. (ed.) (2001).

resources of all authorities and agencies should be consistent with the Assessment Framework and the principles which underpin it' (Department of Health, 2000*b*, p. 114). In April 2001 the *Framework* was implemented in England and implementation also followed in Wales in April 2002.

Importantly, the new assessment model 'builds on and supersedes' *Protecting Children: A Guide for Social Workers undertaking a Comprehensive Assessment* (Department of Health, 1988; see also Department of Health *et al.*, 2000, Preface). A good deal of the 'thinking' which underpinned the so-called 'orange book' has, however, been 'incorporated' into the *Framework* (Department of Health *et al.*, 2000, Preface). Despite the redundancy of this, heavily criticized, earlier assessment schedule it is still of some use, we are advised, because it continues to 'contain a useful set of questions' (Adcock, 2000, p. 63). However, some of the problems associated with it are acknowledged since inspections and research have shown that the guide was 'sometimes followed mechanistically and used as a checklist, without any differentiation according to the child or family' (Department of Health *et al.*, 2000, Preface). As we shall see later, however, this comment seems somewhat paradoxical given the proliferation of questionnaires and scales introduced as part of the *Framework*'s package of materials. The defective 'orange book' was designed to provide an assessment framework for *long-term* planning in families where there are child protection concerns, but the new *Framework* is intended for use in the initial assessment of all 'children in need'. Consequently, it is 'embedded' in the revised *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (Department of Health, Home Office, Department for Education and Employment, 1999) and for the 'first time children who are referred to a social services department will be assessed according to the same dimensions irrespective of their presenting needs' (Department of Health, 2000*c*, p. 74; see also Cantwell, 2000).

A prominent factor prompting the introduction of the *Framework* is connected to 'research findings regarding the . . . narrow focus on child abuse . . . in terms of social workers' understanding of the assessment task and outcomes for children and families' (Howarth, 2000, p. 19). As a result, family support services have been slow to evolve and there has been an 'emphasis' in practice 'on a reactive social policing role with services targeted at children at risk of significant harm' (Howarth, 2000, p. 20; see also Department of Health, 2000*c*). As 'a result of the focus on child protection' the assessment of children and families became 'characterised as assessment of the risk of abuse' (Rose, 2000, p. 30). The influential *Child Protection: Messages from Research* (Department of Health, 1995), together with other reports (such as that of the Audit Commission, 1994), are also revisited in order to remind us that 'a negative environment, particularly one of low warmth and high criticism is likely to be more damaging in the long-term than an isolated incident of physical abuse' (Howarth, 2000, p. 21; see also Campbell 1996, 1997; Cleaver *et al.*, 1999). Another key theme which has prompted the *Framework*'s evolution is identified as the growth of 'mutually exclusive' family support and child protection services (Howarth, 2000, p. 24). In addition, the lack of emphasis placed on environmental and familial networks

and the failure to integrate a child, or family's, 'strengths' as well as 'difficulties' into assessments. Much of this is familiar, of course, in terms of the refocusing debate which took place in Britain and the United States in the 1990s (see also, Kamerman and Kahn, 1990; Waldfogel, 1998, 2000). The key departure here, however, is that a new assessment paradigm, or 'conceptual map' (Howarth, 2000, p. 26) has been created to enable social workers to address their theoretical and practice shortcomings. In brief, the approach to the assessment of children and families needed to be 'altered and *modernised*' (Howarth, 2000, p. 24, emphasis added).

As will be suggested later, the *Framework* is firmly rooted in New Labour's 'modernising' project and needs to be responded to by taking into account this social and political dimension (see also Department of Health, 1998*a*). Specific-ally—and prior to exploring the 'conceptual map'—it should also be emphasized that the *Framework* is a 'central plank' of the Blair administration's *Quality Protects* (QP) programme which is concerned with improving children's services (Department of Health, 1998*a*, 1998*b*, 1998*c*; Hutton *et al.*, 2000). Here, the *Framework* will, we are advised, assist local authorities in meeting one of the QP objectives to 'ensure that referral and assessment processes discriminate effectively between different types and levels of need, and produce a timely service response' (Department of Health, 1999: Preface; see also Department of Health, 2000*c*, ch. 8).
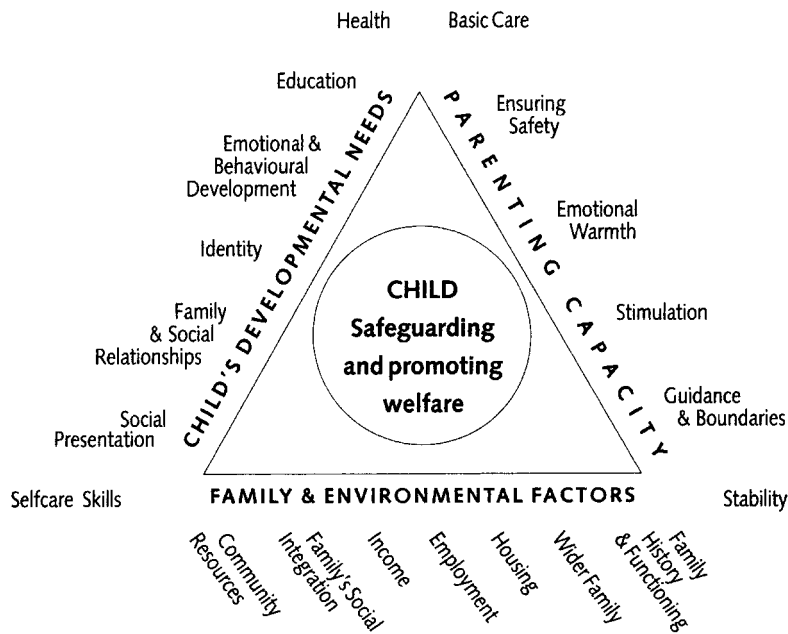

Figure 1 The Assessment Framework

Reading the Map

The *Framework* is pictorially represented in the form of a triangle or pyramid with the child's welfare at the centre and this 'conceptual map' is to be used by social workers and other social care professionals to 'understand what is happening to children in whatever setting they may be growing up' (Department of Health, 1999, p. 26). The social work assessment of children and their families should, therefore, take into account 'three systems or domains whose interactions have a direct impact on the current long-term wellbeing of a child' (Rose, 2000, p. 32). These are identified as a child's developmental needs, the parenting capacity and the family and environmental factors (Department of Health *et al*., 2000, ch. 2). Figure 1 indicates how each of these 'systems or domains' is further sub-divided into a series of other dimensions.

The 'child's developmental needs' domain inherits those dimensions formulated by the creators of the 'Looking After Children' (LAC) system which was designed for use with children in public care (Parker *et al*., 1991; Ward, 1995). Here is not the place to return to the criticism previously levelled at the LAC approach (see Knight and Caveney, 1998; Garrett, 1999a; Garrett, 2002a). However, it is notable that within the discourse centred on the new *Framework*, there has been a slight shift in terms of how particular aspects of children's development are regarded and this is apparent in a brief, but revised and less prescriptive discussion on 'social presentation' (Ward, 2000, p.131; see also Kilroe, 1996). None the less, both LAC system and the *Framework* retain a similar view of the world in that social and economic relationships are uncritically perceived and presented as providing an unquestioned foundation for familial dynamics and interpersonal relationships. Thus, in one of the new *Core Assessment Records*, we find that social workers are expected to ascertain if young people respect 'the concept of ownership' (and to blandly answer 'Yes/No) (Question B13). In the context of an assessment of 'parental capacity', social workers are also expected to assess if the 'parent teaches respect for the law' (Question B32). Similarly, workers are directed to find out if parents provide guidance on 'good manners' (Question B28). Elsewhere, and somewhat cryptically, in the same document, it is asked if the parents' relationship with 'those in authority' is generally 'harmonious'? (Question B29). Whilst sharing aspects of the same ideological disposition as the LAC enterprise, the new *Framework* will, however, be used with a far larger group of service users. In this sense these authoritarian questions are, perhaps, rendered even more significant and are likely to be troubling for many social workers and users of services. Such questions can also be associated, as will be suggested below, with a new political fixation in both Britain and the United States, with the personal behaviour of welfare recipients.

