

**Convergence and divergence in conceptualising
the professions of social work and social
pedagogy and their professional education, and
the question of Europeanisation: Germany,
Denmark and Belgium (1989–2004)**

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In Social Pedagogy,

By

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(FINAL POST-VIVA VERSION)

Inevitable Convergence?



Two Hulls, Converging Wakes:
as seen from the katamaran on Lake Constance (Bodensee),
Germany/Switzerland, 6 April 2012 – Photograph: JK

MULTIPLE DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to a number of people:

To Harry Wett Frederiksen ("morfar") (1916–1974), my beloved grandfather, who did not earn a PhD although he should have and certainly could have: I believe you would be pleased if you knew that I have made it;

To my loving wife Gosia, who encouraged me to embark on the PhD journey and always thought I should continue;

To our children Michael, Marianne and Melanie for bearing with me whenever their dad was unavailable on a Saturday, Sunday or public holiday, either working at home or in the office;

To Hans Pfaffenberger (1922–2012), my old academic teacher, who passed away in the early spring of the year when I finally submitted my thesis: it was he who fostered my interest in social work, social pedagogy and their mutual relationship; he who inspired me to add two more years of study (1995–1997) to study social pedagogy; his seminal work on social work/social pedagogy convergence which forms part of the theoretical underpinning of this thesis: you kept asking me when I would finish it;

To Pat Higham, my first Director of Studies, during my time enrolled at Nottingham Trent University (2002–2009): you always believed in me and my decision to change universities was entirely unrelated to your exceptional job done as a Director of Studies;

To Pat and Jack Higham, for your friendship, for opening your home to me and showing me so much of England, especially the East Midlands and the Peak District; my many stays with you in Kimberley contributed to making the Nottingham phase of my doctoral studies such a formative experience: without you, I would not have known England or the UK so well;

To Karen Lyons, part of my first supervisory team, who also believed in my PhD project from beginning to end;

To Pat Petrie and Peter Moss, my supervisors at the Institute of Education, University of London (2010–2012): you too believed in me, and you welcomed me to Bloomsbury after changing universities;

To the experts who opened the doors of their offices (and sometimes their homes) to me, sharing their knowledge and experience with me, facilitating access to documents and people. For reasons of anonymity they cannot be mentioned here, but in reading these lines, they will know my gratitude is extended to them.

Abstract

Across the European Union, an aggregate professional field can be identified: the “social professions”. This field is characterised by being composed, in most countries, of two traditional professions with specific higher education programmes: “social work” and “social pedagogy”. The thesis explores their mutual relationship by revisiting theories from Germany, the home of social pedagogy, where the two paradigms have, in higher education policy-making, largely merged in the second half of the twentieth century. This development at the level of curriculum prescription indicates the so-called “convergence paradigm” advocated, for many years, by some academic authors. Alternatives to convergence were known, however, and an analysis of material from other EU countries may serve to reassess the thinking which has become orthodoxy in Germany. The thesis established the concepts of “social work/social pedagogy dichotomy” (the fact that the two paradigms are separate and discernible) and “social work/social pedagogy convergence”, the latter drawing upon the German concept. Using these analytical tools, first to revisit and characterise the developments observed in Germany, then to assess material from Denmark and Belgium (French Community), the thesis shows that dichotomy has continued to be a determining factor of professional education in Denmark and Belgium, while there are no signs of convergence. The discussion is based on the 15-year period starting with the enactment of the relevant EU directive on mutual recognition of qualifications (1989–2004). By ending in 2004, the investigation enables recent English developments in relation to the exploration and possible future introduction of “social pedagogy”, alongside “social work”, to be taken into consideration, thereby helping to inform current English and British debates.

(266 words)

(Date of count: 14 April 2014)

MINISTER: This thing is much bigger than Education, Sir Humphrey, and we should be responding to that.

[...]

BERNARD: Yes Minister, but you do realise that if you raise issues such as those, you are in danger of getting into debates about pedagogy, don't you?

(Penney, 2012, pp. 73-74).

Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Date: Signature:

Word count

Word count (exclusive of cover page, dedication, table of contents, references, glossary and annexes, but inclusive of the entire text of Part A, Part B, Part C and the footnotes pertaining to this text):

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Part A

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the investigation

In all the Member States of the European Union [EU], an aggregate professional field can be identified which poses serious difficulties in relation to nomenclature, definitions and data collection [Table 2.1]; it includes the profession “social worker” [§3.2.1]¹ as well as other professions, with or without distinct higher education programmes of their own. In recognition of the terminological and otherwise conceptual difficulties arising from dissimilar domestic concepts and realities, reflecting variegating histories, structures, responsibilities and perceptions, the founding editors of the *European Journal of Social Work* proposed the term “social professions” (Otto & Lorenz, 1998) as a largely pragmatic concept designed to be both sufficiently large and sufficiently specific against the backdrop of complex European realities.

The purpose of this thesis is to revisit a range of theories and models from German academic and related literature pertaining to the Social Work and Social Pedagogy professions [§1.3], their higher education programmes (first qualifying degree) and professional standing. (Capitalisation is used to underscore that Social Work and Social Pedagogy are concepts used in accordance with an ideal-typical rationale: in the various national contexts, the names used for higher education programmes and/or for professions may be at variance with the wording used here.) Whereas these German debates, pointing to a gradual and purportedly unavoidable merger of Social Work and Social Pedagogy in the higher education sector, seem to have been largely vindicated in the domestic context, given that the Social Pedagogy notion was no longer used in recent curriculum documents adopted at national level (KMK, 2001; FTSA, 2006), an obvious research interest lies in unearthing evidence from other EU Member States in an effort to determine whether or not similar patterns can be observed there and, on this basis, whether this material supports the assumption, held in Germany, of an unavoidable alignment between Social Work and Social Pedagogy.

¹ Throughout the thesis, references typeset in square brackets, italicised and commenced by the § sign, refer to chapters (e.g., [§3]) and sections (e.g., [§3.2], [§3.2.1]) of the thesis.

Table 1.1 Research questions		
Research question	Benchmarks	Type of evidence expected
<p><u>RQ1 – “The Dichotomy Question”</u> How far was there, in EU Member States, a strongly or a weakly articulated distinction between Social Pedagogy and Social Work at both the beginning (1989) and the end (2004) of the fifteen year study period?</p>	<p><u>B 1.1 – Existence</u> To what extent can be it be affirmed that Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy existed at national level in professional education in a number of EU Member States?</p>	a, b, c, d
	<p><u>B 1.2 – Articulation</u> If a Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy existed at national level, what type of dichotomy could be identified? How were Social Work and Social Pedagogy constituted and articulated?</p>	a, b, c, d
	<p><u>B 1.2 – Affinity</u> If a Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy existed at national level, did the dichotomy found at national level reproduce the pattern of the IFSW-sponsored Social Work model (one type of professional education) or rather the traditional Continental model (Social Work and Social Pedagogy as distinct)?</p>	a, b, c, d
<p><u>RQ2 – “The Europeanisation Question”</u> Is there, evidence for convergence by the end of the period (2004) either as a result of top-down imperatives from the EU or various kinds of bottom-up imperatives within each of the countries for cross-national learning?</p>	<p><u>B 2.1 – Existence</u> Observing the above phenomena over a 15 Year Reference Period and comparing findings from the beginning (1989) and end (2004) of the Reference Period, are there signs of convergence or do developments at national level rather point to the perseverance of specifically national patterns in higher education policy making?</p>	a, b, c, d, e
	<p><u>B 2.2 – EC/EU drivers?</u> If convergence can be confirmed, are there any findings which suggest that it may have been driven by policy developments at EC/EU level, in particular by Directive 89/48/EEC?</p>	a, b, c, d, e, f
	<p><u>B 2.3 – national drivers?</u> If convergence can be confirmed, are there any findings which suggest that it may have been driven by policy developments at EC/EU level, in particular by Directive 89/48/EEC?</p>	a, b, c, d, e, f
<p>a. Differentiation in titles of higher education programmes and in curricular prescriptions b. Differentiation in professional and academic literature c. Discrete labour market organisations d. Reference to Social Work and Social Pedagogy in debates in the public domain e. References to higher education programmes in the changes observed (as opposed to changes merely amending access to workforce) f. References to Directive 89/48/EEC or to EC/EU frameworks or procedures more generally. Evidence that mutual recognition played a role</p>		

Analysing the material collected under the aspect of the *Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy* (whether two discrete social professions are or have been observable in the national case studies) and *Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence* (whether the material examined shows signs of a merger between Social Work and Social Pedagogy in higher education), however, the question of Europeanisation, as proposed in the title of the thesis, will be raised [§1.3] [Table 1.1].

By drawing on material from Member States *other than* Germany it is hoped that the knowledge gained through the exercise can help inform current English debates around Social Work and Social Pedagogy, including whether the establishment of higher education programmes in Social Pedagogy and the recognition of a Social Pedagogy profession are objectives worth pursuing or whether, conversely, England and the UK are better advised to continue focusing on Social Work and, more generally, on Anglo-American traditions.² (For this reason the early developments of Social Pedagogy in England are touched on from time to time throughout the thesis, concluding with Chapter 8 which is a consideration of how what has been learned in researching the thesis could inform current British and English debates on Social Pedagogy, its relationship with Social Work and the feasibility of establishing Social Pedagogy programmes in higher education.)

The investigation is grounded in an understanding of Social Work and Social Pedagogy as being two related yet distinct and discrete constituent parts of a larger field of professional action, higher education programmes and research: this understanding is far from obvious, as some might see the social professions as basically one professional field, while others might emphasise the distinct traditions of Social Work and Social Pedagogy at the expense of their commonalities. Professional education for the social professions professional educationis provided at national level, according to plans and curricula which may include inspiration from European partners, yet decisions in the field of education remain firmly in the remit of Member States. The social professions are no exception to this rule: empirical evidence indicates that their responses to a “given” case

² In the context of the “devolved” UK, reference is mostly made to England. If material from Scotland is used or if it concerns the entire UK (especially prior to devolution), this is indicated specifically [§8.1].

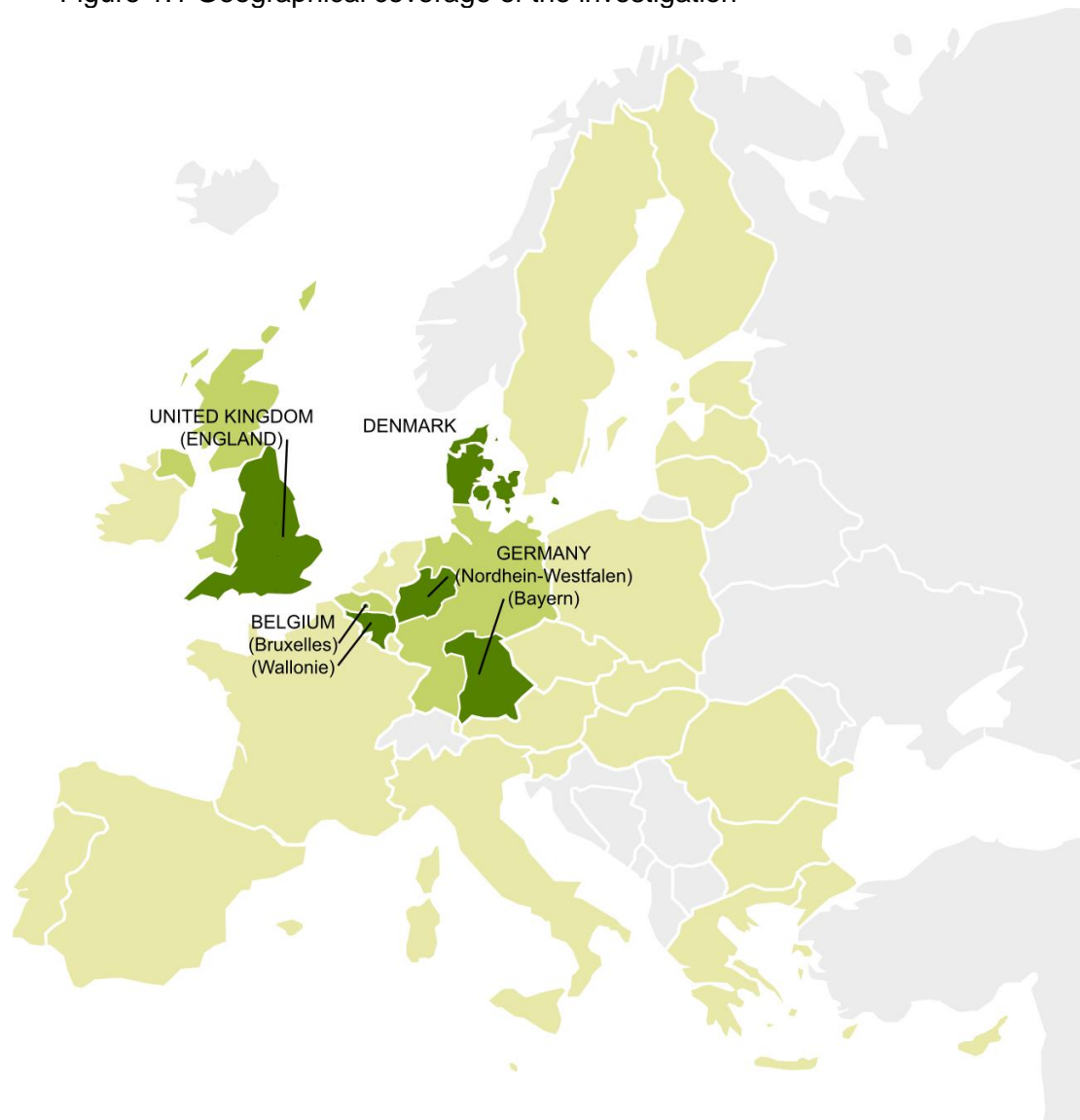
“are only partly the result of a scientifically constructed and professionally conducted analysis”: they rather tend to “enact and represent the type of citizenship that characterises the political culture of a country generally.” (Lorenz, 2006, p. 165)

While many other sectors are subjected to direct regulation from the EU level, education has not changed in any formal-legal way. On the other hand, influences and cross-national learning are all too obvious to the attentive observer.

It is a particular challenge to look for signs of Europeanisation in such an un-Europeanised field of policy and practice – one where harmonisation is excluded by law, but which may be considered a “single social area” with de-facto approximation (Threlfall, 2003) – yet this is precisely what this thesis attempts to do: not by drawing on big sets of standardised, structural data, but rather by looking for signs of a repetition of certain ideal-typical features within a sample of EU Member States. It does so by:

- (1) defining an articulation of two traditional professional and academic paradigms, Social Work and Social Pedagogy, as constitutive elements of the wider field of the social professions [§1.3, §1.4];
- (2) isolating this articulation, drawing on theories from German professional education literature, as “*Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy*”, for the purpose of detecting similarities between Member States (a “dichotomy” being a structure where two elements form the complementary halves of a third and bigger entity) (*Research question 1, RQ1*);
- (3) looking for “*Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence*”, based on the experience of Germany, in three other Member States: Denmark, Belgium, UK (England) (“convergence” implying that the two elements gradually come closer to each other, possibly to merge at a future point) (*Research question 2, RQ2*);
- (4) drawing up the results of this analysis with a view to determine if “*Europeanisation*” can be deduced (“Europeanisation” implying that two or more European countries come to resemble each other more, in terms of some specifically identified parameter(s)).

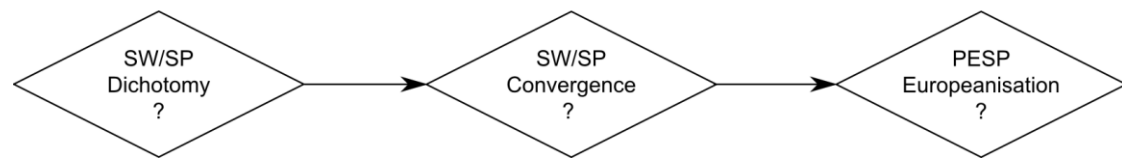
Figure 1.1 Geographical coverage of the investigation



UK/England: Not a case study, but used for comparison.