More explicitly, in terms of a narrower professional discourse, the 'domain' preoccupied with 'parental capacity' (see also Jones, 2000) is heavily influenced by *Child Protection: Messages from Research* (Department of Health, 1995) and particular attention is directed, in the associated commentary materials, to families where there are issues related to mental illness, drug and alcohol misuse and domestic violence (Cleaver, 2000; Rose and Aldgate, 2000; see also Cleaver *et al*.,

1999). Importantly, and perhaps taking into account firmly grounded criticisms that social work assessments have tended to centre on and scrutinize only mothers, the new *Framework*, on occasions, also stresses that fathers need to be adequately assessed (Department of Health *et al*., 2000; see also Garrett, 2001).

The third 'domain', concerned with 'family and environmental factors' is included because of the way in which 'individuals and families internalise social and cultural norms so that the world outside lives in the minds and feelings of those within the family' (Stevenson in Rose, 2000, p. 25). This psychodynamic approach to environmental factors is, however, coupled to a more subtle and emphatic understanding of the impact of poverty on parenting and family functioning (see also Garrett, 2002*c*). This fresh acknowledgement, within the official discourse of child-care social work, is striking and welcome and sets the *Framework* apart from child-care policy documents produced by the previous administrations of Thatcher and Major (see, for example, Rose, 2000, pp. 31–2; Rose and Aldgate, 2000, pp. 14–15). Clearly, this is connected to New Labour granting 'permission' for poverty to be discussed and this aspect of the *Framework* will be returned to below (see also Blair, 1999). More generally, 'inclusive practice' features as a recurring motif throughout the Framework (Department of Health *et al*., 2000, pp. 26–7). This construct, as we shall see later, is inescapably welded to New Labour's 'social exclusion' discourse, and it seeks to provide a new theoretical anchorage for a range of child-care social work issues previously formulated in terms of 'anti-discriminatory', 'anti-oppressive' or 'anti-racist' practice. Marchant and Jones (2000) and Dutt and Phillips (2000), therefore, usefully seek to relate the use of the 'conceptual map' to social work interventions where questions of disability, 'race' and ethnicity are central. In the latter contribution we also find a welcome, but still problematic, discussion on white ethnicities (see also Garrett, 1998, 2002*b*, 2003*a*).

Finally, the cartographers are intent on stressing that their endeavours are driven by the 'evidenced based approach' (Gray, 2000, p. 8; in this context, see also Webb, 2001). The 'body of knowledge available to those who struggle with today's problems of child care is still rudimentary compared to the physical sciences; but is by far and away greater than we could have called upon in the past' (Parker in Gray, 2000). As a consequence of these developments the *Framework* is, therefore, 'grounded in knowledge' (Rose and Aldgate, 2000, p. 1). Knowledge is then defined as 'theory, research findings and practice experience in which confidence can be placed to assist the gathering of information, its analysis and the choice of intervention in formulating the child's plan' (Rose and Aldgate, 2000, p. 1). This epistemological orientation also sets out to partition off 'ideology' and to combat potential ideological contamination: 'It is . . . important not to confuse theory with ideology. Work with children and families has sometimes been subject to fashionable ideologies which may dictate the style of work adopted. Ideological approaches should never get in the way of ethical and professional practice' (Rose and Aldgate, 2000, p. 1). As with its LAC predecessor, therefore, the social work practice which the *Framework* seeks to promote risks becoming merely a composite set of technical assessment tasks driven by 'evidenced based knowledge' about 'what works' (see also MacDonald and Roberts, 1995; Hodgkinson, 2000; Taylor and White, 2001).

Furthermore, this flattened practice, bolstered by a positivistic conception of social sciences, would seem to exist above and beyond 'ideology'. A social work, in fact, for the 'third way' (see also Jordan with Jordan, 2000).

New Labour, New Framework

The *Framework* is firmly embedded in New Labour's vision for Britain and this is apparent in the materials associated with the new assessment paradigm. The vocabulary of the Blair administration is found throughout and, more fundamentally, various authors are keen to stress where the *Framework* features in the government's social and economic plans. Jack, for example, excitedly proclaims:

> The Labour government, elected in 1997, has recognised the importance of tackling child poverty and has set itself the ambitious target of eliminating it altogether by the year 2019. Economic policies have been introduced: the national minimum wage, New Deals to improve employment opportunities, tax credits for working families, children and child care increases to child benefit which are designed to lift 700,000 children out of poverty within three years. Other programmes include Sure Start for early child care and Action Zones to pilot ways of improving education, health and communities (Jack, 2000, p. 50; see also Gray, 2000).

Comments such as these invite us, therefore, to widen the analytical net and to locate the Framework within New Labour's 'project' and to engage with some of New Labour's focal ideas and pre-occupations; particularly those related to the 'new paternalism' and 'social exclusion'.

A number of New Labour's main ideas on the welfare state have been influenced by the 'welfare reforms' of the Clinton administration. Walker (1999, p. 683), for example, has argued that the Blair administration 'resonates with a potpourri of U.S. influences' (see also Etzioni, 1995, Swanson, 2000; Deacon 2000; Prideaux, 2001; Prince, 2001). Significant here, within this constellation of dominant approaches to welfare, is the range of ideas which have been referred to as the 'new paternalism'. This has been defined as social polices 'aimed at the poor that attempt to reduce poverty and other social problems by directive and supervisory means'. Consequently, programmes based on these policies 'help the needy but also require that they meet certain behavioural requirements. . . . These measures assume that the people concerned need assistance but that they also need direction if they are to live constructively' (Mead, 1997, p. 3). The suggestion here, therefore, is that a British variant of the 'new paternalism' can be understood to provide part of the ideological backdrop for the new *Framework*.

An important element in this approach to welfare lies in the notion that there exists a 'contract' between government and governed. Central here is 'conditional' welfare and this is most emphatically illuminated, of course, in relation to the work obligations with the New Deal (see also Etzioni, 1995, pp. 82–3). However, 'conditional' welfare is now also apparent in other welfare domains where behavioural compliance is required before aid from the state becomes available. This applies, for

example, to access to council housing (conditional on behaviour) and maternity grants (conditional on child health check-ups) (see Powell, 2000, p. 47; Vaux, 2000; Young, 2000). Although outside the scope of this discussion, the emergence of a new discourse on child adoption, again reflective, in part, of developments in the United States, might also be interpreted in this way as it relates to birth parents (Garrett, 2002*c*; see also Cabinet Office, 2000; McGowan and Walsh, 2000).

Importantly, this 'new politics of conduct' (in Deacon and Mann, 1999, p. 426) and the focus on personal behaviour is now played out in an array of micro-engagements and is framed by, for example, parenting orders and envisaged encounters with a seemingly benign phalanx of personal advisers, mentors, 'big brothers and sisters' and so on (Garrett, 2002*d*; see also HMSO, 1998). This re-invigorated drive to remoralize and to create a network of supervisory and tutorial relationships is rooted in what Deacon (2000, p. 11) has aptly dubbed 'Anglicanised communitarianism' (see also Donzelot, 1979; Campbell, 1995; 'Blair's moral crusade' *The Observer* 2 September 1999; Butler and Drakeford, 2001). These developments and transformations, for many indicators of 'governmentality' (e.g. Rose and Miller, 1992), are enmeshed, moreover, in discourses and practices centred in children and families. More precisely, they are frequently pre-occupied with the 'parenting capacity' of socially and economically marginalized parents, often mothers (Milner, 1993; Krane and Davies, 2000; Turney 2000; see also Smart, 1992). This is reflected in the discourse on the *Framework* in, for example, Jack's (2000, p. 44) uncritical references to research in the USA which was entirely focused on 'neglectful' mothers.

Utilizing aspects of the current dominant discourse on parenting, for explicitly political purposes, Hoghugi and Speight (1998) have also made a rather chilling plea for governments to become the 'parents of society' arguing that:

> Governments should be regarded as the parents of society. A 'not good enough parent' of a government will show a general lack of care for the whole population, will put its own interests first, will discriminate against some of its 'children' in favour of others and will react excessively punitively when some of its children misbehave. A 'good enough parent' of a government will truly care for all its children and will seek to promote their welfare, while still being firm and fair in applying sanctions for unacceptable behaviour (Hoghugi and Speight, 1998, p. 295; see also Taylor *et al.*, 2000).

The suggestion here, on account of aspects of the cultural and political context reflected in statements such as the above, is that it becomes increasingly difficult to extricate specific technologies of social work intervention, such as the new *Framework*'s 'parenting capacity' construct, from more encompassing patterns, pre-occupations and projects. In brief, despite the claims of the *Framework*'s formulators, 'ideology' and 'ethical and professional practice' (Rose and Aldgate, 2000, p. 1) cannot, as they suggest, be so easily separated out.

Lewis (2000, p. 268), moreover, has identified the 'reinscription of the heterogeneous family as the core unit of a stable, law abiding and responsible citizenry'. The *Framework* acknowledges that there can be a 'diversity of family styles' (Rose and Aldgate, 2000, p. 9) and that there should be, as we have seen, 'inclusive practice'

(Department of Health *et al.*, 2000, pp. 26–7), but this is rendered somewhat shallow because elsewhere New Labour advises that 'marriage is still the surest foundation for raising children' (HMSO, 1998, p. 4). Similarly in professional discourse, and despite the *Framework*'s rhetorical promotion of social inclusiveness, exclusionary new classifications and typologies for 'problem families' are being re-forged (see Cleaver and Freeman, 1995, pp. 51–3; Eisenstadt, 1998; Steele, 1998). Meanwhile, many asylum seekers continue to be excluded, or corralled, and 'dispersed' into substandard housing where they are compelled to live on vouchers (London, 2000; Sales, 2002). The following section of the discussion will, however, seek to examine, in more detail, the idea of 'inclusive practice' which is inseparable from the *Framework*'s new approach to assessment.

Examining 'Inclusive Practice'

The idea of 'inclusive practice' relates to one of New Labour's main organizing principles, combating 'social exclusion'. This concept can be traced to 'the somewhat surprising synthesis of social Catholicism and republicanism in contemporary France' and—from the late-1980s in Britain—to its deployment by the Commission of the European Union (Byrne, 1999, p. 8). By the mid-1990s, 'social exclusion' had become central to New Labour's 'social justice' discourse (Commission on Social Justice, 1994). As a result, both within social work and elsewhere, the term 'social exclusion' and the activities of the New Labour administration's Social Exclusion Unit are apt to dominate discussions concerning the conceptualization of, and response to, poverty (see Barry and Hallet, 1999; Dowling, 1999; Bowring, 2000). Washington and Paylor (1998, p. 335), for example, have argued that 'the developing usage of the concept of social exclusion offers social work an opportunity to establish a professional focus which can be used in practice throughout the member states of the European Union'. However, 'social exclusion' which is part of the theoretical bedrock for the new *Framework* needs to be approached more warily and with a degree of reflexive caution.

'Social exclusion' has, for example, been criticized for seeking to mask poverty and the related questions of income and wealth distribution. Levitas (1996) has criticized this 'new hegemonic discourse' since 'social divisions which are *endemic* to capitalism' are presented as 'resulting from an *abnormal* breakdown in social cohesion' (emphasis added). The concept also erases issues connected to low pay because work is unproblematically perceived as *the* mechanism of social inclusion. Indeed, not 'since the workhouse has labour been so fervently and singlemindedly valorised' (Hall, 1998, p. 12). Levitas (1996, p.18) contends, for example, that to 'see integration as solely effected by paid work is to ignore that fact that society is—and certainly should be—more than a market'. Lister (1997) has levelled a similar critique at 'social exclusion' and its fetishism of work which is, in reality, often low paid and associated with few employment rights (see also Fitzpatrick, 2001). More generally, the New Labour vision 'treats differences as matters reconciled through the normal and 'normalizing' identity of being a wage earner. Wage work

is no longer reserved for white, able-bodied, males: anyone can (and should) be a breadwinner' (Powell, 2000, p. 48). These criticisms should, moreover, have particular resonance for social workers who daily engage with people excluded from the labour market because of ill health, disability, age, caring responsibilities, or discriminatory employment practices.

Major speeches have also highlighted a new element to 'social exclusion' which might be referred to as the 'social exclusion gene'. That is to say, there exists the notion that 'social exclusion', entirely detached from economic processes, can be transmitted from generation to generation. At the launch of the Social Exclusion Unit, Prime Minister Blair, for example, asserted: 'Social exclusion is about income, but it is about more. It is about prospects, networks and life chances. *It is a modern problem likely to be passed down from generation to generation*' (in Alcock, 1998, p. 20, emphasis added). Alistair Darling, the former Social Security Secretary, echoed these sentiments when he claimed: 'Many of these people live on the worst estates. They will die younger, *statistically there is a good chance their exclusion will pass on to their children*' (Darling 1999, emphasis added). This reflects, moreover, some of the ideas which underpinned the 'cycle of deprivation' theory in the 1970s. A conceptual relationship which is further emphasized by the government's intention to 'break the cycle of disadvantage, to stop it *being transmitted through generations*' (Department of Social Security, 1999, p. 5; see also Jordan, 1974). Indeed, formulations such as these make it plain that New Labour's 'social exclusion' discourse is part of a more historically rooted approach to poverty that seeks to locate the cause of poverty in the behaviour and failings of the poor themselves (see, for example, Bosanquet, 1895; Macnicol, 1987; Murray, 1990; Dean, 1992; Robinson and Gregson, 1992; Rodger, 1992; Mann, 1994). Equally important, this dominant conceptualization, on account of the narrowness of its social and political vision, lends itself to an ecological approach to social work theory and practice.

The *Framework*, the 'Third Way' and the Ecological Approach to Social Work Assessments

The ecological approach is emphasized throughout the *Framework*, especially in the commentary by Jack (2000), and the prominence given to this particular theoretical orientation gels with New Labour's 'third way'. This is not, of course, to crudely argue that child welfare and other social policy formulations and interventions cogently fit, or mirror, economic and political trends or programmes. It is, however, to maintain that trying to view the *Framework* through the, somewhat opaque, lens of the 'third way' provides some insight into its theoretical pre-occupations and sub-texts. More fundamentally, this approach is rooted in the understanding that we cannot treat 'cultural texts', such as the new assessment materials, as if they are 'hermetic or pure', since 'representations are linked to wider social forms, power and public struggles' (Giroux, 2000, p. 355).