The sequential organisation of these steps will be arranged in such a way as to progress logically from one step to the next, the performance of each task being contingent upon an affirmative result of the preceding one. Logically, Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence can only be sought after once Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has been found (Social Work and Social Pedagogy cannot converge if they are not both found in a given context); Europeanisation can only be sought after once Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence has been found (Europeanisation being a process of growing similarity between scenarios observed in the other national contexts) [Chart 1.1]. The sequence of assessments and tests made in each of the three case studies is identical in principle, as only affirmative answers

Chart 1.1



from two or more national case studies can, in the final phase of the investigation, lead to an overall assessment of Europeanisation [Chart 1.2].

1.2. Scope of the investigation

1.2.1. Geographical coverage and reference period

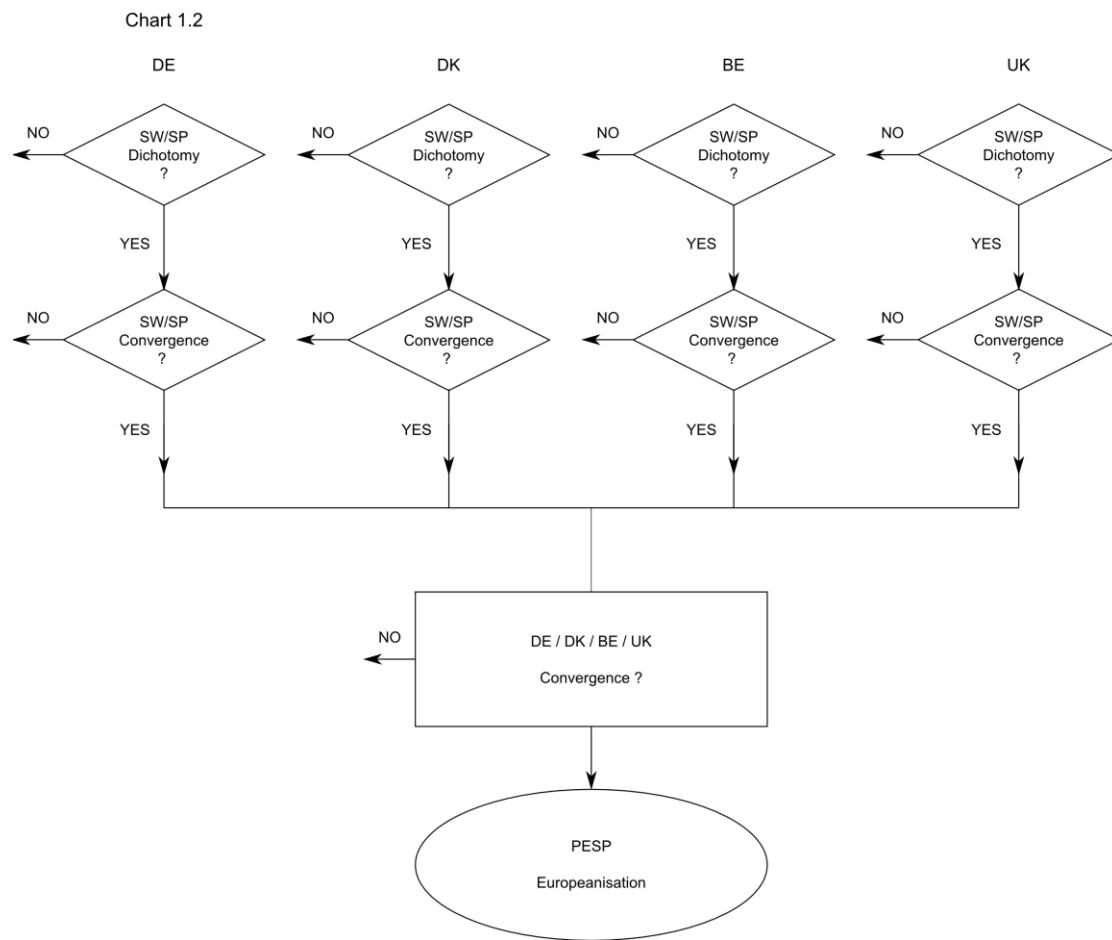
The method chosen is that of three case studies with a sample including a limited number of Member States, whereby one Member State is investigated for the entire national territory (Denmark) and the two remaining Member States are investigated via case studies covering only parts of their territory (Belgium, Germany [Figure 1.1]. The sample thus represents Member States which are all located in the Northern half of the EU, although they do represent many differences between them.

The reference period (1989–2004) starts with the enactment of Directive 48/89/EEC (currently Directive 2005/36/EC), being the only piece of binding EU legislation (“hard law”) relevant to this issue.³ But as the documentary material collected must always reflect the legal and actual situation at any given moment, and because texts in force at any moment have invariably been adopted prior to that moment, every cross section made – be it at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the Reference Period – necessarily reflects the legal situation *up to* that point and (to the extent that it can be ascertained at all) the actual situation *at* that moment. Also, many developments discussed in the investigation continued after the end of the Reference Period [Figure 3.2].

1.2.2. The social professions: Social Work and Social Pedagogy

The investigation postulates that the “social professions” – in itself a neologism specifically coined by academics involved in professional education exchange and

³ For a discussion of the “hard law”/“soft law” distinction and how governance initiatives based entirely on “soft law” may have an impact, see Kornbeck (2006b).



professional education-related comparative research (Otto & Lorenz, 1998) – can be constructed potentially with at least two substantial paradigms based on strong intellectual and professional traditions in most as its constitutive elements. These are Social Work and Social Pedagogy, of which Social Work is familiar to native English speakers while Social Pedagogy needs some clarification.

- In its pure, ideal-typical form, Social Work represents a tradition of help destined to compensate chiefly for lack of resources or for psychosocial problems, including specific problems linked to children and families. While Social Work may also fulfil many other tasks, depending on the national context, this is the core business, with its origins in work with the poor: in England, the Charity Organisation Society (COS), in Germany the *Armenvorsteher*, etc. Unsurprisingly, Social Work is often a therapeutic and/or administrative profession, in many countries often embedded within local government bureaucracies.

- In its pure, ideal-typical form, Social Pedagogy represents a tradition of help destined to compensate chiefly for lack of education in the widest sense of the word, including teaching and “upbringing” in the sense of the German word *Erziehung*, and personal growth in the sense of German *Bildung* or Greek *paideia* (Kornbeck, 2008a, 2012a), including the transmission of life skills in general. In many countries it is a more numerous and less exclusive, more permeable (semi)profession than Social Work. It is also one that values nearness and embeddedness, sharing the target population’s lives rather than keeping a distance in view of objective, expertise-base assessment. Social Pedagogy does not merely pursue educational policy goals (in opposition to the social welfare policy goals of Social Work); indeed, Social Pedagogy is a form of social help that draws to a large extent on models from education, partly implying that social problems can be understood and tackled from the perspective of education. In relation to the distance/nearness, or expertise/embeddedness dichotomies, Social Work may be seen as congruent with the values, insights and methods of Mary Richmond (including her notion of diagnostic) (Richmond, 1917) and Social Pedagogy with those of Jane Addams (whose practice in Hull House involved living with the target population) (Eberhardt, [1995] 2009; Kornbeck, 2010b).

“[...] and this is the key characteristic distinguishing it from social work, that it is not primarily ‘deficit-oriented’. It regards all children, and indeed all human beings, as, on the one hand, in need of educational guidance for the full development of their potential, more explicitly obviously in youth and in crisis situations, and, on the other hand, as capable of always developing themselves further, provided the requisite resources are available.” (Lorenz, 2008a, p. 636)

Without going more into detail at this early stage of the thesis, it appears convincing that professional education programmes for future Social Work professionals and those for future Social Pedagogy professionals should differ in various ways, including their curricula. Differentiation at the level of professional education can be seen as one emanation of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, while other, analogous emanations may be expected in professional practice, labour market organisations, textbooks, research literature, professional magazines, as well as the image of the professions in the press and media. A systematic mapping of

standardised benchmarks understood to provide proof of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy would, however, require a survey. Even the four volumes edited by Hamburger, et al. (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007) did not provide this: rather, the editors invited chapters from the countries concerned. The scope and limitations of their work has been recognised by the editors (Hamburger, Sander & Wöbcke, 2001). A systematic mapping would have necessitated a matrix-based, systematic approach which a part-time researcher would not have been able to provide with the required consistency. Instead, suggestive or conclusive evidence will be sought via case studies covering the countries concerned.

The professions covered by the investigation can be grouped as Social Work or Social Pedagogy type but it should be noted that some of the professions found in the three countries are not covered by the empirical material collected [Table 1.1]. The case studies are constructed in such a way as to highlight Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. Their mutual articulation may be conceived of as dichotomistic, not in the sense used in social science methodology, as synonymous with “presence/absence of social events” (Ragin, 1987, p. 86), but in the original, philosophical sense of the word. They represent two sides of the same coin (Tuggener, 1971, p. 21) and one is unthinkable without the other (Kornbeck, 2008b). Social Pedagogy is highly diverse (possibly more so than Social Work) but “cross-national variations in terminology belie a common understanding” (Boddy, Cameron & Petrie, 2006, p. 95) – what could be conceptualised as an implicit, cross-sectoral, pan-European Social Pedagogy paradigm.

1.3. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence, Europeanisation

1.3.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence

Social Work/Social Pedagogy Dichotomy is thus the constitutive structuring element for which evidence is sought in three case studies based on material from Germany, Denmark and Belgium (French Community) (1989–2004). This prompts a short

account of the situation observed which influenced the decision to undertake the investigation.

The initial observation was one of Germany and the UK (England), where the former seemed to have moved away from a model of clear, visible and practical Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, while the latter seemed slowly to be exploring what the former had disposed of.

In Germany, Social Work and Social Pedagogy used to be two separate, distinct and discrete paradigms, both in professional education and in practice, and their separate identities were founded in centuries of tradition (Mühlum, 2001; Schilling, 1997). But during a process that may have started in the early 1960s, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy came to be seen as increasingly irrelevant and finally, in 2001, a curricular document, adopted at federal level and phrased without giving any recognition to the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, referring solely to generic or unified Social Work (*Soziale Arbeit*) (KMK, 2001). Many (if not most) German colleagues had come to think of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy as a thing of the past, and proponents of the unified model frequently referred to foreign countries in general, and to the English-speaking world in particular, in support of their model, but also against Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, thereby suggesting to German academics and professionals the fulfilment of something inevitable (Kornbeck, 2009a). The home of Social Work/Social Pedagogy, Germany seemed to have lost faith in Social Pedagogy.

Traditionally, Social Pedagogy had been unknown in the UK, be it in the intellectual or practical sphere (Social Education Trust, 2001; Petrie, et al., 2006; Smith, 2009a; Petrie & Cameron, 2009). The best-known practice field of Social Pedagogy was occupied either by Social Work graduates (although rarely so), by other professionals or by untrained staff and still in 2009, the UK was “unusual in locating residential childcare professionally within social work” (Smith, 2009a, p. 151), yet there were strong signs that this was changing. Government-funded research and the gradual introduction of Social Pedagogy-specific professional education programmes (see Jacaranda Recruitment, 2012) seemed to announce a whole new era.

1.3.2. Europeanisation

If by 2004 some actors in England were interested in adopting Social Pedagogy within professional education (see Eichsteller, 2009; Kornbeck, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c), with a view to establishing a Social Pedagogy profession alongside the established Social Work profession, this should foster our curiosity in light of Germany's gradual withdrawal from, if not deliberate abolishment of Social Pedagogy and of the dichotomy between the two. While the government hoped to raise quality in particular segments of the workforce, some academics saw much more far-reaching implications in this, embracing change precisely because they wished to correct an English model with which they had not always been entirely content (Cameron, McQuail & Petrie, 2007; Higham, 2006; Jackson, 2006; Mickel, 2008; Milligan, 1998; Petrie, et al., 2006; Taylor, 2008; Smith & Whyte, 2008). If the term Europeanisation can be used here, then the change was not necessarily because of any top-down policy drive, but rather because of de-facto learning processes across Member States' borders. Social Pedagogy was seen as adding something that had been missing hitherto in the traditional national paradigm (Lorenz, 2008a, p. 636). In other words, German-style Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy had become worthwhile struggling for: what the Germans had largely ceased to appreciate, the English were discovering with varying degrees of enthusiasm.⁴ The Anglo-American "Social Work-only" model, sponsored by the IFSW (International Federation of Social Workers), was increasingly being associated with a latently therapeutic, pathologising and control-driven approach to people.

One way to react to such a surprising constellation of dissimilar – in reality, diametrically opposed – policy developments would be to ask the "why" and "how" questions, to uncover causalities and link the exact root causes, processes and outcomes in each national context. Approaching our German–English phenomenon in this way would, however, run into massive methodological difficulties, as the number of factors involved in each country is likely to be immense, as causalities are difficult to ascertain objectively and as cultural and linguistic aspects bear heavily on precisely these types of development in any given country.

⁴ See e.g., Cameron, et al., 2010; Cameron, McQuail & Petrie, 2007; Cameron & Petrie, 2009; Fielding & Moss, 2010, pp. 46–47; Petrie, et al., 2006; Statham, et al., 2006; Cameron & Moss, 2012a.

This is why the series of three case studies was launched, including Germany (as the country where Social Pedagogy originated but has been largely ignored in recent years) as well as two countries with a less explicit, yet unbroken Social Pedagogy tradition (Denmark, Belgium). As the diametrical opposite of Germany, England (in having no Social Pedagogy tradition but having lately discovered an interest in Social Pedagogy) will be introduced in Part C in an effort to show further perspectives. The objective was not to look systematically for causalities, but rather to uncover new knowledge: would material collected generate evidence of a pattern found in one Member State being repeated in others? Could this task be performed conclusively, the results would in themselves ensure a sufficient measure of novelty and would allow some existing theories to be refined, in particular the existing German professional education theories surrounding Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence. In this sense, the investigation is exploratory, not explanatory (cf., Yin, 2003, pp. 5–6).

1.4. Research questions

The point of departure for the investigation was the realisation that professional education programmes (and the professions to which they lead) across the EU could exhibit different constellations of Social Work and Social Pedagogy. Simple desk research (e.g., Brauns & Kramer, 1986; Commission of the European Communities, 1996, 2000) had led to the formulation of a model of three social work families in Europe: one with Social Work and Social Pedagogy, one with Social Work, Social Pedagogy and socio-cultural animation and one without Social Pedagogy (“Social Work-only”) (Kornbeck, 2001, 2002c).

An interest in the articulation of Social Work and Social Pedagogy in different national contexts drove my very first initiatives to achieve admittance for doctoral studies. However, during the first years of the guidance process, it became clear that the mapping exercise as initially imagined would not in itself ensure sufficient levels of complexity, abstraction and analytical sophistication for submitting a thesis at doctoral level.

After a phase of desk research (2002–2005), research went into an empirical phase (2005–2008). While remaining exploratory and heuristic (letting observation guide the process, with hypotheses being formulated as a consequence, rather than prior to observation), it was now organised around a total of eleven fact-finding missions [Figure 1.1] [Tables 3.7, 3.8] which led me to visits with respondents and institutions and the collection of documents, including some original archive material. The sample of countries was initially chosen on pragmatic grounds, yet the sample has later proven to be relevant from a methodological perspective also, not only because it represents countries with which I had intimate knowledge and native or near-to-native knowledge of the official languages, but also because the three countries do in many ways represent dissimilar approaches to the issues under scrutiny.

For a long time, a variety of theoretical models, mainly from sociology and political science, were considered and discarded, until two convictions began to crystallise:

- (1) The Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy remained the single most promising feature of professional education across the EU; Social Work and Social Pedagogy literature (but not that of other disciplines) should be used for defining the terms of the investigation. Indeed, in one of the countries researched, Germany, the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy had already been the subject of very sophisticated academic debates.
- (2) The same did not apply to the other countries but it was felt that the German “theorems” (as they are commonly called in the relevant literature) – convergence theorem, divergence theorem, subordination theorem, subsumption theorem, identity theorem, substitution theorem [§2.4.1] – could and should be used analogically in the other two countries when analysing the Social Work/Social Pedagogy relationship.