As Stuart Hall (1998, p. 9) argues, the 'third way' remains New Labour's bid to

capture and define the 'big picture'. On one level its central claim is merely 'the discovery of a mysterious middle course on every question between all existing extremes' (Hall, 1998, p. 10; see also Navarro, 1999; Neocleous, 1999; Powell, 2000; Jameson, 2000). However, the 'third way' does have one key defining feature and that is bound up with the perception of 'globalisation' (Garrett, 2003*b*; see also Bauman, 1998; Sivanandan, 1998/99; Khan and Dominelli, 2000). New Labour has brought 'a sweeping interpretation of globalization, which it regards as the single most important factor which has transformed our world' (Hall, 1998, p. 11). Within this dominant discourse globalization is constructed as a 'self regulating and implacable Force of Nature' and the global economy becomes 'in effect like the weather' (Hall, 1998, p. 11; see also Atkinson, 2000, p. 223) As a result, the current administration has set about 'vigorously adapting society to the global economy's needs, tutoring its citizens to be self-sufficient and self-reliant in order to compete in the global market place'. The framing strategy of New Labour's economic repertoire remains, however, essentially the neo-liberal one: 'the de-regulation of markets and the wholesale refashioning of the public sector by the New Managerialism' (Hall 1998, p. 11; see also Clarke and Newman, 1997; Rose, 1999).

Turning to social work, ecological approaches have historically been concerned with crime and 'juvenile delinquency' and are rooted in American urban sociology, particularly the 'Chicago School' which was prominent during a period stretching from the 1920s to the 1940s (Jack, 2000, p. 42; see also Shaw and McKay, 1969; Giddens, 1989, pp. 555–64). The main aim of social work, within this theoretical orientation, is to 'strengthen the adaptive capacities of people and to influence their environments so that transactions are more adaptive (Germain and Gitterman in Payne, 1997, p. 146; see also Maluccio *et al*., 1986, ch. 1). Here, therefore, the 'emphasis on *adaptiveness* illustrates the way ecological theories assume fundamental social order and play down possible radical change' (Payne, 1997, p. 146, emphasis added). Importantly, this 'adaptive' orientation, strongly influenced by US writers (Cochran and Brassard, 1979; Luster and Okagaki, 1993; Seita, 2000; see also Jack and Jordan, 1999), receives a new articulation in the *Framework* and it strongly underlies its approach to social work engagement with children and families.

Clearly, social work assessments must take account of environmental factors, but the specific way in which such factors are constructed suggests that 'communities' are, as the 'third way' would have it, powerless in the face of 'globalisation'. The various references to US texts concerned with ecological approaches in Jack (2000), for example, are revealing in that the titles imply that social workers should not concern themselves with actually promoting the qualitative social and economic transformations of communities. Instead, social work is merely to aid and facilitate *individual* strategies and survival plans. In short, the chief aspiration of social workers and others involved in 'joined up' endeavours is simply to create *Urban Sanctuaries* (McLaughlin *et al*. in Jack, 2000, p. 56) where children have the opportunity to *Escape from Disadvantage* (Pilling in Jack, 2000, p. 56) and to be successful in *Overcoming the Odds* (Werner *et al*. in Jack, 2000, p. 56). Within this 'adaptive' paradigm 'social workers have a role to play in developing social capital in

452 Paul Michael Garrett

deprived communities' (Jack, 2000, p. 48, emphasis added). In doing so, such neigh-bourhoods might then be 'poor, but decent place(s) to live' (Garbarino and Kostelny in Jack, 2000, p. 48). In short, social work is merely to aid people as they hunker behind the rocks as the fiery tides of globalization wash all around them.

This article lacks the scope to fully discuss the notion of social capital which, as Jack (2000) makes plain, is associated with the *Framework*'s ecological perspective. However, in brief, social capital, 'paralleling the concepts of financial capital, phys-ical capital and human capital' is 'embodied in relations among persons' (see Col-eman, 1988, p. 120). Its specific 'attributes' are comprised of 'trust, commitment to others, adhering to social norms and punishing those who violate them' (Bowles, 1999; see also Jack, 2000). Significantly, social capital is increasingly prominent in policy discourses in the USA, but has been criticized for its 'conceptual ambiguity' and for its proponents' failure to recognize and explore the proposition that although social capital might 'facilitate intragroup co-ordination, by identifying group identity it promotes inter-group hostility' (Durlauf, 1999, p. 4; see also Morrow, 1999; Etzioni, 2001). More fundamentally, it might be argued that the *Framework*'s theor-etical attachment to social capital reflects, as argued above, the major impact which US theory and practice appears to be having on child welfare policy in Britain. Jack (2000), for example, highlights the range of community-based interventions being carried out in the USA (see also Glass, 1999). However, when evaluating the impact of such programmes and asserting that similar initiatives are likely to be appropriate in a British context, it is also important to view the plethora of US programmes, targeted at children and families, in the context of other more embracing 'welfare reform' policies and modalities of intervention. As observed above, such pro-grammes and schemes 'for the regeneration of moral community, commitment and connectedness' are frequently linked to the 'new paternalism' and they often have a coercive and punitive component (see Rose, 1999, p. 488). Moreover, changes in federal law, particularly Clinton's 'welfare reform' flagship of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Act, have had enormous, detrimental con-sequences for many children and families using social and health care services in the United States (Handler, 2000; McGowan and Walsh, 2000; see also 'A Million Parents Lost Medicaid, Study Says' *The New York Times*, 20 June 2000).

Inspecting the 'Tools'

Having put in place aspects of the wider context for the new *Framework*, the final part of the discussion will narrow the focus once again in order to comment on *The Family Pack of Questionnaires and Scales* (Department of Health, Cox and Bento-vim, 2000) which accompany it. These are comprised of: *The Strengths and Diffi-culties Questionnaire*; *The Parenting Daily Hassles Scale*; *The Home Conditions Scale*; *The Adult and Adolescent Wellbeing Scales*; *The Recent Life Events Question-naire*; *The Family Activity Scale* and *The Alcohol Scale*.

The 'conceptual map', outlined above, sketches in the contours of the terrain which is viewed as relevant when assessing children and families. *The Family Pack*,

constantly referred to and highlighted in the *Core Assessment Record*, fits uneasily alongside this new cartology and some of its values, but has been designed 'to provide *objective*, structured information that will help practitioners approach with greater confidence complicated issues' (Ward, 2000, p. 136, emphasis added). The questionnaires and scales 'widely used in psychology and psychiatry' were, moreover, found to be 'helpful' and 'useful' when piloted in five social services departments in 1998/99 (Department of Health, 2000*b*, p. 118). They can be used 'following a process of familiarisation, but do not 'require any formal training'. These 'tools' will, however, provide 'a clear evidence base for judgements and recommendations' (Department of Health, 1999, p. 70). Elsewhere, it is confided, a little glibly, that: 'Good tools cannot substitute for good practice, but good tools can achieve excellence' (Department of Health, 1999, p. 66).

The questionnaires and scales, also referred to as 'instruments', are interesting on various levels and a number of brief observations can be made. First, we are, as observed, incessantly advised that social workers in the piloting authorities found them 'easy to administer and of immediate benefit' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 4), yet what is oddly jarring—and perhaps disingenuous given the *Framework*'s 'evidence-based' discourse—is the actual lack of any evidence. No data are furnished in respect of social workers, or service users' receptiveness to these 'instruments', only the occasional pithy anecdote (see Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000). Second, the importation of these 'instruments' into the social work assessment of children and families may represent a shift toward a more positivistic and psychiatry-led orientation. Perhaps, of particular note, in this sense, in the attachment of the 'instruments' to methodologies which seek to 'screen' for emotional and behavioural disorders via 'scoring' techniques. So, for example, with *The Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire* 'the scales can be scored to produce an overall score that indicates whether a child/young person is likely to have a significant problem. Selected items can also be used to form subscales for Pro-Social Behaviours, Hyperactivity, Emotional Symptoms, Conduct and Peer Problems' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, pp. 17–18). Here, the concern must be about potentially pre-emptive and inaccurate diagnostic labelling, particularly in a wider social context—with its battery of anti-social behaviour orders and child curfews—so primed, and alert to a lack of 'pro-social' behaviour in certain groups of children and young people (see Coppock, 1996; James and Jencks, 1996; James and James, 2001). Historically, the 'psy complex' (Rose, 1985)—which these questionnaires and scales represent the ascendancy of—has also been enmeshed in more embracing discourses centred on crime and social disorder (see Birlson, 1981, p. 86). The search for 'criminogenic' tendencies remains, moreover, bound up with policies directed at young people in contact with social services (see Garrett, 1999*b*). Significantly, during the piloting of the *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* 'over half the children assessed scored above the cut off indicating a problem disorder' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 16). The risks of this happening are, moreover, multiplied within a discipline where 'psychiatrists come to diagnostic decisions quickly and direct their attention to confirm their hypotheses' (Birlson, 1981, p. 75; see also Rose, 1985, 1989).

Third, the tone of the 'tools' and their accompanying commentary might be viewed as insulting and patronizing toward the children and families using social services. We are advised, for example, that 'even when there are crises there are times when professionals are consulting with each other and carers or children are waiting. Appropriately presented a questionnaire can help carers or children feel they are still active partners, and that the professionals are still listening' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 5). Perhaps, the notion that a questionnaire can be simplistically inserted into social work intervention in this way also highlights the separation of the designers from practice. Moreover, such comments risk seeming to infantilize parents and other carers. Problems are compounded by the language used in the various 'instruments'; for example, items featured in the various questionnaires might 'seem daft' in terms of what is asked about 'the kids' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 12; p. 20) One wonders what these 'experts' would deduce if the language featured in forms designed for *their* use, or the use of their families, addressed them and implicitly envisaged, constructed and *fixed* them in this way. Related to this, *The Family Pack* might be perceived as being at odds with an 'inclusive' orientation in that it continually hints at an entrenched class prejudice. So, for example, *The Home Conditions Assessment* includes a check for 'stale cigarette smoke' and *The Family Activity Scales* which is supposed to include 'information about the cultural and ideological environment in which children live' (Department of Health, 1999, p. 72) asks if the family have recently attended a 'county show' or 'fete' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 24; p. 40). Neither of which are leisure pursuits and activities which can be convincingly associated with, for example, life for many children and families in Britain's inner cities. They are, however, activities which help to conjure up the social milieu of the designers of such forms. A further criticism must also relate to the fact that young people, under 11 years old are not even permitted to self-evaluate with *The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* because 'parents reports of their children's emotions and behaviours are usually more reliable than those of children themselves' (Department of Health, Cox and Bentovim, 2000, p. 16).

Fourth, a good deal of the research which is marshalled in order to substantiate the validity and utility of the 'instruments' is unsatisfactory. References to underpinning research for *The Adult and Adolescence Wellbeing Scales* date from the 1970s and early 1980s. Similarly, research for *The Recent Life Events Questionnaire* and *Family Activity Scale* is from the mid-1980s. The fact that this research was conducted in the 1970s and 1980s does not, of course, in itself invalidate that research, but it is somewhat surprising that more recent research is not deployed. Furthermore, parts of the research foundation, such as that which informed the development of the *Parenting Hassles Scale*, is also questionable in that it only involved mothers (see Crnic and Greenberg, 1990). Fifth, running as a thread throughout *The Family Pack* is a fixation with the time in which it will take to complete each questionnaire and scale; normally within ten minutes. Along with the new time limits introduced under *Quality Protects* to regulate assessments, this suggests that a new time-discipline is being constructed for social workers' micro-engagements with children and families (see also Harvey, 1990, ch. 4). This has potentially major implications

for the 'process' of social work and might also be viewed as a dull echo of more pervasive cultural trends centred on what Virilio (1997) has identified as the tyranny of unrelenting acceleration.

Finally, and again related to shifts in the 'process' of social work, these 'tools' illuminate the fact that social work activity is increasingly being contained by a plethora of pro-formas. This is, of course, reflected in the materials associated with the LAC system and the *Young Offender Assessment Profiles (ASSET)* developed by the Centre for Criminological Research at the University of Oxford (see also Poster, 1990). Once again, this trend appears to mimic dominant social work orientations in the USA (Early, 2001; Graybeal, 2001). Specifically in relation to the *Framework*, there are, of course, potentially far reaching implications in terms of how the various 'instruments' and 'tools' will come to be used and deployed. Will, for example, social work managers begin to ask questions, in professional supervision, about the quantities of questionnaires and scales completed? Similarly, will managers want to know about particular 'scores' achieved by individual children and families? Will 'scores', or assessments derived from questionnaires and scales, begin to feature in child protection case conference reports and will professionals begin to use these 'instruments' to calibrate risk? Will judges and magistrates begin to seek from social workers the 'certainties' which 'hard' data appears to provide? More fundamentally, these schedules and checklists are likely to contribute to the shaping of new welfare 'subjects', new professional subjectivities and to a potential 'emptying out' of social work relationships (see Lash and Urry, 1999, p. 15).

Conclusion

This article has endeavoured to make a contribution to the inchoate debate on the *Framework* by making a number of initial comments and observations, which build on earlier interventions which critically, analysed the LAC system. Here, the task of adequately responding to the new materials has been made somewhat difficult because focal documents were not published simultaneously. The consultation document associated with the *Framework*, for example, was published in September 1999 (Department of Health, 1999), but many of the accompanying materials did not appear until *after* the publication of the final version of the *Framework* in April 2000. Some time was available for interested parties to suggest changes to the mooted assessment model (see, for example, Garrett, 2000), but the Department of Health's rather coy—and arguably manipulative—approach to the issuing of pertinent and associated materials served to impair the process of consultation.

Most significantly, the *Core Assessment Records* were only issued by the Department of Health after the period of consultation had ended. These are similar 'in concept to the LAC Action and Assessment Records' (AARs) (Ward, 2000, p. 136). Thus, the rather alienating format of the AARs is retained and this will be of some concern given the substantial critique mounted against the AAR 'concept' by many social work practitioners and academics, children and young people (see Knight and Caveney, 1998; Shemmings and Shemmings, 2000, p. 94). Indeed, superficially, the

package of *Framework* materials are similar, in terms of presentation and format, to
the welter of research and promotional materials which appeared when the Depart-
ment of Health introduced the LAC system (see Parker *et al*., 1991; Corrick *et al*.,
1995; Jackson and Kilroe, 1996; Ward, 1995; Jackson, 1998). However, even though
it is argued that LAC was 'a remarkable piece of work' (Rose, 2000, p. 30) and the
Framework seeks to develop the LAC approach to assessment, the contributions
connected to the new assessment paradigm are also markedly different. Despite
some of the similarities—and the problems identified earlier—the documentation
associated with the new Framework suggests a much more pluralistic project which
is less strident, less uptight, and less intent on regulating and policing its boundaries.
The 'learning materials development group' (Department of Health, 2000*a*, pp. 9–
10), for example, appears to be a broader coalition than the close-knit and intensely
insular formation responsible for the LAC materials. In addition, issues connected
to disability (Cotson *et al*., 2000; Marchant, 2000; Marchant and Jones, 2000), 'race'
and ethnicity (Dutt and Phillips, 2000) are addressed in a much more convincing
and sensitive way.