The thesis aims to explore the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy at national level via a series of case studies. In so doing, it seeks in particular to put the research questions (RQs) under scrutiny as shown in Table 1.1.

- RQ1 – The “dichotomy question”: How far was there, in EU Member States, a strongly or a weakly articulated distinction between social pedagogy and

social work at both the beginning (1989) and the end (2004) of the fifteen year study period?

- RQ2 – The “Europeanisation question”: Is there evidence of convergence by the end of the period (2004) either as a result of top-down imperatives from the EU or various kinds of bottom-up imperatives within each of the countries for cross-national learning?

The sequence of assessments and tests needed to find answers to these questions is as discussed earlier. For each RQ a certain set of expectations were connected with the types of material from which data might be gathered, as well as the benchmarks by which each question might be examined. During the ten years that the thesis took to prepare (2002–2012), numerous other expectations, plans and hypotheses were discarded after verification/falsification or after practical experiences on a trial/failure basis [Chart 1.1, Chart 1.2].

The plan of the thesis follows Yin’s model for case studies: (1) “study questions”, (2) “propositions”, (3) “units of analysis”, (4) “the logic linking the data to the propositions” and (5) “the criteria for interpreting the findings” (Yin, 2003, p. 21). While RQ1 and RQ2 have been presented briefly in this section, they will be developed in more detail in order to make them operational for the investigation and subsequently revisited in the light of existing research literature. At the outset of this exercise, the “propositions” will emerge: “each proposition directs attention to something that should be examined”, this being a specific trait of the case study approach, as opposed to experiments and surveys where “a topic is the subject of exploration” (Yin, 2003, p. 22). On this basis, the methodological issues to be addressed and the methodology chosen will be discussed, including the definition of the “units of analysis” via a definition and contextualisation of the sample and the strategy it represents, as well as the logic linking the data to the propositions and the criteria for interpreting the findings.

1.5. Contextualisation

The three countries of the investigation, and England/the UK with which they are compared at the end of the thesis, represent in many ways different approaches to policy and practice issues linked to social work and social pedagogy. It seems natural to ask, for instance, whether policies can be seen to diverge over questions related to the concept of welfare, childhood/youth and education/upbringing. In this section I will compare a range of basic data which can act as descriptors of the countries concerned, inasmuch as they can be expected to be determinants relevant to policy choices in this field of research; these will be complemented by more specific data illustrating the diversity of policy choices and policy outcomes in relation to education and training (all age groups, all levels).

While design issues have been addressed separately, the differences reported below are nevertheless useful in terms of showing where the three countries from the case studies stand, in a European perspective as well as in relation to England/the UK.

1.5.1. Diverse societies, diverse economies, diverse welfare states

The section draws on a variety of data sources and some selected research literature. Tables 1.2–1.7 provide quantified structural information about the three countries of the sample, compared with the UK, relevant EU averages, plus information about four further EU Member States (for reference): Poland, Romania (“new” Member States), Sweden and Finland (“old” Member States), to the extent that comparable information could be found and compounded.

Many different policy areas may be used to characterise the three (four) national contexts, yet welfare may be the single most evocative portfolio: it is value-orientated and (at least in Europe) closely tied up with explicit expectations regarding the “sort of society” in which voters wish to live. The most obvious point of departure remains Esping-Andersen’s (1990) classic trilogy of social democratic (Denmark), conservative (Belgium, Germany) and liberal (England/UK) welfare regimes (see below). Yet Esping-Andersen’s trilogy has its shortcomings and its fallacies, not least because it is reductionist, and especially in relation to the Nordic countries.

The age of criminal responsibility is a divisive and controversial one in international perspective and one where the countries of the UK have regularly come to be portrayed as somehow anti-progressive. With the age of criminal responsibility set at age ten in England and Wales and age eight in Scotland, they seem to compare unfavourably with Denmark (15),⁵ Germany (14) or Belgium (18) (Jane, 2008, table pp. [4–5] [no pagination]). Yet there is much to add to this crude information (apart from the fact that access to a court hearing is as much a right as a liability, and that a “welfare approach” is not in itself a good thing). The Belgian age (18) is unusually high even by European standards, yet this “welfare approach” obscures the fact that many young people despite being “looked after” by pedagogical staff rather than prison guards, may well be locked up anyway. Empirical research from Denmark, where prisons have developed their staff training policies (Koudal, 2011) revealed that some young offenders actually preferred the treatment received in correctional rather than pedagogical services: from their perspective the penal approach appeared to respect their dignity more, as it did not aim to change them personally (see Bryderup, 2010).⁶ While differences regarding the formal attribution of *doli incapax* may be assessed from the point of view of the “black-letter law” (an exercise which may easily let countries with a welfare approach, as opposed to a penal approach, emerge as more progressive and humane) (for details, see Jane, 2008), the severity of pedagogical sanctions must also be taken into account: Belgium’s 18-year limit raises the question of whether serving a sentence in a so-called “closed centre” (*centre fermé*) actually is preferable to serving in a prison.

The three case study countries (and England/the UK with which the findings are later compared) can be conceptualised with the help of well-established welfare state typologies. Esping-Andersen’s (1990) typology has since then attracted criticisms as well as attempts to refine and improve the model initially proposed by its author, including by Esping-Andersen himself. Initially focusing on differences in ideological

⁵ Note that far from reflecting a widely shared consensus, this age limit points to important differences in political values. It went down to 14 years in 2010, at a time when the country had a Liberal–Conservative administration supported by the far-right Danish People’s Party and returned to its previous level (15) in 2012 once a centre–Left coalition had taken office (DR, 2012). These fluctuations and the electoral campaigning accompanying them suggest that a simple comparison of such rules, unsupported by more detailed country information, may lead researchers into jumping to conclusions.

⁶ Such insights, however, did not prevent the parliamentary opposition (in 2010) and a later administration (in 2012) from stating in black-and-white terms that “kids shouldn’t be in prison”.

value-orientation as well as differences in “de-commodification” (the ability to lift provision for certain human needs out of the commodified economy), the initial triptych has often been complemented to reflect variations within conservative (Continental) systems: obviously Germany’s tax-funded safety net of cash payments to persons without sufficient social insurance claims must qualify for another status than Southern European systems without a basic safety net (notwithstanding a shared attachment to labour market orientation and a certain reliance on the breadwinner model). Also, structural and even ideological differences pervade between Nordic countries (social democracy has never been as dominant in Denmark as in Sweden, yet funding through general taxation is more generalised in Denmark than in Sweden) and the UK does not fit a simplistic liberal (Anglo-Saxon) model when the presence of a basic safety net and a free-of-charge National Health Service (the latter is a more Nordic than Continental feature) are taken into account. Also, the model seems quite indifferent to cultural determinants, a fact which prompted me to attract attention to Emmanuel Todd’s (1990) model of European “families of nations” based upon anthropological observation of centuries-old family structure in pre-industrial villages (Kornbeck, 2005). A concurrent analysis with a special emphasis of the potential of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, as academic disciplines, to contribute to a deeper understanding of the issues at stake has been provided by Peter Herrmann (2011). Nevertheless, for the purpose of locating and circumscribing the sample chosen for the investigation it seems sufficient to underline that the three countries covered by the case studies (and England/the UK with which the findings are later compared) cover all three of Esping-Andersen’s main welfare state types, just as some of Todd’s main family types are included: despite excluding Southern and Eastern European Member States, the sample is quite diverse [Table 1.2].

The sample includes two small (Belgium, Denmark) and one big (Germany) EU Member State, with two relatively fecund populations (Belgium, Denmark) and one with an acute fertility problem (Germany). All have quite high GDP per capita figures allowing them – in principle – to reserve important amounts of funding for policies relevant to this thesis (welfare, family, education, early childhood education and care). Unsurprisingly the country with a significantly lower fertility rate also features a significantly smaller 0–9 age group (Germany): a sign that these problems are not recent and an indication that related policies may not feature very high on the list of

political priorities [Table 1.2]. Arguably, countries with many children will be likely to have many voters with an interest in policies favouring children and their families, as discussed most recently by Morgan (2013).

	Population (source: OECD) *	Fertility rate (source: OECD) *	GDP per capita (source: OECD) *	0-9 age group (source: EU) **
Belgium***	4.3m	1.7	€28,700	11.3%
Denmark	5.4m	1.76	\$29,200	11.9%
Germany	82.4m	1.34	\$25,200	8.6%
UK****	60.2m	1.7	\$28,000	11.7%
<i>EU average</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>		<i>10.9%</i>
<i>Poland</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>		<i>9.8%</i>
<i>Romania</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>		<i>10.0%</i>
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>		<i>11.3%</i>
<i>Finland</i>	<i>5.2m.</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>\$26 500.</i>	<i>10.9%</i>

*) Source: OECD, 2006; pp. 282-3 (Belgium), 309-10 (Denmark), 318-9 (Finland), 333-4 (Germany), 415-6 (UK).
 **) Source: EURYDICE & Eurostate (2012), p. 21
 ***) French Community only, except GDP (entire Belgium).
 ****) England, Wales and Northern Ireland only.

The basic submission is that the size of the 0–9 age group is one of the factors which are likely to condition the priority given to policies related to social pedagogy: even if social pedagogy is far more than an “early years” theory, giving priority to the development of the “early years” workforce seems (alongside residential care) to be a key element of a policy climate that is inductive to social pedagogy development.

All three (four) countries were affluent ‘old’ EU Member States, although per capita GDP and productivity showed some differences. Against this backdrop it is interesting to note differences in female labour market participation, which may point to diverse ideological orientations, but also to differences in traditional family models (as observed by Todd, 1990), etc. [Table 1.3]. Indicators like those listed here may enter into synergies: for example, empirical research covering the OECD area shows that, while the correlation between the total fertility rate and the female labour force participation used to be a negative one before the 1980s, it has since then turned into a positive one (Engelhardt & Prskawetz, 2004). France and the Nordic countries may seem paradigmatic examples of policy change having led to a shift in reproductive

patterns, but as all European societies are faced with similar demographic challenges, the fact that countries like Germany (despite a favourable financial situation) have not been able follow suit raises questions as to what the root causes might be.

Phenomena like the German dilemma of financial strength paired with low fertility, generally thought attributable to a variety of negative policy choices, might be due to so-called “path dependency”: like other portfolios, social welfare policy finds itself caught between the necessities dictated by previous policy choices (the “path”) and the objective need for policy innovation (see Dingeldey, 2007). Yet cultural change in the population itself may also account for some differences, or indeed continued cultural forms of solidarity unrelated to structural policies. Indeed, it is not as if Northern European societies have merely chosen an institutional arrangement (a ‘welfare state’) approach to education and care. Rather, one study found that ‘grandchild care’ provided by grandparents was often *more* prevalent in Northern than in Southern Europe (Igel & Szydlik, 2011).

	Female labour market participation (source: OECD) *	Social expenditure as part of GDP (source: OECD) *	Child poverty rate (source: OECD) *	Legal entitlement to free service (source: EU) **
Belgium***	57.3%	27.2%	c.10%	2.5 years
Denmark	76.1%	29.2%	2.4%	*****6 years
Germany	66.1%	27.4%	10.2%	(variable)
UK****	69.6%	21.8%	*****15.4%	(variable)
<i>OECD average</i>			11.2%	
<i>Poland</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>Romania</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>
<i>Finland</i>	72.0%	27.1%	2.8%	<i>N/A</i>

*) Source: OECD, 2006; pp. 282–283 (Belgium), 309–310 (Denmark), 318–319 (Finland), 333–334 (Germany), 415–416 (UK).
 **) Source: EURYDICE & Eurostate (2012), p. 21
 ***) French Community only, except child poverty rate (Belgium = 7.7%).
 ****) England, Wales and Northern Ireland only.
 *****) “15.4% after taxes and transfers. [...] Though still one of the highest rates in Europe, this figure represents a significant reduction of 25%, since a government commitment to reduce child poverty was made in 1998/99.” (OECD, 2006, p. 416)
 *****) Services may be offered free of charge at an earlier age, yet this is a discretionary decision taken locally.

Differences in female labour market participation rates may be related to differences in welfare regimes, but even so, the low Belgian figures are surprising compared to the German figures [Table 1.3]. The higher Danish figures fit with the usual assumptions about welfare state typologies, Denmark being a universal, Nordic regime. Social expenditure levels are remarkably similar in Belgium, Denmark and Germany (despite their structural and ideological differences as welfare states), with the British level being significantly lower: presumably an indication of different policy goals and underlying values. The high British score on child poverty would seem to match the low British score on social expenditure, yet the relatively high Belgian (French Community) score for child poverty does not match the high Belgian level of social expenditure; the country has very high level of taxation, yet child poverty (even in the Flemish Community) follows another pattern. Again, Belgium breaks the pattern, being the only country in the sample to offer a legally guaranteed access to early childhood education and care from age 2.5: a guarantee which is extremely simple and unbureaucratic in practice, since services are offered by the ordinary education system. This results in some of the highest participation rates in the EU [Table 1.3]. Even if Denmark has the highest rate for age 1–2 (83%), there is a clear preference for parental care in the 0–1 group (OECD, 2006, p. 312), probably as a reflection of some of the most generous entitlements to maternity and paternity leave found in the EU [Table 1.3].

1.5.2. Diverse policy priorities (education and training)

Investment in education and training is another parameter which may show important differences between otherwise affluent nations [Table 1.4]. The relatively small differences between Member States are striking given the otherwise quite marked differences in levels and volume of taxation: the ratio between taxation levels of actual revenue generated for the exchequer varies greatly, pointing to important differences in efficiency (e.g., Denmark/Sweden) (Joossens & Wahrig, 2012, p. 2; p. 5, Table 1). (For reasons of simplicity, only public expenditure is considered here.) The low British public spending on tertiary education may be explained with reference to tuition fees and British universities' ability to generate 'soft' money, yet the higher Polish figures must be seen against the backdrop of a considerably more

modest level of public income. These low British figures are particularly intriguing in the light of the generally high level of UK spending (all education levels combined). Yet the figures may be taken as expressions of a particular political culture where financial liability for higher education is conceptualised as a private rather than a public matter (although some would argue that this is an English, rather than a Scottish phenomenon) [Table 1.4].

The figures also suggest other questions which cannot be answered here: does Danish spending on tertiary education, for instance, including money spent on the country’s generous system of student bursaries and student loans, or are these credits drawn on other budgets? (By comparison, a substantial portion of German legal training is provided through traineeships which are covered by modest yet helpful allowances to trainees. Even if they are not aiming at careers in the public service, they are remunerated by the Ministry of Justice of the Land providing their training. Such expenditure would not normally feature as spending on tertiary education, but as justice expenditure.)

Table 1.4 Public investment in education and training (European Commission, 2012, p. 11, table 2.1)

	Total expenditure (all levels of education combined)		Expenditure on tertiary education (ISCED level 5–6)*	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
Belgium	5.95	6.57	1.29	1.47
Denmark	8.43	8.72	2.51	2.41
Germany	4.62	5.06	1.17	1.34
UK	5.16	5.67	1.00	0.81
<i>EU average</i>	<i>5.06</i>	<i>5.41</i>	<i>1.13</i>	<i>1.22</i>
<i>Poland</i>	<i>5.41</i>	<i>5.10</i>	<i>1.15</i>	<i>1.07</i>
<i>Romania</i>	<i>3.28</i>	<i>4.24</i>	<i>0.70</i>	<i>1.20</i>
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>7.09</i>	<i>7.26</i>	<i>2.02</i>	<i>2.04</i>
<i>Finland</i>	<i>6.42</i>	<i>6.81</i>	<i>2.07</i>	<i>2.16</i>

*) ISCED levels: International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED)

Irrespective of national levels of investment, systems may also be studied with respect to their outcomes: spending alone does not guarantee high quality, accessible services

in social welfare or education and training.⁷ While comparisons of students' learning outcomes such as the OECD's PISA survey have led to much controversy (and many denunciations of the methodology employed), the reported findings have generally received wide media coverage and led to often heated debates at national level. Yet due to their controversial nature, the PISA scores of Belgium, Denmark and Germany will not be quoted here. Instead, information about national school systems as regards institutional and ethnic diversity offers a high level of objectivity (the data having been collected by the EU's official EURYDICE Network for information about national education systems) and touches upon issues of choice and the pluralism generally assumed to be a hallmark of all European societies. Although the thesis is about higher education, not school education, it is nevertheless interesting to note that the countries in the sample exhibit differences regarding the types of institutions within which primary and secondary education are provided, and not least with respect to the diversity of pupil/student population [Table 1.5].