Clearly, this new *Framework*, produced by 'leading professionals in the field'
(Hutton, 2000) and heavy with 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1991) is significant in
that it is the first 'official' standard assessment model intended for use in the initial
assessment of all 'children in need' under Part 111, section 17 of the 1989 Children
Act (see also the discussion in Moss *et al*., 2000). The new model embedded, as we
have seen, in current British and US social welfare discourses, will have con-
sequences for children and families and it will have a major impact on child-care
social work's theoretical foundation and operational modalities. In the late-1980s it
was contended that social work was 'an invisible trade' (Pithouse, 1998) and the
aim of the *Framework* and similar procedural documents is to render the activity
more visible and controllable. As Foster and Wilding (2000) have suggested, similar
developments have taken place across the health and education sectors and whilst
aspects of this may be viewed as socially progressive, there has, perhaps, been a
failure to 'build on the positive elements in traditional professionalism: the service
ethic, the principle of colleague control and the commitment to high quality work
(Foster and Wilding, 2000, p. 157). This is not, of course, to suggest that there was
a 'golden age' of unequivocally benign and progressive social work endeavour.
Social work will always fulfil a contradictory role in a 'market society' (Taylor,
1999). Moreover, social work cannot remain static, inert and apart from more
encompassing economic, social and cultural trends and currents.

Specifically in relation to the scales and questionnaires, it is important to recall
that social work because of its, often uneasy, interface with the 'psy complex' (Rose,
1985) has always had a professional interest in checklists (see Richmond, 1917). In
some respects, therefore, the *Framework* merely remodels more historically rooted
'instruments' of social work practice and presents them in an 'advanced liberal' form
(see Rose and Miller, 1992; Harris, 1999). None the less, social work in Britain—
beleaguered, bewildered and reinforced by small platoons of recruits from Canada,
South Africa and elsewhere—must ask searching questions about the entire *Frame-
work* endeavour and try to discern what it represents and what it might tell us

about child-care social work's trajectory (Butler and Drakeford, 2001). Thus, the 'excitement' (Department of Health *et al.*, 2000*b*, p. 3) of its designers needs to be momentarily tempered and the new paradigm situated in a social and political context.

Accepted: August 2001

References

Adcock, M. (2000) 'The core assessment process—How to synthesise information and make judgements' in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need— Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Alcock, P. (1998) 'Bringing Britain together?' *Community Care*, 26 November–2 December, pp. 18–25.

Atkinson, R. (2000) 'Narratives of policy: the construction of urban problems and urban policy in the official discourse of British government 1968–1998', *Critical Social Policy*, **20** (2), pp. 211–32.

Audit Commission (1994) *Seen but not Heard*: C*o-ordinating Community Child Health and Social Services for Children in Need*, London, HMSO.

Barry, M. and Hallett C. (eds) (1999) *Social Exclusion and Social Work: Issues of Theory, Policy and Practice*, Dorset, Russell House.

Bauman, Z. (1998) *Globalization*: *The Human Consequences*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Birlson, P. (1981) 'The validity of depressive disorder in childhood and the development of a self-rating scale: A research report', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, **22**, pp. 73–88.

Blair, T. (1999)'Beveridge revisited: a welfare state for the 21st century' in R. Walker (ed.), *Ending Child Poverty: Popular Welfare in the 21st Century?*, Bristol, Policy Press.

Bosanquet, B. (ed.) (1895) *Aspects of the Social Problem*, London, Macmillan.

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bowles, S. (1999) 'Social capital and community governance' *Focus*, **20** (3), pp. 6–11.

Bowring, F. (2000) 'Social exclusion: limitations of the debate', *Critical Social Policy*, **20** (3), pp. 307–31.

Butler, I. and Drakeford, M. (2001) 'Which Blair project? Communitarianism, social authoritarianism and social work', *Journal of Social Work*, **1** (1), pp. 7–19.

Byrne, D. (1999) *Social Exclusion*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

Cabinet Office (2000) *The Prime Minister's Review of Adoption*: *A Performance and Innovation Unit Report*, London, The Stationery Office.

Campbell, B. (1995) 'Old fogeys and angry young men: A critique of communitarianism', *Soundings*, **1**, pp. 47–65.

Campbell, B. (1996) 'Muddled waters', *Community Care*, 10–16 October, p. 17.

Campbell, B. (1997) 'Wherever they may be', *Community Care*, 10–16 April, p. 19.

Cantwell, B. (2000) 'The welfare checklist and the assessment of the needs of children', *Family Law*, December, pp. 921–5.

Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (1997) *The Managerial State*, London, Sage.

Cleaver, H. (2000) 'When parents issues influence their ability to respond to children's needs', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Cleaver, H. and Freeman, P. (1995) *Parental Perspectives in Cases of Suspected Child Abuse*, London, HMSO.

Cleaver, H., Unell, I., and Aldgate, J. (1999) *Children's Needs—Parenting Capacity*, London, HMSO.

Cochran, M. M. and Brassard, J. A. (1979) 'Child development and personal social networks', *Child Development*, **50**, pp. 601–16.

Coleman, J. S. (1988) 'Social capital in the creation of human capital', *American Journal of Sociology*, **94** (Supplement), pp. 95–120.

Commission on Social Justice (1994) *Social Justice: Strategies for National Renewal*, London, Vintage.

Coppock, V. (1996) 'Mad, bad or misunderstood?, *Youth and Policy*, **53**, pp. 53–66.

Corrick, H., Jones, J., and Ward, H. (1995) *Looking After Children: Good Parenting, Good Outcomes. Management and Implementation Guide*, London, HMSO.

Cotson, D., Friend, J., Hollins, S., and James, H. (2000) 'Implementing the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families when the Parent has Learning Difficulties*', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Crnic, K. A. and Greenberg, M. T. (1990) 'Minor parenting stresses with young children', *Child Development*, **61**, pp. 1628–37.

Darling, A. (1999) 'Work is the way off welfare', *The Guardian*, 16 June.

Deacon, A. (2000) 'Learning from the US? The influence of American ideas upon 'new labour' thinking on welfare reform', *Policy and Politics*, **28** (1), pp. 5–18.

Deacon, A. and Mann, K. (1999) 'Agency, modernity and social policy', *Journal of Social Policy*, **28**, pp. 413–35.

Dean, H. (1992) 'Poverty discourse and the disempowerment of the poor', *Critical Social Policy*, **35**, pp. 79–89.

Department of Health (1988) *Protecting Children. A Guide for Social Workers undertaking a Comprehensive Assessment*, London, HMSO.

Department of Health (1995) *Child Protection: Messages from the Research*, London, HMSO.

Department of Health (1998*a*) *Modernising Social Services*, London, HMSO.

Department of Health (1998*b*) *Objectives for Social Services for Children*, London, HMSO.

Department of Health (1998*c*) *Quality Protects*: *Framework for Action*, London, HMSO.

Department of Health (1999) *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*: C*onsultation Draft*, London, Department of Health.

Department of Health (2000*a*) *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Department of Health (2000*b*) *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance*, London, The Stationery Office.

Department of Health (2000*c*) *The Children Act Report 1995–1999*, London, The Stationery Office.

Department of Health, Cox, A. and Bentovim, A. (2000) *The Family Pack of Questionnaires and Scales*, London, The Stationery Office.

Department of Health, Department for Education and Employment, Home Office (2000) *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*, London, The Stationery Office.

Department of Health, Home Office, Department for Education and Employment (1999) *Working Together to Safeguard Children*: *A Guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children*, London, The Stationery Office.

Department of Health, NSPCC, University of Sheffield (2000) *The Child's World: Assessing Children in Need—Trainer Modules*, London, Department of Health.

Department of Social Security (1999) *Opportunity for All*: *Tackling Poverty and Social Exclusion*, *http://www.dss.gov.uk/hq/pubs/poverty/main/htm*

Donzelot, J. (1979) *The Policing of Families*, London, Hutchinson.