The outspoken Belgian institutional diversity at the level of primary and secondary education is also projected into the higher education system, where not only universities but also non-university institutions (polytechnics) (where the bulk of education relevant to this thesis is provided) are found both within the "public" and within the "private, government-dependent" segments, the latter including both a confessional and a non-confessional (often anticlerical) sub-segment. The relative diversity found in Denmark has until recently also translated into a certain diversity in professional education, although institutions which were initially set up privately have usually become public or quasi-public long ago. Recent mergers of monodisciplinary institutions into bigger, pluridisciplinary polytechnics similar to those found in Germany have completed this process so that today's higher education institutions providing professional education to future social workers and social pedagogues do not emerge as having a milieu-specific profile. (Unlike Belgium, Denmark has never

⁷ Just like the part of US GDP flowing from the military, law enforcement and corrections does not in itself allow the conclusion to be drawn that the population is better off, to an extent justifying these high levels of departmental expenditure (for a detailed discussion, see Rifkin, 2004); so would it be wrong to judge welfare states and national education systems solely on the basis of their investments. Differences between EU Member States reveal that Belgium and Denmark consistently feature the highest taxation levels (Joossens & Wahrig, 2012), yet Sweden and Finland manage to offer very good services to their citizens while levying fewer taxes. While high taxation may command some respect in terms of a presumed political commitment to redistributive agendas and social justice, they do not guarantee high quality outcomes or indeed accessibility to services. The high Belgian child poverty rate [Table 1.3] compares unfavourably with the high taxation level.

had private universities.) Germany is an interesting case because the strong dominance of state schools at primary and secondary level (except for fee-paying schools) does not translate into equally state-dominated polytechnics. Indeed, as the material examined in the case study devoted to Germany [Chapter 4] will show, within the fields of study examined here there is a remarkable diversity, including state and private (almost invariably confessional albeit always essentially government-funded) polytechnics. The English situation, for comparison, is equally interesting because a sizeable private segment in primary and secondary education (government-funded and fee-paying combined) does not translate into an equally diverse higher education landscape: universities are almost invariably state-owned, state-funded (but with the highest tuition fees levied anywhere in the EU) and state-run [Table 1.5].

Diversity of institutions*				Diversity of student population	
	State schools ("public")	State-funded private schools ("private, government-dependent")	Fee-paying schools ("private, independent")	Students with a migration background	
				1st generation	2nd generation
Belgium**	52.8%	47.2%	N/A	9.8%	12.3%
Denmark	86.5%	13.1%	0.4%	2.8%	5.9%
Germany	92.9%	N/A	7.1%	5.9%	11.7%
UK***	78.7%	15.8%	5.5%	5.0%	6.2%
<i>EU average</i>	<i>82.0%</i>	<i>10.2%</i>	<i>2.9%</i>	<i>3.9%</i>	<i>5.4%</i>
<i>Poland</i>	<i>93.6%</i>	<i>1.0%</i>	<i>5.4%</i>	<i>0.03%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>
<i>Romania</i>	<i>98.8%</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>1.2%</i>	<i>0.2%</i>	<i>0.1%</i>
<i>Sweden</i>	<i>89.4%</i>	<i>10.6%</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>3.7%</i>	<i>8.0%</i>
<i>Finland</i>	<i>93.0%</i>	<i>7.0%</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>1.4%</i>	<i>1.1%</i>
*) Source: EURYDICE & Eurostat (2012), pp. 21, 33					
**) French Community only (62.7% state-funded private schools in the Flemish Community)					
***) England, Wales and Northern Ireland only (different figures in Scotland)					

In relation to the diversity of the student populations in primary and secondary education (often referred to using terms like ‘cultural’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘migration’), the French Community of Belgium stands out as being extremely diverse, with national

averages of pupils/students with a migration background far higher than those of France and the UK (and in stark contrast with the Flemish Community, with only 4.6% first generation and 4.5% second generation immigrant students) (Eurydice & Eurostat, 2012, p. 73). The levels found in Denmark, Germany and the UK are consistently lower, but nevertheless above the EU average and way above the levels of “new” Member States, but not as high as those of Sweden [Table 1.5]. Once the issue of diversity has been raised, that of education outcomes relative to diversity follows quite naturally, for instance by looking at tertiary education attainment [Table 1.6]: these figures relate to persons aged 30–34 and living in the territory of the countries concerned: qualifications may have been earned abroad and do not necessarily reflect the performance of national education systems.

Tertiary education attainment (ISCED 4+)*				Tuition fees (2011–12)**
	Total (2006)	Total (2011)	Born abroad (2011)	
Belgium***	41.4	42.6	34.8	€837
Denmark	43.0	41.2	31.5	€0
Germany	25.8	30.7	25.4	€200–1,000
UK****	36.5	45.8	55.1	*****€6,925–10,387
<i>EU average</i>	28.9	34.6	30.9	N/A
<i>Poland</i>	24.7	36.9	N/A	€41
<i>Romania</i>	12.4	20.4	N/A	€500–3,873
<i>Sweden</i>	39.5	47.5	45.0	€0
<i>Finland</i>	46.2	46.0	28.2	€0

*) Source: European Commission (2012), p. 22, table 4.2
 **) Source: EURYDICE (2012)
 ***) French Community only (higher fees in the Flemish Community)
 ****) England, Wales and Northern Ireland only (lower fees in Scotland)
 *****) Based on figures from late 2012 (EURYDICE, 2012, p. 33), of £6,000–9,000. Own calculation, using the Financial Times Currency Converter (<http://markets.ft.com/research/Markets/Currencies>) (13 March 2013).

All three case study countries (and the UK) scored above the EU average in 2006 and 2011 and all showed progress, yet Belgium and Denmark were only slightly above the EU target (40%) and Germany (despite impressive progress) remained below it [Table 1.6]. (The UK moved from below to above this target.) The table also shows Finland and Sweden to be countries in a league above the three (four), with Poland lying

below but showing considerable progress and Romania (despite some progress) lagging seriously behind (European Commission, 2012, p. 22, table 4.2). These crude figures say something about the higher education landscape and suggest some assumptions regarding expectations: is it normal to expect staff to have a degree, or at least a non-degree higher education qualification? The German and Austrian figures explicitly include non-university higher education programmes (*Fachhochschulen*, akin to the former British polytechnics) (ibid., p. 21) (an important category for Social Work and Social Pedagogy education and training) while such qualifications are not included for other countries.

Equally of great interest (given that the thesis also aims to discuss the relevance of recruiting Social Work and Social Pedagogy trained staff from other EU countries) are the figures for ISCED 4+ attainment in persons born abroad [Table 1.6]. Crucially, in the vast majority of Member States this figure is lower than the total national figure, suggesting that the national labour markets only attract workers for more menial jobs which locally born workers will not take. The Danish gap of 10% is striking but the pattern is widespread (and the Finnish gap of nearly 20% is even more spectacular). The UK is an exception (like Luxembourg, whose finance industry depends on skilled people from abroad) with migrants accounting for 10%. This confirms the pattern observed in Social Work literature where widespread graduate recruitment only seems to be a feature reported from the UK and Ireland. It also raises the question of whether such recruitment practices are met with acceptance in other Member States [Table 1.6].

As indicated earlier in this section, it is assumed for the purposes of this thesis that a high priority given, for policy purposes, to the development of early childhood education and care, including pre-kindergarten (*crèche*) and kindergarten (nursery) care and education, is relevant in relation to the likely development of Social Pedagogy. These indicators may reveal something about national traditions and cultures regarding the 'correct' locus of care and education for children in pre-primary age (*crèche* and kindergarten combined). Indeed, there used to be big gaps even between 'old' Member States (with Germany and the Netherlands showing far more restraint towards settings outside of the family than France and Belgium), but as the most recent figures suggest, Member States may have converged considerably in

recent years [Table 1.7].⁸ These figures should be seen in connection with the ‘Barcelona target’ of 90% agreed by the European Council one decade earlier (2002): 90% participation in pre-primary education at age 3–6 and 33% at age 0–3: a target with implications at the level of labour market and equal opportunities policies (labour market participation of young mothers) [Table 1.7]. It is interesting to note that even some affluent “old” Member States are *still* not above these targets: a powerful reminder that financial resources are *not the only* determinant of policy outcomes. The data quoted in this section have been selected for their illustrative value and not in order to allow a systematic cross-tabulation with the research questions of the thesis. The aim has been to help frame the discussion by having further characterised the three (four) national contexts concerned.

	Participation		Child/staff ratio		Expenditure*	
	2006	2010	2006	2010	2006	2010
Belgium	99.9	99.1	16.0	15.9	15.5	16.0
Denmark	92.0	91.1	N/A	N/A	17.6	24.4
Germany	93.0	96.2	14.3	12.6	17.5	21.8
UK	91.1	96.7	19.8	15.9	25.5	22.8
<i>EU average</i>	89.3	92.3	14.1	13.4	N/A	N/A
<i>Poland</i>	64.0	76.3	18.0	18.7	28.0	26.8
<i>Romania</i>	81.2	82.1	18.2	17.5	12.9	13.5
<i>Sweden</i>	91.3	95.1	11.4	6.3	15.6	17.6
<i>Finland</i>	68.1	73.1	12.0	11.0	14.0	15.6

*) 'Total private and public expenditure as a percentage of purchasing power standards (PPS) per pupil compared to GDP in PPS per capita.' (European Commission, 2012, footnote 43)

⁸ Here it is interesting to note a very slight participation decrease in Belgium and Denmark (countries with traditionally high levels) alongside a notable increase in Germany and the UK. Among the ‘new’ Member States, progress made in Poland stands out, while Finland is a remarkable case among ‘old’ ones, with 2006 levels just over those of Poland and 2010 lower than them. (By comparison, the Netherlands, with a tradition different from that of Belgium, rose from 74.2 to 99.6 %.) Class/group sizes have been reduced in almost all countries (spectacularly in the UK) while there is no universal pattern of increased investment (in the UK it actually decreased). Interestingly, countries with low child/staff ratio are not automatically high-investment countries, although Polish and Romanian figures suggest that certain minima are needed. (Given the low participation rates in Romania, one could expect high investment per pupil, if this meant that only affluent children attended, yet this assumption is not sustained by the figures.) [See Table 1.7.]

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Because the investigation is essentially based on textual analysis, a literature review is essential, as indeed it is in historical research (Stuart, 2005). Having defined the research questions, and in view of formulating operational propositions (Yin, 2003, p. 21), the literature review aims to show what relevant scholarship has hitherto contributed toward clarifying the issues identified [Table 2.1]. For reasons of focus and brevity, contributions to factual knowledge will mostly be disregarded and the chapter will concentrate on contributions relevant to understanding Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence.

Special attention will be paid to the six German theorems regarding Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. As these theories are all drawn from Social Work, Social Pedagogy and PESP literature, the thesis can be grounded in models drawn from within the disciplines under scrutiny and further examination of theories from other disciplines can be avoided, with the exception of convergence and Europeanisation. The field chosen is neither over-researched, nor over-theoretised. It is a “neglected field, but demands for [more knowledge] are increasing” (Meeuwisse & Swärd, 2007, p. 482), and a limited body of theoretical literature is attempting to address the challenges involved in comparing professional education (Berg, 2003; Kantowicz, 2005; Lawrence, et al., 2009; Littlechild & Lyons, 2003; Simpson & Schoepf, 2006; Weytes, 2003). Yet to present a representative digest of the “existing knowledge” (Yegidis & Weinbach, 2005, pp. 48–54), and as a matter of economy, the literature review necessarily has to be selective. Much is potentially relevant but few publications have actually looked at the issues dealt with in this thesis; rather than presenting all that is relevant overall, the focus will be kept on publications which have, to some degree, contributed to an understanding of the issues formulated in the RQs. In the same vein, the literature review is mostly limited to scholarship published in English, with the exception of German literature defining the six “theorems” regarding the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence.

	Social Work	Social Pedagogy
Typical names of the profession	<i>Sozialarbeiter</i> (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), <i>assistant social</i> (France, Belgium, Switzerland), <i>asistente social</i> (Spain), <i>socionom</i> (Sweden), <i>socialrådgiver</i> (Denmark), <i>pracownik socjalny</i> (Poland)	<i>Sozialpädagoge</i> (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), <i>éducateur</i> (France, Belgium, Switzerland), <i>educator especializado</i> or <i>educator social</i> (Spain), <i>socialpædagog</i> (Denmark), <i>pedagog socjalny</i> (Poland)
Traditional practice strongholds	Social services departments of local authorities, children & families' services, occupational rehabilitation	Residential care for children and young people, work with offenders (different age groups), work with people with various disabilities in residential settings (all ages), youth work in the community
Typical curriculum	Strong elements from sociology, psychology, psychotherapy. In some countries, numerous law courses and law exams	Education and some psychology, many elements in common with some branches of teacher training, many practical modules (drama, art, even cooking)
From: Kornbeck & Lumsden, 2009, p. 124		

2.2. Reference works and surveys available

While reference works specifically dedicated to the questions investigated here do not exist, a number of transnational surveys have been helpful in terms of informing the research during its pre-empirical phase. Surveys may have been commissioned by a German umbrella organisation of social welfare charities (Brauns & Kramer, 1986) or may be the fruit of a university-based research network (Hamburger, et al., 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007), sometimes realised with EU funding (Campanini & Frost, 2004; Frost, Freitas & Campanini, 2007). Such publications typically include country-specific chapters and do not always follow the same matrix throughout, so that cross-reference comparisons may not be easy to make. Overall, they tend to offer limited information regarding the articulation of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, so that the necessary information had to be assembled from a wide variety of sources, notwithstanding the quality of individual contributions.

International professional education comparisons have a long history as regards Social Work, with NGOs like the (then) International Committee of Schools for Social Work having pioneered early research (Salomon, 1937; see Kruse, 2002). Such work was

followed up later by governmental organisations such as the United Nations (1958), the Council of Europe (1996) and the EC (now the EU) (Warchawiak, 1987; Coccozza, 1989, 1990; Commission of the European Communities, 1997, 2000). NGOs such as the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) continued sponsoring surveys (Reimavuo, 1997a, 1997b), as did some national authorities, at least in France (Ministère de l'Emploi, 2000; Laot, 2000). Such publications, however, fail to address the core questions asked in this thesis, and Social Pedagogy tends to be largely overshadowed by Social Work.

2.3. Social Pedagogy in a European perspective

2.3.1. Social Pedagogy literature in German and other non-English languages

German Social Pedagogy literature is abundant, although many of the more recent books and articles tend either to disregard Social Pedagogy, or to use it almost synonymously with *Sozialarbeit* and/or *Soziale Arbeit*, giving the impression that no great awareness of the specific tradition of Social Pedagogy has subsisted and that, therefore, Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence has been successful. Overall, it should be noted that introductions and reference works are available. Danish Social Pedagogy literature is very limited and Belgian (French-speaking) literature is practically non-existent, with Belgian authors occasionally publishing in France; this is indeed the normal Belgian pattern (Burniaux & Frickx, 1980), and not professional education-specific. For reasons of brevity, no attempt will be made to list and comment on this rather sparse literature.

2.3.2. English-medium Social Pedagogy literature

In early 2012, a limited but growing body of English-language Social Pedagogy literature could be observed. The vast majority of relevant titles were published in the UK, with the inevitable consequence that much was presented in such a way as to fit into English concepts, yet English interest in Social Pedagogy, starting only in the second half of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), meant that a whole new genre of publications could arise. In the future, it is to be hoped that non-British and

non-Anglophone researchers will increasingly contribute to the body of English-medium Social Pedagogy scholarship.