Dowling, M. (1999) 'Social exclusion, inequality and social work', *Social Policy and Administration*, **33** (3), pp. 245–61.

Durlauf, S. N. (1999) 'The case against social capital', *Focus*, **20** (3), pp. 1–6.

Dutt, R. and Phillips, M. (2000) 'Assessing black children and their families' in Department of Health, *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance*, London, Stationery Office.

Early, T. J. (2001) 'Measures for practice with families from a strengths perspective', *Families in Society*, **82** (2), pp. 225–33.

Eisenstadt, N. (1998) 'Changing times', *Community Care*, 3–9 September, p. 16.

Etzioni, A. (1995) *The Spirit of the Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda*, London, Fontana.

Etzioni, A. (2001) 'Is bowling together sociologically lite?', *Contemporary Sociology*, **30** (3), pp. 223–5.

Fitzpatrick, T. (2001) 'New agendas for social policy and criminology: Globalization, urbanism and the emerging post-social security state', *Social Policy and Administration*, **35** (2), pp. 212–29.

Foster, P. and Wilding, P. (2000) 'Whither welfare professionalism?', *Social Policy and Administration*, **34** (2), pp. 143–59.

Garrett, P. M. (1998) 'Notes from the diaspora: anti-discriminatory social work practice, Irish people and the practice curriculum', *Social Work Education*, **17** (4), pp. 435–49.

Garrett, P. M. (1999*a*) 'Mapping child-care social work in the final years of the twentieth century: A critical response to the 'Looking After Children' system', *British Journal of Social Work*, **29** (1), pp. 27–47.

Garrett, P. M. (1999*b*) 'Producing the moral citizen: the 'Looking After Children' system and the regulation of children and young people in public care', *Critical Social Policy*, **19** (3), pp. 291–311.

Garrett, P. M. (2000) 'Responding to Irish 'invisibility': Anti-discriminatory social work practice and the placement of Irish children in Britain', *Adoption and Fostering*, **24** (1), pp 23–34.

Garrett, P. M. (2001) 'Interrogating 'Home Alone': The critical deconstruction of media representations in social work education', *Social Work Education*, **20** (6), pp. 643–59.

Garrett, P. M. (2002*a*) 'Yes Minister: Reviewing the 'Looking After Children' experience and identifying the messages for social work research', *British Journal of Social Work*, **32** (7), pp. 831–46.

Garrett, P. M. (2002*b*) 'No Irish need apply: Social work in Britain and the history and politics of exclusionary paradigms and practices', *British Journal of Social Work*, **32** (4), pp. 477–94.

Garrett, P. M. (2002*c*) 'Getting 'a grip': New Labour and the reform of the law on child adoption', *Critical Social Policy*, **22** (2), pp.174–202.

Garrett, P. M. (2002*d*) 'Encounters in the new welfare domains of the Third Way: Social work, the connexions agency and personal advisers', *Critical Social Policy*, **22** (4), pp. 592–615.

Garrett, P. M. (2002*e*) 'Social work and the 'Just Society': Diversity, difference and the sequestration of poverty', *The Journal of Social Work*, **2** (2), pp. 187–210.

Garrett, P. M. (2003*a*) 'The 'Daring Experiment': The London County Council and the discharge from care of children to Ireland in the 1950s and 1960's', *Journal of Social Policy*, **32** (1), pp. 1–18.

Garrett, P. M. (2003*b*) 'The trouble with Harry: Why the 'new agenda of life politics' fails to convince', *British Journal of Social Work*, **33** (3), pp. 381–97.

Giddens, A. (1989) *Sociology*, Cambridge, Polity.

Giroux, H. A. (2000) 'Public pedagogy as cultural politics', *Cultural Studies*, **14** (2), pp. 341–60.

Glass, N. (1999) 'Sure Start: The development of an early intervention programme in the United Kingdom', *Children and Society*, **13**, pp. 257–64.

Gray, J. (2000) 'Preface', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Graybeal, C. (2001) 'Strengths-based social work assessment: Transforming the dominant paradigm', *Families in Society*, **82** (2), pp. 233–43.

Hall, S. (1998) 'The great moving nowhere show', *Marxism Today*, Nov/Dec, pp. 9–15.

Handler, J. (2000) 'Reforming/deforming welfare', *New Left Review*, **4**, pp. 114–37.

Harris, P (1999) 'Public welfare and liberal governance', in Petersen, A., Barns, I., Dudley, J. and Harris, P. (eds), *Post-structuralism, Citizenship and Social Policy*, London, Routledge.

Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford, Blackwell.

HMSO (1998) *Supporting Families*, London, HMSO.

Hodgkinson, P. (2000) 'Who wants to be a social engineer? A commentary on David Blunkett's Speech to the ESRC', *Sociological Research Online*, **5** (1), *http://www.soresonline.org.uk/5/1/hodgkinson.html*

Hoghugi, M. and Speight, A. N. P. (1998) 'Good enough parenting for all children—a strategy for a healthier society', *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, **78** (4), pp. 293–300.

Howarth, J. (2000) 'Assessing the world of the child in need: Background and context', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Howarth, J. (ed.) (2001) *The Child's World: Assessing Children in Need*, London, Jessica Kingsley.

Hunter, M. (1999) 'Unseen and not heard?', *Community Care*, 15–21 April, pp. 20–22.

Hutton, J., Minister of State for Social Services (2000) 'Foreword' in Department of Health, *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance*, London, Stationery Office.

Hutton, J., Clarke, C., and Smith, J. (2000) *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*, Circular from Department of Health, Home Office and Department for Education and Employment, 4 April.

Jack, G. (2000) 'Ecological perspectives in assessing children and families', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Jack, G. and Jordan, B. (1999) 'Social capital and child welfare', *Children and Society*, **13**, pp. 242–56.

Jackson, S. (1998) 'Looking After Children: a new approach or just an exercise in formfilling? A response to Knight and Caveney', *British Journal of Social Work*, **28**, pp. 45–56.

Jackson, S. and Kilroe, S. (eds.) (1996) *Looking After Children. Good Parenting*: *Good Outcomes. Reader*, London, HMSO.

James, A. and Jencks, C. (1996) 'Public perceptions of childhood criminality', *British Journal of Sociology*, **47** (2), pp. 315–32.

James, A. L. and James, A. (2001) 'Tightening the net: children, community and control', *British Journal of Sociology*, **52** (2), pp. 211–28.

Jameson, F (2000) 'Globalization and political strategy', *New Left Review*, **4**, pp. 49–69.

Jones, D. (2000) 'The assessment of parental capacity', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Jordan, B., (1974) *Poor Parents*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jordan, B. with Jordan, C. (2000) *Social Work and the Third Way*, London, Sage.

Kamerman, S. B. and Kahn, A. J. (1990) 'If CPS is driving child welfare—Where do we go from here?' *Public Welfare*, Winter, pp. 9–14.

Khan, P. and Dominelli, L. (2000) 'The impact of globalization on social work in the UK', *European Journal of Social Work*, **3** (2), pp. 95–108.

Kilroe, S. (1996) 'Social presentation', in Jackson, S. and Kilroe, S. (eds.), *Looking After Children. Good Parenting*: *Good Outcomes. Reader*, London, HMSO.

Knight, T. and Caveney, S. (1998) 'Assessment and action records: Will they promote good parenting?', *British Journal of Social Work*, **28**, pp. 29–43.

Krane, J. and Davies, L. (2000) 'Mothering and child protection practice: rethinking risk assessment', *Child and Family Social Work*, **5**, pp. 35–45.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1999) *Economies of Sign and Space*, 3rd edn, London, SAGE.

Levitas, R. (1996) 'The concept of social exclusion and the new Durheimian hegemony', *Critical Social Policy*, **16** (1), pp. 5–21.

Lewis, G. (2000) 'Discursive histories, the pursuit of multiculturalism and social policy', in Lewis, G., Gerwitz, S. and Clarke, J. (eds), *Rethinking Social Policy*, London, SAGE/Open University.

Lister, R. (1997) *Citizenship*: *Feminist Perspectives*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

London, L. (2000) 'Whitehall and the refugees: The 1930s and the 1990s', *Patterns of Prejudice*, **34** (3), pp. 17–27.

Luster, T. and Okagaki, L. (1993) *Parenting*: *An Ecological Perspective*, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Macdonald, G. and Roberts H. (1995) *What Works in the Early Years?*, Ilford, Barnardos.

Macnicol, J. (1987) 'In pursuit of the underclass', *Journal of Social Policy*, **16** (3), pp. 293–318.

Maluccio, A. N., Fein, E., and Olmstead, K. A. (1986) *Permanency Planning for Children*: *Concepts and Methods*, London, Tavistock.

Mann, K. (1994) 'Watching the defectives: Observers of the underclass in the USA, Britain and Australia', *Critical Social Policy*, **41**, pp. 79–100.

Marchant, R. (2000) 'The Assessment of Children with Complex Needs' in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Marchant, R. and Jones, M. (2000) 'Assessing the needs of disabled children and their families', in Department of Health, *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance*, London, The Stationery Office.

McGowan, B. G. and Walsh, E. M. (2000) 'Policy challenges for child welfare in the new century' C*hild Welfare*, Jan/Feb, pp. 11–28.

Mead, L. M. (ed.) (1997) *The New Paternalism: Supervisory Approaches to Poverty*, Washington DC, Brooking Institute.

Milner, J. (1993) 'A disappearing act: the differing career paths of fathers and mothers in child protection investigations', *Critical Social Policy*, **13** (2), pp. 48–64.

Morrow, V. (1999) 'Conceptualising social capital in relation to the well-being of children and young people: a critical review', *Sociological Review*, **47** (4), pp. 744–66.

Moss, P., Dillon, J., and Statham, J. (2000) 'The 'child in need' and the 'rich child': discourses, constructions and practice', *Critical Social Policy*, **20** (2), pp. 233–54.

Murray, C. (1990) *The Emerging British Underclass*, London, Institute of Economic Affairs.

Navarro, V. (1999) 'Is there a Third Way? A response to Giddens's *The Third Way*' *International Journal of Health Services*, **29** (4), pp. 667–77.

Neocleous, M. (1999) 'Radical conservatism, or the conservatism of radicals: Giddens, Blair and the politics of reaction', *Radical Philosophy*, **93**, Jan/Feb, pp. 24–35.

Parker, R., Ward, H., Jackson, S., Aldgate, J., and Wedge, P. (1991) *Looking After Children: Assessing Outcomes in Child Care*, London, HMSO.

Payne, M. (1997) *Modern Social Work Theory*, 2nd edn, London, Macmillan.

Pithouse, A. (1998) *Social Work*: *The Social Organisation of an Invisible Trade*, 2nd edn, Aldershot, Ashgate.

Poster, M. (1990) *The Mode of Information*: *Post-structuralism and Social Context*, Cambridge, Polity.

Powell, M. (ed.) (1999) *New Labour, New Welfare State?*, Bristol, Policy Press.

Powell, M. (2000) 'New Labour and the third way in the British welfare state: a new and distinctive approach?', *Critical Social Policy*, **20** (1), pp. 39–61.

Prideaux, S. (2001) 'New Labour, old functionalism: The underlying contradictions of welfare reform in the US and the UK', *Social Policy and Administration*, **35** (1), pp. 85–115.

Prince, M. J. (2001) 'How social is social policy? Fiscal and market discourse in North American welfare systems', *Social Policy and Administration*, **35** (1), pp. 2–13.

Richmond, M. E. (1917) *Social Diagnosis*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Robinson, F. and Gregson, N. (1992) 'The 'Underclass': a class apart?', *Critical Social Policy*, **34**, pp 38–52.

Rodger, J. (1992) 'The welfare state and social closure: social division and the 'underclass'', *Critical Social Policy*, **35**, pp. 45–64.

Rose, N. (1985) *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869–1939*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rose, N. (1989) *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, London, Routledge.

Rose, N. (1993) 'Government, authority and expertise in advanced liberalism', *Economy and Society*, **22** (3), pp. 283–300.

Rose, N. (1999) 'Inventiveness in politics', *Economy and Society*, **28** (3), pp. 467–94.

Rose, N. and Miller, P. (1992) 'Political power beyond the State: problematics of government', *British Journal of Sociology*, **43**, pp. 173–206.

Rose, W. (2000) 'Assessing children in need and their families: An overview of the framework', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Rose, W. and Aldgate, J. (2000) 'Knowledge underpinning the Assessment Framework' in Department of Health *Assessing Children in Need and their Families: Practice Guidance*, London, The Stationery Office.

Sales, R. (2002) 'The deserving and undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain', *Critical Social Policy*, **22** (3), pp. 456–79.

Seita, J. R. (2000) 'In our best interests: Three necessary shifts for child welfare workers and children', *Child Welfare*, Jan/Feb, pp. 77–93.

Shaw, C. R. and McKay, H. D. (1969) *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, 2nd edn, Chicago, University of Chicago.

Shemmings, Y. and Shemmings, D. (2000) 'Empowering children and family members to participate in the assessment process', in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Sivanandan, A. (1998/99) 'Globalism and the left', *Race and Class*, **44** (2/3), pp. 5–20.

Smart, C. (ed.) (1992) *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality*, London, Routledge.

Steele, L. (1998) 'Keeping a precarious balance', *Community Care*, 10–16 September, pp 2–9.

Swanson, J. (2000)' Self help Clinton, Blair and the politics of personal responsibility', *Radical Philosophy*, **101**, May/June, pp. 29–39.

Taylor, C. and White, S. (2001) 'Knowledge, truth and reflexivity: The problem of judgement in social work', *Journal of Social Work*, **1** (1), pp. 37–59.

Taylor, I. (1999) *Crime in Context*, Cambridge, Polity.

Taylor, J., Spencer, N., and Baldwin, N. (2000) 'Social, economic and political context of parenting', *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, **82** (2), pp. 113–20.

Turney, D. (2000) 'The feminizing of neglect', *Child and Family Social Work*, **5**, pp. 47–56.

Vaux, G. (2000) 'Hoorays and boos for Sure Start', *Community Care*, 30 March–5 April, p. 27.

Virilio, P. (1997) *Open Sky*, London, Verso.

Waldfogel, J. (1998) *The Future of Child Protection*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Waldfogel, J. (2000) 'Reforming child protective services', *Child Welfare*, Jan/Feb, pp. 43–58.

Walker, R. (1999) 'The Americanization of British welfare: A case study of policy transfer', *International Journal of Health Services*, **29** (4), pp. 679–97.

Ward, H. (ed.) (1995) *Looking After Children*: *Research into Practice*, London, HMSO.

Ward, H. (2000) 'The development needs of children: Implications for assessment' in Department of Health, *The Child's World*: A*ssessing Children in Need—Reader*, London, Department of Health.

Washington, J. and Paylor, I. (1998) 'Europe, social exclusion and the identity of social work', *British Journal of Social Work*, **28** (3), pp. 327–38.

Webb, S. A. (2001) 'Some considerations on the validity of evidenced-based practice in social work', *British Journal of Social Work*, **31**, pp. 57–79.

Young, H. (2000) 'Pious words that hide a double penalty for the poor', *The Guardian*, 22 June.