2.3.2.1. British scholarship

Social Pedagogy was discovered by British academics long before it became a matter of interest to British Governments (Crimmens, 1998; Crimmens, 2001; Davies Jones, 1994b; Petrie, 2001; Higham, 2001). Some of this work was sponsored by what used to be the National Institute for Social Work (NISW) (Davies Jones, 1994a), while later projects received funding from the central government departments responsible for education⁹ (Petrie, 2001, 2005). An interest in the overlap between social care and education roles became obvious in some publications, like the issue of the role of Social Pedagogy in the training of residential childcare workers (Crimmens, 1998; Davies Jones, 1994a, 1994b, Jackson, 2006). The main driver seems to have been incidents of child deaths (involving children/families looked after by social services) as well as incidents in residential care settings. The implication seemed to be, *inter alia*, that Social Pedagogy-trained (as well as untrained) staff were insufficiently prepared for this type of practice. It was still to be some time until claims were made for a comprehensive “import” of Social Pedagogy, not only as staff training, but indeed also as an intellectual discipline (e.g., Petrie & Cameron, 2009).

The British Social Pedagogy debate in the UK became rather comprehensive and led to the question “Is Residential Child Care Still Social Work?” (Smith, 2003), thereby challenging old UK policies reserving this work for Social Work graduates and unskilled workers. Occasional international publications had contributed to the exchange of information about the Social Pedagogy professions and their practice (Courtioux, et al., 1986; Marcon, 1988), yet this domestic British debate sparked much more specific and operational questions.

Apart from articles in journals, as well as a quite rich body of consultancy studies and research reports, the English-language book market saw, after the year 2000, the

⁹ That the Department of Health was also sometimes involved is less significant (as it has consistently been holding responsibility for regulating Social Work training) than the fact that the various departments in charge of education got into this policy area.

publication of a limited yet significant number of Social Pedagogy books. They were usually edited collections of essays and, at the time of writing (early 2012), still included not a single Social Pedagogy textbook; an exception was the third edition of a Social Work textbook, re-oriented to focus theoretically upon Social Pedagogy (Petrie, 2011); yet this is precisely the exception confirming the rule, as the book was not a systematic introduction to Social Pedagogy theory. One book presented case studies of work with children and young people in care, drawing in part on Social Pedagogy concepts to explain the evidence presented, which indeed was absent in the book title (Petrie, et al., 2006). One explicitly Social Pedagogy-driven edited book included a variety of more theoretical essays (Cameron & Moss, 2011); in it, Social Pedagogy was still essentially limited to work with children and young people, yet the theoretical and philosophical ramifications and the potential to provide something different from the narrowly competence-based, task-driven Social Work training was both present and visible.

2.3.2.2. English-language scholarship from other European countries

Some Social Pedagogy publications came from non-Anglophone countries, including edited books published in Sweden (Gustavsson, Hermansson & Hämäläinen, 2003; Eriksson & Winman, 2010) and Germany (Kornbeck & Rosendal Jensen, 2009, 2011, 2012). Social Pedagogy publications with chapters about various European countries have taken off in England (Bengtsson, et al., 2008; Boddy, et al., 2005a, 2005b; Paget, Eagle & Citarella, 2007; Petrie, et al., 2006; Social Education Trust, 2001) and Scotland (Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse, 2005; Jackson, 2006; Smith, 2009a, 2009b; Smith & Whyte, 2008) in the 2000s, in particular as a result of the English authorities' interest in importing Social Pedagogy, an interest which has led to the financing of numerous projects. In England, it seems possible to observe both an emerging Social Pedagogy discipline (in academia) (Kornbeck, 2007b), and the contours of an emerging profession (Kornbeck, 2007c). It is therefore only natural that comparative studies should flourish, yet it is surprising when even some of these publications do not use the Social Pedagogy label in their titles (Petrie, et al., 2006; Smith, 2009). The polysemic nature of Social Pedagogy has often been highlighted (Jarning, 1997).

In the 2000s, the exploration and possible introduction of Social Pedagogy in England became government policy, which led to a range of commissioned studies and

ensuing evaluation reports. The final report from the social pedagogy pilot programme was submitted by the project group (Cameron, 2011) and received encouragement from the House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee (2009, p. 13) to “think broadly and creatively about the possible future applications of the social pedagogy approach in the care system rather than looking to import wholesale a separate new profession”. Yet the external evaluation was more mixed in its observations and recommendations, emphasising that the residential care system did need a lift to its professionalism but that this could also be achieved *without* recourse to Social Pedagogy (Berridge, et al., 2011). Meanwhile, the drastic budget cuts decided by the Cameron administration meant that the Social Pedagogy agenda was facing bigger difficulties than previously (Cooper, 2011), while debates outside academia revealed reticence, in some quarters, which might be rooted in a feeling of discomfort with unfamiliar concepts, or even xenophobic or Germanophobic attitudes (Fitzpatrick, 2010). Such comments drew counter-comments (Brody, 2010; Petrie, 2010), echoing a recent OECD-commissioned report, whose authors thought:

“that Germany should take the lead in developing cross-national exchanges about important theories, concepts and practices that have originated in Germany and have influenced other Continental European countries.” (Moss, Krenn-Wache, Na & Bennett, 2004, para. 204, p. 65)

Unrelated to the narrow Social Pedagogy debate, a book author highlighted German contributions to Western thought since the eighteenth century in an attempt to reconcile the British with Germany (Watson, 2010). Yet the impression remained that “importing” Social Pedagogy was difficult in part because it implied that England/the UK should learn from its European partners. Therefore, in order to ground the discussion for the investigation, by derogation from the rule of focusing on English-medium publications, a digest of relevant German scholarship will follow.

2.4. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy

2.4.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in German scholarship

Regarding the six German theorems, the main contributions of these schools of thought will be summarised in an effort to draw up a digest of arguments which may

serve as a base for further exploration of the dichotomy theme in the case study investigation that is to follow. As the convergence theorem seems to have been the most successful hitherto, this digest builds the bridge towards the second big theme of the thesis, convergence. The six German theorems have been classified critically by leading scholars from Germany (Mühlum, 2001, pp. 12–14; Hey, 2000, p. 58; Schilling, 1997, pp. 169–180) and Switzerland (Orizet & Kappler, 2007). Their work has considerably eased my task in this connection.

2.4.1.1. The divergence theorem

For proponents of the divergence theorem (*das Divergenztheorem*), the fundamental differences between Social Work and Social Pedagogy relate not only to theoretical concepts, but also to content and practice, and are accentuated by dissimilar histories and practice settings. Social Work springs from work with the poor and may compensate for family breakdown or lack of financial support from families, while Social Pedagogy is focused on compensation for lack of educational opportunities (Kleve, 2004). Due to these differences, each professional tradition gradually came to question the legitimacy of the other profession (Hamburger, 2003, p. 21). In direct contradiction of the convergence theorem, Social Work and Social Pedagogy are still very much perceived as different in practice, as the perpetuation of the charity worker (*Fürsorger*) and the youth leader (*Erzieher*) respectively (Lüssi, 1992, p. 50–51).

2.4.1.2. The convergence theorem

While admitting that Social Work and Social Pedagogy have historically had dissimilar routes, pathways and practice patterns, those who adhere to the successful convergence theorem (*das Konvergenztheorem*) observe what they see as irrefutable signs of a gradual and unavoidable rapprochement. Convergence will continue until Social Work and Social Pedagogy have become identical. In the mid-1960s, Hans Pfaffenberger famously introduced the “slash notation” (*Schrägstrichnotation*) of “social work/social pedagogy” (*Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik*) and predicted that:

“social and social pedagogical work must [...] be seen and understood as one unitary functional system of societal helping activities” (Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974, p. XXXI) (transl. JK)¹⁰.

It is worth noticing that Pfaffenberger wrote thus in the editorial preface of the German edition of a US textbook, having translated and edited the best-selling title by the German-American émigré, Walter Friedländer. Affinity with North American models – in Pfaffenberger’s case particularly pointing to Canada (Merten, 2002) – is undeniable, yet the convergence theorem is more pragmatic than the identity theorem, in that it recognises the impact of tradition and accepts that convergence will take time. It has been received into leading texts of the 1990s and early 2000s (e.g., Engelke, 2003; Thiersch, 1996). While Social Work and/or IFSW affinity can be expected to play a role in all contributions of the convergence theorem school, an explicit leadership role for Social Work is not one of their claims – although it may be argued that, in reality, this is what their agenda amounts to. The common definition adopted by the professional associations of Germany, Austria and the Netherlands in the 1990s (DBSH, NVMW & ÖBDS, 1997) can hardly be understood differently than a Freudian *Versprecher*, as it speaks solely of Social Work (*Sozialarbeit*, not *Soziale Arbeit*). Yet the successful official line of the convergence school has been to claim that convergence was objectively unstoppable and not a matter of submitting one paradigm to another.

2.4.1.3. The subordination theorem

By contrast, some authors have made a more outspoken claim in the subordination theorem (*das Subordinationstheorem*) which holds that only university-based “Science of Upbringing” (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) or “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) can represent Social Work *and* Social Pedagogy in relation to defining concepts, doing research, generating evidence-based knowledge, etc. Two theoretical positions are available:

- Either Social Work should be the generic concept (*Oberbegriff*), anchored in university departments of Social Work, because it is “international” (presumably Anglo-American and IFSW-based) and because it includes

¹⁰ “Die soziale und sozialpädagogische Arbeit muß [...] als einheitliches Funktionssystem gesellschaftlicher Hilfen gesehen und verstanden werden.” (Pfaffenberger [1966] 1974, p. XXXI)

services which are not educational by nature (Rössner 1973, p. 122). But this notion is of course problematic for those who see Social Pedagogy as representing all sorts of help for all age groups, including work with disabled adults, offenders or geriatric work, a Social Pedagogy “of the life ages” (Böhnisch, [1997] 2008; Kornbeck & Rosendal Jensen, 2011, 2012; Cameron & Moss, 2011b, p. 7).

- Or Social Pedagogy should be the generic concept because it is much older (going back to Karl Mager, 1844), because it has long ago left the narrow confines of school and youth work and because the concept of Social Work was not introduced before around 1918 (Schilling 1997, p. 171).

As Social Work has until now been almost absent from universities, while many Departments of Education have a Social Pedagogy component, it is not surprising that this second branch of the subordination theorem seems, in the last two decades, generally to have been favoured by university-based academics, while Social Work (*Sozialarbeit, Soziale Arbeit*) has generally been favoured by those based on non-university higher education institutions (*Fachhochschulen*).

2.4.1.4. The subsumption theorem

According to the subsumption theorem (*das Subumtionstheorem*), differences and divergences between Social Work and Social Pedagogy can be observed but both models are so similar that they can easily be conceived of as belonging to a generic *Soziale Arbeit* (not to be confounded with *Sozialarbeit*, i.e., Social Work). It may be argued that the 2001 RPO regulation (*Rahmenprüfungsordnung*) (Federal Framework Examinations Regulation) (KMK, 2001) [§4.3.5–6] represents the subsumption theorem, rather than the convergence theorem, yet some authors prefer to make a distinction, subsumption being

“more convincing, as it avoids a complete separation and disparate developments (divergence) as well as condescendence and hierarchies between the two models (subordination); instead, and more realistically, it takes the real-term development as its point of departure with increasing convergence and interdependency despite the perpetuation of differences.” (Mühlum, 1981, pp. 319, 322, cit. Schilling, 1997, p. 179) (transl. JK)

Hans Pfaffenberger himself moved into this direction in the 1990s, pleading in favour of a generic term called *Sozialwesen* (which was being used for degree programmes for some time but seems to have been dropped again later).

2.4.1.5. The identity theorem

The identity theorem (*das Identitätstheorem*) postulates total and perfect identity and duplication of the contents of Social Work, Social Pedagogy and generic or unified Social Work (*Soziale Arbeit*). Already in the early 1970s, Tuggener described Social Work and Social Pedagogy as “two sides of the same coin” (Tuggener, 1971, p. 21; Schilling, 1997, p. 173).

The 2001 Regulation may be seen as an expression of this theorem, rather than a straightforward victory for the convergence theorem, if the leading disciplinary label in the end is “generic Social Work science” (*Wissenschaft der Sozialen Arbeit*) (Engelke, 2003; Hamburger, 2003, p. 20) rather than “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) (Birgmeier & Mührel, 2009; Pfaffenberger, Scherr & Sorg, 2000). Adherence to this theorem would seem to solve the diachronic problem of dissimilar professional histories (Merten, 1998, p. 20) and seems to reflect workforce realities as observed empirically (*ibid.*, p. 21).

2.4.1.6. The substitution theorem

Finally, the substitution theorem (*das Substitutionstheorem*) is based on the assumption that Social Work and Social Pedagogy are synonymous and interchangeable notions. It is not quite clear what are the practical implications of using this theorem, rather than the substitution theorem; however, some authors have a preference for it. It emerges as an obvious description of the approach chosen by some authors who clearly do not reject Social Pedagogy, yet use the different notions without distinction (Böhnisch, [1997] 2008; Hamburger, 2009; May, [2008] 2009). In the early 1980s, for instance, Social Pedagogy professor Lothar Böhnisch grounded one empirical study in the understanding that Social Work and Social Pedagogy were synonymous (Böhnisch, 1982, p. 5; Schilling, 1997, p. 172). As an example of a publication with a concept reflecting this theorem, an anthology published under the auspices of the “German Social Work Society” (*Gesellschaft für Sozialarbeit*) may be mentioned: the book title refers to a “Science of Social Work”

(*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*), where *Sozialarbeit* (one word) refers to a broad field, which includes both Social Work and Social Pedagogy. At the same time, the subtitle refers to generic Social Work *sozialen Arbeit (Wissenschaft der sozialen Arbeit)* (Mühlum, 2004a). It is permissible to speculate about the possibility that different opinions have been at work within the organisation that carries Social Work in its name.

2.4.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in English-language scholarship

2.4.2.1. European English-medium scholarship

Only few authors have looked at the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in a European perspective. The parallel existence of Social Work and Social Pedagogy is recorded in various publications but without any deeper discussion of their articulation.

I have previously contributed to the debate by proposing a typology based on various “families of nations” (Kornbeck, 2001), by challenging the idea of German Social Pedagogy exceptionalism (Kornbeck, 2002d) and finally by pointing to the possible limits to the “exportability” of Social Pedagogy (Kornbeck, 2002e). Lorenz (2006) has drawn attention to the hermeneutic tradition in Social Pedagogy, being obviously different from that of Social Work. Lorenz (2008a, 2008b) has reminded us of the need to see Social Pedagogy in connection with its history, thereby again underscoring differences. From the opposite perspective, Coussée, et al. (2008) as well as Coussée & Verschelden (2011) have pleaded in favour of “the social” in Social Pedagogy, warning against a Social Pedagogy without sensitivity to social inequalities. By far the main contribution, however, and the only one to address the concerns of the six German theorems, has been provided by Hämäläinen (2003), a paper discussed in more detail further below in this section, and one which will be drawn upon recurrently in the thesis.

The Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has sometimes been discussed without making the dichotomous structure very visible, including by Bon (2009) and Haas (2005), both writing in English for an international readership and rejecting the idea

of counting French *éducation spécialisée* as Social Pedagogy. This is implicitly in contradiction with Capul & Lemay (2008), writing for a francophone readership, and has since then been challenged by Kern & Reichart (2011). As regards the possible implications for national Social Pedagogy associations' membership in international umbrella NGOs, I have discussed it in an earlier analysis (Kornbeck, 2009d) which was vindicated, very soon after, by the decision of the Danish Social Pedagogy association to leave the (Social Work-based) IFSW and join the (Social Pedagogy-based) AIEJI instead (Engberg, 2010).

2.4.2.2. Hämäläinen's contribution

Authors seeking to define Social Pedagogy via a set of methods may conclude that it cannot be identified (Bryderup, 2005; Bryderup, & Frørup, 2011, p. 88), yet this is not an argument in favour of rejecting Social Pedagogy as such. Rather, it points to the existence of two different approaches: a "broad tradition" which does not seek to link Social Pedagogy to a specific activity, and a "narrow tradition" which will only affirm the Social Pedagogy of Social Pedagogy where it can be observed as a specific activity, occupation, set of methods, etc. (see Bryderup, & Frørup, 2011, p. 87).

This apparent paradox has been addressed by Hämäläinen (2003). In relation to Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, his text stands out as being the single most important text at a European or international level in taking the initiative to start a discussion and refer specifically to Social Work and Social Pedagogy, and Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. It deserves praise as a highly original, well-crafted paper which, although written by a Finnish academic, shows considerable knowledge and understanding of the German Social Pedagogy classics (essential to any serious discussion of Social Pedagogy theory). Looking at the issues from outside Germany, Hämäläinen's point of departure is the realisation that Social Pedagogy has, "in some European countries", been influential in shaping both the theory and practice of the profession. He thus does not wish to relegate Social Pedagogy to the secondary status of a Social Work method (scil., as in the IFSW (2001a) definition), and he states this in unmistakable terms, stressing that "it is in fact questionable whether these traditions should be classified under the concept or notion of social work" (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 69) – a line of thought which must be said to go counter to that

of the IFSW and its supporters, while it is very much in line with the definition of AIEJI (2005).

Although there is no explicit Social Pedagogy tradition in the Anglo-American countries, the Social Work model, “the tradition based on Jane Addams’ life work, the settlement movement, contains social pedagogical elements – or can even be said to be social pedagogical in nature” (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 70). In other words, while Social Pedagogy may seem unfamiliar at face value, it nevertheless stands for something which does exist in the English-speaking world. This opinion should be contrasted with a recent Scottish contribution, whose authors find Social Work rooted in specifically English models of thought which exclude the community-based approach of Social Pedagogy, whereas the tradition of Scottish Enlightenment would seem compatible with Social Pedagogy (Smith & Whyte, 2008). Unlike this Scottish analysis, Hämäläinen’s contribution is exceptional in its rejection of arguments to the effect that Social Pedagogy may not be able to connect with English-speaking Social Work (Puhl & Erath, 2005, p. 804; Speck, 2006, p. 101). This view, which relegates Social Pedagogy to the realm of German idiosyncracies – an idea I have opposed (Kornbeck, 2002d) – needs to be reassessed critically.

Hämäläinen finds Social Pedagogy to be rooted in a belief that social problems can be tackled via education and sees this model implicitly even in the texts of philosophers from Antiquity, such as Plato and Aristotle (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 71). These theories, however, did not put much emphasis on “the questions of poverty, social distress and social help” which, with the advent of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, gained importance as the alleviation of such problems became accentuated: “Two types of strategies arose to confront social problems and to promote social well-being: politics and pedagogy” (ibid., p. 71). While, however, Social Work sought to develop responses via increasingly sophisticated (and standardised) methods, Social Pedagogy is “not a method, nor even a set of methods”:

“it has its own theoretical orientation to the world. [...] An action is not social pedagogical because certain methods are used therein, but because some methods are chosen and used as a consequence of social pedagogical thought” (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 77).

From a non-German perspective, but with deep insights into German literature, Hämäläinen has provided answers to many of the questions raised in the German debate and articulated around the six German theorems:

“As a branch of study, social pedagogy has an approach to theoretical questioning of its own, comprising the standpoints of other disciplines and reinforcing the knowledge bases of different professional fields. From this angle, social pedagogy can be seen as strengthening the theoretical framework of social work education as well as being educational, dealing with human well-being. The message here appears to be that the concept of social pedagogy is not about painting towns and cities red with brightly coloured posters, goading mankind to transform the world. It is about adding value to social needs, with the stroke of a scientific brush.” (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 78)

2.4.2.3. French English-medium scholarship

Only in France is the concept of Social Work and Social Pedagogy jointly forming the social professions (*le travail social*) (not equivalent to Social Work, despite the semantic similarity) widely written into mainstream textbook literature (Ion & Ravon, 2002; Thévenet & Désigaux, 1998). While France is not covered by a case study in the investigation, it is relevant due to the absence of francophone Belgian academic and professional literature in this field and the resulting Belgian dependency upon French publishers. At any rate, some publications in the other countries can be seen as carrying an implicit recognition of structures similar to the German ones, but always without drawing conclusions like the German convergence theorem. If statements are made about the Social Work/Social Pedagogy ratio, they seem bound to represent the divergence theorem.

Implicit positions regarding Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy may be extrapolated from some publications. For example, not all authors agree that the Belgian and French *éducateur spécialisé* profession, or its higher education programmes, can be described as Social Pedagogy. With Brocal, Gillet & Kornbeck (2007), Crimmens (1998), Davies Jones (1994a, 1994b), Kornbeck (2001) and Petrie, et al. (2006) this is the case, yet the argument is rejected by Haas (2005), with reference to a somewhat different tradition, as well as by Bon (2009):

“Although many French speaking countries such as Belgium, Switzerland and Québec (Canada) have a long term tradition of

social pedagogy, at least as an intellectual discipline, one can undoubtedly say that in France there is actually no “Social Pedagogy” as it is usually referred to in Scandinavian or Nordic countries for instance.” (Bon, 2009, p. 34)

However, this black-and-white statement has to be seen against the backdrop of a reality where, despite variegating terms used, similarities can be detected; therefore, Kern & Reichart (2011) have rejected Bon’s assessment and argued that French *education spécialisée* is an emanation of European Social Pedagogy.

2.5. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence

2.5.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in German literature

Basically, the issue of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence has been covered in literature on Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, as reported above [§2.4]. While it may be true that certain books or articles have a stronger focus on convergence than on the dichotomy itself, distinguishing between the two topics was not deemed feasible in this review. Nevertheless, it may be of interest that one journal article looked in particular at the dynamics of convergence (Kornbeck, 2009a).

2.5.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in English-language literature

As mentioned in the preceding section, relevant literature will have been reported under the heading of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence and has been covered in literature on Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, as reported above [§2.4]. To the extent that English-medium publications deal with the two issues at all, this should apply in this case, too, *mutatis mutandis*. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Kornbeck (2009a) as well as Sünker & Braches-Chyrek (2009) have flagged up the issue in international, English-language publications, while Berridge, et al. (2011, p. 4) show some awareness of these debates. Given that the latter publication shows some inclination towards Social Work-based solutions (which may not be surprising in the light of the fact that the authors of the report had either a Social Work or a Social Policy background, while the *social pedagogy pilot* project they were asked to evaluate has been conceived and led by academics with an

Education and/or Social Pedagogy profile), the fact that these authors did recognise the pertinence of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence may have played a role in leading them more easily to their final conclusions, including that a “higher status, graduate, residential workforce hypothetically could be developed in England *unassociated* with social pedagogy” (ibid., p. 260).

2.6. Europeanisation

2.6.1. European integration and employment opportunities

Studies on the impact of European integration have sometimes been quite numerous, especially in the UK at the time of the Thatcher administration, when British professional education was incompatible with EC rules on mutual recognition, since the relevant programme (*Dip.SW*) was only of two years’ duration. The expected implications of the completion of the single market programme on 1 January 1993 were analysed (Hill, 1991; Cannan, Berry & Lyons, 1992), including some professional education aspects. The afore-mentioned PhD thesis on recent British professional education developments has also taken account of some EC/EU related aspects (Lyons, 1999). A Social Pedagogy-specific discussion of mutual recognition issues does not seem to have been provided in academic literature; the only known exception was merely put into limited circulation (FESET, undated).

In the years preceding the entry into force of the EC’s Single Market Programme – the famous “1992” deadline, which actually was 1 January 1993 – numerous Social Work publications dealt with implications for job market regulation and free movement, or they presented the professional education systems of other countries.¹¹ Apart from the largely theory-free “1992” literature referred to above, the legal and practical problems of a European social work job market were identified by Harris & Lavan (1992). The accreditation of academic qualifications and the role played by

¹¹ In the UK, CCETSW sponsored an impressive number of these publications (Barr, 1989a; 1989b; 1990a; 1990b), while others arose out of other collaborations, both in the UK (Blonden, 1991; Cannan, Berry & Lyons, 1992; Cannan, Colman & Lyons, 1992; Hill, 1991; Connelly & Stubbs, 1997) and abroad (Cannan, Berry & Lyons, 1992; Hill, 1991). Edited books with comparative social work studies of a special kind, entirely consisting on student papers from international programmes, have been published by Berg (2002a, 2002b, 2005).

languages have been discussed earlier (Kornbeck, 2003, 2004b). Yet the focus has almost always been on Social Work, and legal aspects have prevailed.¹²

Later (not necessarily connected with the EU), transnational recruitment has been discussed in a number of Social Work publications (e.g., Lyons & Littlechild, 2006; Hussein, Manthorpe & Stevens, 2010). The idea that a global Social Work job market (potentially more oriented towards the Anglosphere than towards the EU) might be emerging was recognised by various British-based authors (e.g., Welbourne, Harrison & Ford, 2007; White, 2007). It seems to be more on the minds of English-speaking colleagues than on those of their Continental European counterparts (except that in Eastern Europe, the prospect of finding employment in the UK or Ireland may be on the minds of social workers). The realisation, that “Europe can help reduce vacancies” in the UK and the British labour market might bring relief to European partners with Social Work unemployment, has also been made by a German academic (Hansen, 2002) (at a time when the UK was in a more favourable situation than was Germany). Thus, although “English-speaking practitioners often assume that they can go anywhere and be accommodated” and “are less inclined than the speakers of other languages to learn new ones” (White, 2007, p. 372), it is precisely they who – out of national self-interest, yet in undeniable support of the Europeanisation of Social Work recruitment – may be doing most in terms of opening up.

Effects of Europeanisation and internationalisation have been observed in various ways, though this has not been a very fertile field of research, in the sense that not many scholars have engaged in contributing to its development. Apart from single country studies with a European perspective (especially in the journals *Social Work in Europe* and *European Journal of Social Work*), some comparative papers involving two or more countries have certainly furthered reflection of this type. The British social pedagogy debate [§4.2] is a similar case, where the import of a professional education paradigm from other countries has been discussed – a clear sign of Europeanisation.

¹² Maybe as a reflection of the SW profession’s affinity with law and administration, a major West German research institute specialised in comparative law sponsored, in the early 1980s, two PhD theses devoted to the legal position of SW in England (Haberkorn, 1983) and France (Hörz, 1983) respectively.

2.6.2. Europeanisation: mutual recognition of qualifications

Literature on mutual recognition of qualifications is a special category that covers publications dealing with the effects of the Single Market, including professional mobility, mutual recognition of qualifications and related topics. In the field of Social Work, Barr (1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1990) as well as Harris & Lavan (1992) looked at the implications of Directives 89/48/EEC and 92/51/EEC for Social Work graduates' professional mobility, a theme taken up much later by myself (Kornbeck, 2003, 2004b). Within Social Pedagogy, similar work was done by Davies Jones (1994a, 1994b) as well as the conference delegates who contributed to a book edited by Marcon (1988). In 1997, the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) commissioned a short study on mobility to Reimavuo (1997a, 1997b).

2.6.3. Evaluations of academic exchange activities

While it is true that professional education programmes started early exchange and collaboration activities as long ago as the 1920s (see Hering & Waaldijk, 2002), it was not before the establishment of big, generic HE exchange programmes in the EC in the 1980s to 1990s, that exchange activities started to gain momentum. Various EC (now EU) programmes (Erasmus and others) gave new impetus and evaluations were, and are, mandatory for EU-funded projects.

The general impact of the Erasmus Programme has been evaluated numerous times, of which just one publication should be mentioned (Bracht, et al., 2006). The general impact of EC/EU programmes on professional education development has been evaluated in a range of conferences and seminars that have been subsequently documented (Seibel & Lorenz, 1998; Chytil & Seibel, 1999; Chytil, Lorenz, Seibel & Strizenec, 2000; Seibel & Lorenz, 1998; Friesenhahn, Otto & Seibel, 2007). Similar publications have been made without a direct link to evaluations, but still drawing on very similar material and raising many of the same questions (Kersting, 1995; Kolhoff, 2003; Kreuzer, 1999; Labonté-Roset, Marynowicz-Hetka & Szmagalski, 2003; Littlechild, Erath, & Keller, 2005; Lyons & Lawrence, 2006; Marynowicz-Hetka, Wagner & Piekarski, 1999; Puhl & Maas, 1997; Seibel, Otto & Friesenhan, 2007). I have presented a summary of some of these publications, under the aspect of

“linguistic preparation” for exchange activities (Kornbeck, 2004c). The impact of EU exchange programmes on social work curriculum development has also been looked at (Hatton, 2006).

2.6.4. Europeanisation or bilateral learning?

It is not obvious that the UK’s interest in Social Pedagogy should be interpreted as Europeanisation: countries have learned from each other previously without the support or encouragement of the EU, and their bilateral contacts continue to be important. While some Erasmus evaluation reports do point to the role of English as a dominant language in EU-funded exchange activities (Lorenz, 1998, pp. 47–49; Lorenz, Aluffi Pantini & Kniephoff, 1998, pp. 39–50), it would, however, be difficult to find more fundamental contributions, within the available literature, regarding what exchanges can be expected to provide in the field of professional education. The optimistic view of modernisation expressed by Kerr, et al. (1960), Inkeles & Smith (1974) and others is often opposed to this tradition. Yet structural and cultural factors have to be balanced, of which even members of the “families of nations” school are aware: the example of price stability in the German-speaking countries (Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland) in post-War decades shows that there are specific traits pertaining to this group, but also that there are important differences between them (Busch, 1993). It may be difficult, then, to decide whether a shared culture is more important than structures – a problem that reminds us of the phrase famously attributed to Shaw: that the UK and USA are ‘divided by a common language’.

That such contributions may exist within literature on European integration, more generally, will not be taken into account as part of this review. Nevertheless, Kornbeck (2005) did point out, in a Social Work publication, that convergence may not only be based solely on structural and socio-economic criteria and drivers, that this has increasingly been taken into account in sociological convergence debates, and that this realisation may have implications for professional education debates. Indeed, British Social Pedagogy proponents have in many cases highlighted that the Social Pedagogy agenda was an opportunity for England/the UK to learn from European partners (Smith, 1999, 2009a). Professional education, however, necessarily reflects

the highly nation-state specific nature of Social Work and Social Pedagogy practice in national contexts (Lorenz, Aluffi Pentini & Kniephoff, 1998).

2.6.5. Europeanisation/internationalisation – and the demise of Social Pedagogy in Germany?

According to Mühlum (2001, p. 3), any current dominance of Social Work over Social Pedagogy should be seen in the light of adverse past experiences: Social Pedagogy used to dominate Social Work for many years, which found an expression in Rauschenbach's thesis of the "social pedagogical century" (*das sozialpädagogische Jahrhundert*), the title of an article (Thiersch, 1992) and a book (Rauschenbach, 1999), but when the professional association, DBSH (*Deutscher Berufsverband für Soziale Arbeit*), and the Conference of State Education Ministers, KMK (*Kultusministerkonferenz*), decided to support generic or unified Social Work (*Soziale Arbeit*), this finally led to a strengthening of Social Work. Mühlum speculates that DBSH and KMK may "probably" have chosen this line because of "the increasing internationalisation of *social work*" – while writing in German, he uses the English words (*social work*) – thereby ensuring compatibility (Mühlum, 2001, p. 3). When Social Work flourishes, this would lead to a "recession" for Social Pedagogy, as Hans Thiersch previously predicted in a now famous article with the title "Cinderella and Her Sisters" (Thiersch, 1990).

With a reference to Rauschenbach & Züchner (2000), Braches-Chyrek & Sünker (2009, p. 181) affirm that the "historical connection between Social Work and the pedagogical tradition predominant in Germany is unique". They go on to emphasise that compatibility with Anglo-American professional education seems to have been a major concern:

"A professional internationalisation of Social Work was achieved through degrees being made compatible in Europe. The training structures were adapted to Anglo-Saxon and US American models. The purpose of this modularisation was to achieve flexibility and greater interchangeability within and between the academic disciplines, giving greater importance to research and the development of professions and disciplines. One disadvantage is surely that the broad spectrum of degrees has been lost in this assimilation process." (Braches-Chyrek & Sünker, 2009, p. 181)

Some authors go even further, and for Puhl & Erath (2005, p. 804), “To ensure an appropriate academic and professional level, European Social Work [*Soziale Arbeit*] needs an academic debate that is able to connect,” which seems to suggest connecting with international debates conducted in English (*eine anschlussfähige Wissenschaftsdiskussion*). The long-standing Social Work/Social Pedagogy debates regarding the establishment of Social Work as an academic discipline (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) “ought to be regretted no longer but should rather be seen as a challenge and an opportunity in the light of European perspectives” (ibid., p. 804). Puhl & Erath see Social Work as a well-established academic discipline in England and the Nordic countries – an argument which may warrant some scepticism, given the “precarious foothold” in the UK (Jackson, 1999, p. ix), the belated academisation in Denmark (Kornbeck, 1999) and a realisation in Finland that academic excellence may not compensate for lack of professional competence (Satka & Karvinen, 1999).

Some German professional education authors would even emphasise the importance of having concepts and titles that *sound* like the Anglo-American ones. Speck (2006, p. 101) finds *Schulsozialarbeit* to be a better word for Social Pedagogy interventions in schools, as it sounds like the English “school social work”. That this type of practice may, in many European countries, such as Belgium (Kornbeck & Radermaecker, 2011), be performed by Social Work/Social Pedagogy graduates, does not seem to play any major role. For reasons undisclosed to his readers, another German author even assumes that Social Pedagogy is

“hardly capable of developing a theoretical discussion which would allow an academic discipline to be established based on Social Pedagogy, with this discipline being able to connect internationally, be it for historical or theoretical reasons?” (Tröhler, 2007, p. 29) (transl. JK)

Invectives of this sort are unhelpful, especially if they remain unsupported by evidence. This one is especially incomprehensible granted that Social Pedagogy has always been an academic discipline in Germany (long before Social Work became one), while also having sister disciplines in other countries. This interpretation cannot be upheld by facts and there is no reason why “one would need to speak of Social Work [*Soziale Arbeit*] to be successful internationally” (Niemeyer, 2003, p. 16), yet

the voices challenging this orthodoxy seem to be in the minority. The dichotomy has come to be seen, in Germany, as obsolete, partly because it does not emulate the IFSW paradigm.

In British literature, however, Social Pedagogy has been recognised as being able to add something that has until now been missing in the UK (Cameron & Moss, 2011; Crimmens, 1998; Higham, 2001, 2006; Petrie, et al., 2006; Smith, 2009b; Social Education Trust, 2001).

2.7. Conclusions from the literature review and implications for the investigation

To link “the researcher’s current efforts” with the contributions made previously by other scholars, the literature review follows Yin’s logic of questions, propositions and units of analysis (Yin, 2003, p. 21) and will conclude by raising the following questions aimed at informing the discussion in subsequent chapters:

1. Have the publications reviewed contributed knowledge or theories which seem to complement or challenge any of the initial propositions laid out above?
 - a. Clearly, the supporters of the convergence theorem seem to have been successful, not only because their ideas and arguments have been received into the mainstream: with the exception of the divergence theorem and the subsumption theorem, it may be said that the other models draw partially on the convergence theorem.
 - b. On the other hand, alternative opinions are well and alive, with the “social pedagogical century” (Thiersch, 1992; Rauschenbach, 1999) being not only a convenient shorthand or a snappy sobriquet, but indeed a concept which keeps emerging in other scholars’ writings: whenever they use the concept (albeit not always being downright Social Pedagogy supporters), they do confirm the relevance of Social Pedagogy. Interchangeable or synonymous uses of Social Work and Social Pedagogy can be found in many publications which are clearly sympathetic to Social Pedagogy (Hamburger, 2008; May, [2008])

2009); and even an outspoken Social Pedagogy proponent, whose works draw deliberately on education as the foundation of Social Pedagogy (Böhnisch, [1997] 2008), may occasionally also seem to use the concepts as synonyms.

- c. Thus, with regard to the initial proposition made in the introduction, it seems that the relevance of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy (RQ1) may be confirmed, while that of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence is equally undeniable (RQ2). The resulting picture, after screening the available literature, is rather blurred and clarification is needed more than ever.
2. Can any rivalling theories be identified as comparable to the six German theorems?
 - a. The literature screened has shown that, even within Germany, Social Work and Social Pedagogy are still concepts that many (if not all) can associate with something. This is evidenced by the reference to certain types of vocabulary, including *Klient* (client), *Fall* (case) and *Diagnose* (diagnosis) being Social Work-specific and, conversely, problematic from a Social Pedagogy perspective (Schilling, 1997, pp. 139–143).
 - b. It can also be seen from Social Work's rejection of the "pedagogy" part of Social Pedagogy, based on the misunderstanding that "pedagogy" would be similar to strict, authoritarian, old-fashioned education: an explanation from the 1960s which was still being used in the 1990s (and thus within the Reference Period of the investigation) (Iben, 1969; Schilling, 1997, p. 141). Similarly, attempts made by supporters of the subsumption theorem to reconcile Social Work and Social Pedagogy may also be interpreted as confirming their different nature, such as the argument that Social Work is itself rooted in education, due to its origins in nineteenth century Germany in the women's movement, as a form of "intellectual motherhood" (*geistige Mütterlichkeit*) (Konrad, 1993, p. 189).

3. Where does the material assessed suggest that the thesis can fill knowledge gaps or otherwise make an original contribution, including by developing (if not verifying) existing theories?

Chapter 3. Methodology

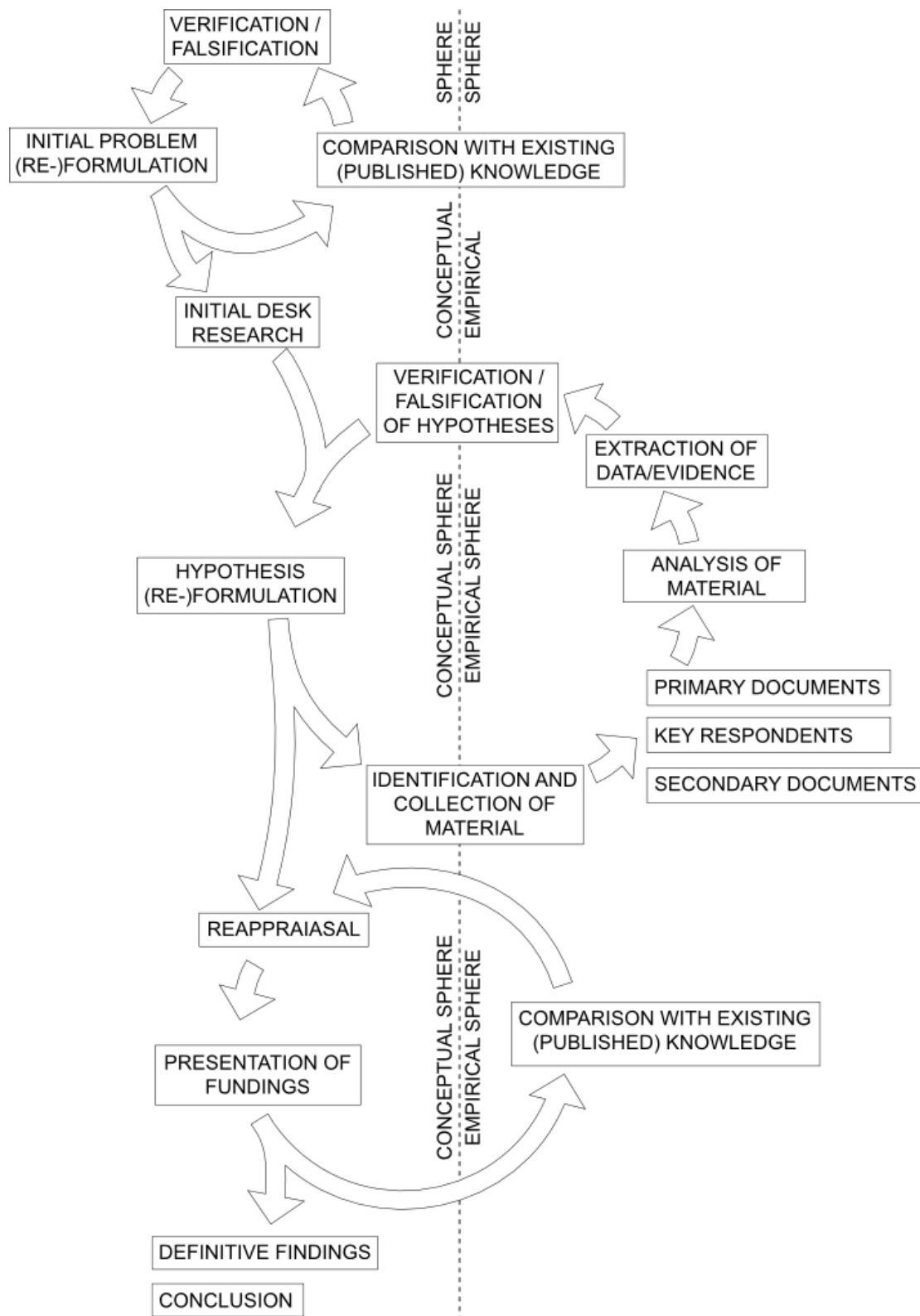
3.1. Type of investigation

Two research questions (RQ1, RQ2) have been defined to shed light on the Social Work/Social Pedagogy relationship in three countries during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004). The countries selected are all EU Member States [Figure 1.1]. The investigation conducted in response to the RQs is not a trial or an experiment conducted within a controlled environment but a critical appraisal based on literature, a limited amount of archival material, travels and meetings with resource persons as well as extended use of correspondence with knowledgeable people in all three countries of the survey. The focus is on document analysis based on a classical, hermeneutically structured process involving constant shifts between the investigator's own conceptual work and his work with empirically generated material. In both "spheres" ("conceptual", "empirical"), a constant process of problem or hypothesis (re)formulation, examination of propositions (in the "conceptual sphere") or material (in the "empirical sphere"), reappraisal and comparison with previously available knowledge is on-going [Figure 3.1], thereby reproducing a circular pattern of hermeneutics which has been known since Mediaeval times.

Bearing in mind that all research can basically be classified as an experiment, history or a case study (Yin, 2003, p. 5) (dual or triple use is possible and permitted), the investigation presented here is a case-study based survey following a historical logic. Yet it is also a professional education study showing close affinities with international social work research, a subdiscipline recurrently finding itself faced with numerous methodological challenges, often linked with the diversity of the material, as well as the difficulties in obtaining and interpreting it (Tripodi & Potocky-Tripodi, 2007), hence this chapter aims in particular to address the transnational issues involved in doing this otherwise quantitative (and therefore quite uncomplicated) research.

Practical difficulties will be addressed below; yet far from standing alone, they are predetermined by philosophical choices made beforehand. Descending from macro to micro level, and from abstract to concrete, three kinds of research methods are distinguishable: the "general methodology" (the "principles guiding an empirical

Figure 3.1 Relationship between conceptual and empirical work



enquiry”), the “research strategy” (or “research procedure”, i.e., designing and conducting research) and “research techniques or methods” (understood as the “specific fact-finding operations that yield social data”) (Burgess, 1999, p. 534). The

sequence of sections within this chapter broadly follows the same logic, bearing in mind that techniques should not be separated from research questions, or indeed from the research philosophy behind the investigation; rather, the problem should determine the methods (ibid., p. 534). Yet verification/falsification in a Popperian sense does not take place. The investigation is not “explanatory” but “exploratory” (Yin, 2003), as it aims to generate new knowledge allowing a reappraisal of existing ideas of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, not to “prove” the underlying assumptions “right” or “wrong”: this may help to avoid confounding correlation with causation.

Rather than an “extrinsic” study, it is “intrinsic” (Stake, 1995) in that the “purpose is NOT to come to understand some abstract construct or generic phenomenon” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, pp. 548–549); while the object of inquiry (concepts of Social Work and Social Pedagogy) is quite abstract, the knowledge searched for [§1.1] is not abstract, but concrete: evidence that a given pattern (dichotomy, convergence) is or is not repeated in other countries (as opposed to Germany). Instead, the thesis aims to do what cross-national studies are always good at:

“help to sharpen the awareness of the historical contingency and cultural specificity of theories and particularly the inherent tendency of the social work paradigm to disengage from political processes on account of its fascination with value-neutral scientific paradigms.” (Lorenz, 2008a, p. 641)

In other words, by showing that Social Work and Social Pedagogy can be differently conceptualised, structured and practised in other national contexts, the study makes it plausible that the concepts used in one particular national context actually *may* be challenged.

Specifically, the fact that Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has largely come to an end in Germany where it originated, should not lead German observers to assume that it is bound to be discontinued. Exemplary evidence from Denmark, Belgium and England may show that alternative scenarios are not only possible but also plausible (Kornbeck, 2009a). As such, the investigation may also be understood as pursuing an “instrumental” goal, as it is “used to accomplish something other than understanding a particular situation” while it helps the researcher pursue the external interest” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 549).

	Male professional title	Female professional title	Covered by the investigation?
Belgium	<i>Assistant social</i>	<i>Assistante sociale</i>	No (but mentioned)
	<i>Educateur</i>	<i>Educatrice</i>	Yes
Denmark	<i>Socialrådgiver</i>	<i>n/a</i>	Yes
	<i>Pædagog</i>	<i>n/a</i>	Yes
England*)	<i>Social worker*</i>	<i>n/a</i>	Yes
	<i>Youth worker*</i>	<i>n/a</i>	No (but mentioned)
Germany	<i>Sozialarbeiter</i>	<i>Sozialarbeiterin</i>	Yes
	<i>Sozialpädagoge</i>	<i>Sozialpädagogin</i>	Yes

*) Not a case study, but used for comparison.

3.2. Pre-empirical phase

3.2.1. Desk research

From long before this research was launched, material had been collected, including for the preparation of numerous articles covering similar or related ground. While some databases have been used less frequently, certain key resources were consulted on a recurrent basis over a ten-year period, in particular Social Care Online,¹³ *Deutscher Bildungsserver*,¹⁴ *Fachportal Pädagogik*¹⁵ and the national library portal of Denmark.¹⁶ Online abstracts and online contents were searched, downloaded and archived regularly from the most important UK journals with a transnational mission, in particular the *British Journal of Social Work*, *Social Work Education* and the *European Journal of Social Work*. The use of secondary sources more generally will have emerged from the literature review [§2].

3.2.2. Sample of professions, qualifications and programmes

Before field work was conducted, the selection of professions for the sample used was made in accordance with Tables 3.1–3.2. The rationale has been set out in section 1.3 and seems to warrant no further remarks at this stage.

¹³ <http://www.scie-socialcareonline.org.uk/>

¹⁴ <http://www.bildungsserver.de/>

¹⁵ <http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de>

¹⁶ <http://bibliotek.dk/>

Table 3.2 Sample determination: German composite nouns and proposals for English equivalents			
German specific notion	German abstract underpinning notion	Approximative English translation of specific notion	English abstract underpinning notion
<i>Allgemeine Pädagogik</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>(theory of) education</i>	“education”
<i>Schulpädagogik</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>(theory of) teaching; primary education; secondary education</i>	“education”
<i>Berufspädagogik</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>(theory of) vocational training</i>	“training”
<i>Sozialpädagogik</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>social work, residential social work, social work with adults (disability, mental health, offenders...); community work; youth work; work in crèches/nurseries</i>	“work” [all of these notions refer to specific practice settings]
<i>Heilpädagogik</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>special needs education; therapy</i>	“education”, “therapy”
<i>Logopädie</i>	“Pädagogik”	<i>Speech therapy</i>	“therapy”

Researching professional education under the theme of Europeanisation involves making assumptions both about higher education policy-making and about EU-wide labour market regulation issues, because citizens are entitled to free movement in the EU/EEA (European Commission, 2004). The higher education dimension of the EU process has a documented history in its own right, with its own achievements (see Pépin, 2006); yet in the absence of legally binding rules (the Treaty confers no such powers to the Union regarding higher education), the market-related competences prevail (see European Commission, undated a). For this investigation, no Social Pedagogy-specific frameworks can be identified.

Regulated professions are registered in the database of the European Commission’s Directorate General for the Internal Market and Services (DG MARKT), where they reflect the situation in the host country (European Commission, undated b). In 2009, the profession “social worker” was only regulated in Germany (n° 963) and the UK (n° 7363), while it was regulated in many other Member States. The profession

“social pedagogue” was only regulated in three Member States, none of which are covered by the investigation (European Commission, undated b). (Whether the UK “childminder” profession, n° 7362, is compatible with Social Pedagogy remains doubtful.) Variations over the theme of regulation will be found in the three case studies. For while DG MARKT does not consider the Belgian Social Work profession as regulated, its title has been protected by law and this protection has seemed so attractive that, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1990s, attempts have been made continually and continuously to obtain the same legal protection for the Social Pedagogy profession, but in vain.

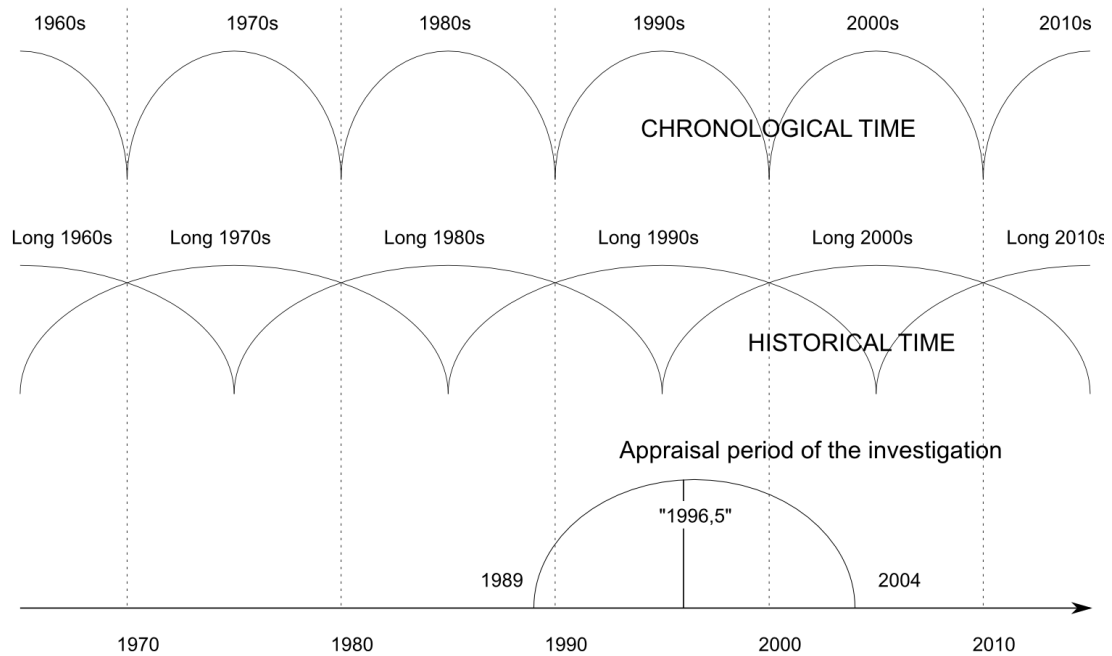
3.2.3. Reference period; “historical” rather than “chronological” time

3.2.3.1. The 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004)

Regarding the definition of 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), section 1.2 applies. It is the 1989–2004 period beginning with the enactment of a specific policy driver, Directive 89/48/EEC, the relevant mutual recognition (“general system”) directive for higher education qualifications in this field. Despite being perfectly reasonable in relation to the qualifications looked at, the choice has meanwhile come to look partly arbitrary as the initial legal framework was replaced by Directive 2005/36/EC (which, in 2009, was already reported to be likely to be subjected to a further revision).

These directives remain the only legally binding frameworks above the national level (which in Belgium, England and Germany in 2004 had become a sub-national level). For whereas much scholarship has been devoted to non-binding frameworks, including the (non-EU) Bologna process (Steinmetz, et al., 2004) and the (EU) European Qualifications Framework (EQF), ECVET and Erasmus/Socrates cooperation, it should be noted that DG MARKT merely sees EQF as “a translation device and neutral reference point” and advises that such frameworks should be disregarded in dealing with validation questions pertaining to the +/- 800 regulated professions in the EU. With reference to 2005/36/EC (recital 11), only the Directive prevails in case of conflict (European Commission, undated a, p. 1). Hence, linking the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) to the Directive still appears more sensible

Figure 3.2 Chronological time, historical time and the period of appraisal of the investigation



than organising the research around other, less binding, developments above the national level, granted that the thesis is essentially about equivalence between national concepts used in national HE systems.

3.2.3.2. “Historical time”

Using the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) as a central element of the research strategy is not only a semantic choice but also one with practical implications. Opting for “historical time” (Vanhaute, 2002) rather than “chronological time” means recognising that human activities, at any given stage of development, owe as much to their recent past as to their closer future; in a sense, the year 1995 may be seen as the middle point of the “long 1990s” stretching, e.g., from 1985 to 2005, in contrast with pure “historical time” where the years 1990 and 2000 would be seen as the absolute boundaries of a decade [Figure 3.2]. The “long twentieth century” concept has been used in historiography (Arrighi, 1994). Applied to the Reference Period, one type of “long 1990s” may be precisely the 1989–2004 bracket with 1 July 1996 being the exact median [Figure 3.2]. Adopting this concept means collecting material for the

“archive” [§3.4.1] accordingly: whereas reference texts (regulations, curricula, etc.) were collected, as far as possible, in three snapshots (1989, 1995/6, 2004), for each of these years it was always understood that most material concerned would have originated well before that year; a text in force in 1989 might well have been adopted in the 1970s. Similarly, in discussing the wider ramifications of the developments investigated, it was regularly necessary to turn to material from after 2004.

According to Payne (2005), established social work history is problematic because of being “celebratory” (celebrating the achievement of past academics and professionals), “hindsight-biased” (taking for granted that the present state of social work was an objective to reach for past generations), Eurocentric, ethnocentric, gender-biased, blind to the roles played by service users as well as too focused on the institutions of social work (thereby neglecting the interaction between professionals and users) (Payne, 2005, pp. 9–10). Payne also identifies as problematic the tendency to present histories as narratives:

“they often assume that whatever is being chronicled, in this case social work, has a continuous identity and nature and that continuity can be understood and explained. [...] Moreover, since at least the Enlightenment, histories often assume that changes represent development.” (Payne, 2005, p. 7)

Neither continuous development toward a fixed and finite end – as assumed by Marxism – can be taken for granted, nor can the prevalence of “progress”. Payne (2005, p. 8) also underlines that a “narrative involves selection from a wider story”. A too strong focus on the time in which the survey is made implies an assumption of superiority over previous times, such as ignoring “writings that are more than fifteen or so years old, with evident consequences for the public presentation and validation of expert knowledge” (Rock, 2005). That the quote comes from criminology should not lead any Social Work, Social Pedagogy or similar scholar to feel immune from this sort of bias. While notion of chronocentrism seems to stem from literary criticism (Morson, 1994; Kosior, 2003), it has obvious implications for all academic disciplines; the discipline of history is not the least vulnerable to this type of bias.¹⁷

¹⁷ The British historian Arnold J. Toynbee (1889-1975) has been criticised as a “civilisation-smasher” (*un casseur de civilisations*) because of his strong insistence of different periods succeeding each other (Bourdé & Martin, 1983, p. 81), and although periods are needed in order to organise the material collected and conceptualise the findings, they must not be allowed to impose themselves upon the long, uninterrupted continuum of time which is a fact of life: there was nothing objectively different about

The choice of terminology is not decisive, with “presentism” being a very acceptable alternative used in a standard Social Work reference work (Stuart, 2005, pp. 331–332). From within Social Work historiography, Stuart provides a compelling example in the “psychiatric deluge” (Borenzweig, 1971) previously used to describe an earlier stage of US Social Work development. Borenzweig may have felt emancipated from Freud, yet this should not lead to a condescending treatment of the contributions made by colleagues in previous decades when psychoanalysis was mainstream thinking, just like Marxism was in Borenzweig’s own emancipated decade. If anything, the Borenzweig example may serve to illustrate the continued relevance of Kuhn’s (1962) paradigms: for while realities in wider sectors of society may be too complex to fit into such a model, academic life does seem to follow cyclical patterns where some ideas are marginalised, then dominant and later challenged and replaced by new ideas.

3.2.3.3. The “long 1990s” perspective

Embracing the concept of “historical time” does not merely imply the epistemological choice of rejecting “chronocentrism”: it also means collecting and arranging the material accordingly. A “long 1990s” perspective was chosen, drawing inspiration from the “long twentieth century”, whose roots are found in economic developments of centuries before (Arrighi, 1994), and the “long nineteenth century”, a period defined by the “double revolution” (French Revolution, England industrial revolution) in 1789 and the outbreak of World War I in 1918 (Blackbourn, [1997] 2003, p. xiv). The choice was made in full awareness of the fact that the same twentieth century, which Arrighi called “long,” has been referred to as “short” by Hobsbawm who, quite logically, chose the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and the collapse of the USSR in 1991 as the beginning and the end of the period (Hobsbawm, 1994).

As shown graphically [Figure 3.2], the choice of a “long 1990s” decade has practical implications, in that it allows for a “long” decade to commence (at least) five years before the nominal decade would start (e.g., 1985 rather than 1990) and to end accordingly (e.g., 2005 rather than 2000). Concretely, this means that material destined to illustrate the status quo as well as developments in the 1990s has been

the year 1899 as opposed to the year 1901, just because the turn of the century was between the two. Researchers should focus on the actual material and not let the categories used to conceptualise it guide them.

gathering both from before and after the 1990s. As regards rules and curricula in place in the 1990s, this seems inevitable, granted that the rules in place in a given decade would very rarely have been adopted in that same decade; on the other hand, much material and information have been added to the survey which are from the years after the 1990s and indeed even from after the Reference Period.

3.2.4. Sample of countries

The choice of countries for the sample has been explained in section 1.2 [Figure 1.1]. This choice awarded many practical advantages of immeasurable value to the investigation, be it at the level of desk research, data collection or the interpretation of material collected.¹⁸ The author's assumption that elements of the personal biography have played favourably in relation to methodology seems to be sustained by academic literature: while a Social Pedagogy perspective will emphasise the authenticity of "life world" perspectives (Thiersch, [1992] 2005) (a realisation initially referring to the users of social services but which, epistemologically, must apply equally to professionals and scholars), linguists will confirm that people who have become proficient in one or more foreign languages develop different patterns of thinking, as opposed to those who do not (see e.g., Bassetti & Cook, 2011).

Some of the more interesting properties of the three countries (as compared with England/the UK) are shown in Tables 3.3–3.5; they allow for various forms of cross-tabulation [Figures 3.3–3.5]. Being big or small is not in itself significant but it has bearings on practical aspects of the research process, which is why it seemed reasonable to have two Member States from each category in the sample. Having a littoral with the North Sea is not in itself a sign of specific policy affinities (in the way

¹⁸ As a national of one country (Denmark); with extensive (native or near-to-native) command of the official languages of all three countries (as well as English); with higher education qualifications from two countries (Germany, UK); with experiences from studying in a third of these (Belgium), with a compounded 31 years' experience of living, studying and working in three of the countries (Belgium, Denmark, Germany); and with numerous professional and academic contacts in all three countries (in addition to the UK), it is obvious that much material and knowledge could not have been obtained without the resulting intimate knowledge of the three national contexts. For whether the challenge is to collect the right material, to ask the right questions of experts or to make the right inferences from the material examined, not only linguistic skills but also a deep knowledge of the wider ramifications are crucial to the research conducted: concepts do not carry the same meaning everywhere, nor can the same phenomena be expected to occur everywhere.

Table 3.3 Principles of sample determination: Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in Belgium, Denmark, England and Germany?

	BE	DK	DE	UK*)
Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy a constituent element of professional education in 1989?	Y (-)	Y	Y	N*)
Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy a constituent element of professional education in 2004?	Y/N (-)	Y	Y	Y/N*) (+)
Social Work profession regulated in the sense of Directive in 1989?	N	N		(Y?) *)
Social Work profession regulated in the sense of Directive in 2004?	N	N		
Social Pedagogy profession regulated in the sense of Directive in 1989?	N	N		
Social Pedagogy profession regulated in the sense of Directive in 2004?	N	N		

*) *Not a case study, but used for comparison.*

Y yes ; N no ; (-) trend negative ; (+) trend positive

that key figures such as GDP per capita spent on HE are often used in this type of cross-tabulation), yet it is recognised that European countries can be grouped within certain “families”, and that many cultural and structural affinities can be found within the same “family” (Todd, 1990). In this context, Denmark and England are North Sea countries for many purposes, while Belgium and Germany are continental (ibid.). While these traits are not as determining as to allow for the definition of causalities to be verified/falsified, it is nevertheless relevant to note that the sample presents a balanced picture consistent with experiences from previous comparative research.

The styles of regulation are widely dissimilar in the three countries: while Denmark has detailed laws, German professional education was and is marked by great informality and therefore difficult to research. Systematic Social Work/Social Pedagogy labour market statistics were only found in Belgium. As it was practically never possible to collect the same type of evidence in all three countries, the choice was made for three narrative case studies, each focusing on a specific national issue (but one relevant to the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy), rather than trying (in vain) to fill the same pre-determined joint matrix for all three countries (with England for comparison). This has obvious implications as regards the interpretation of the material, where strong generalisations must be avoided.

Member State	Case study	Continental/North Sea (Todd, 1990)	Big/small	Welfare state type (Esping-Andersen, (1990))	Social Work regulated under EU law?	Social Pedagogy regulated under EU law?
Belgium	French Community	Continental	Small	Conservative	No	No
Denmark	Entire Member State	North Sea	Small	Social-Democratic	No	No
Germany	Bavaria North Rhine Westfalia	Continental	Big	Conservative	Yes	No
United Kingdom*)	England*)	North Sea*)	Big*)	Liberal*)	Yes*)	No*)

*) Not a case study, but used for comparison.

Considerations for changing the strength of the dichotomy Imperatives for cross-national learning	<i>Perceived satisfactory: no particular reason for change</i>	<i>Perceived scope for improvement, but not fundamental recasting – e.g., “modernisation”</i>	<i>Perceived failure – e.g., scandals</i>
<i>Social profession driven</i>			England*)
<i>General tradition of looking abroad</i>	Denmark; Belgium (French)		
<i>Little imperative for cross-national learning</i>		Germany (looking inwards – concerned with reunification)	

*) Not a case study, but used for comparison.

Figure 3.3

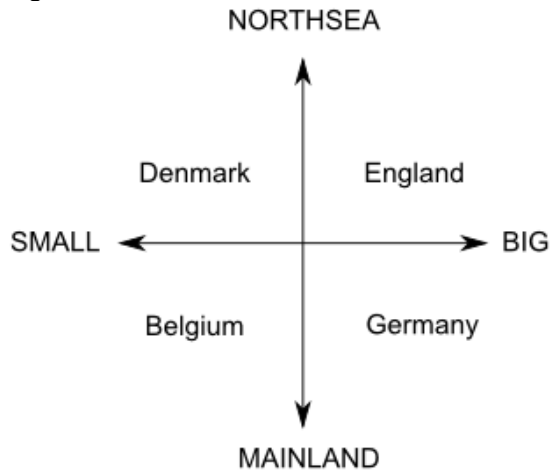


Figure 3.4

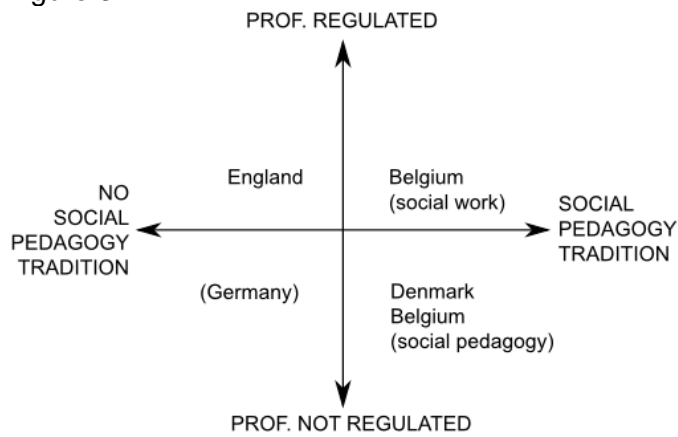
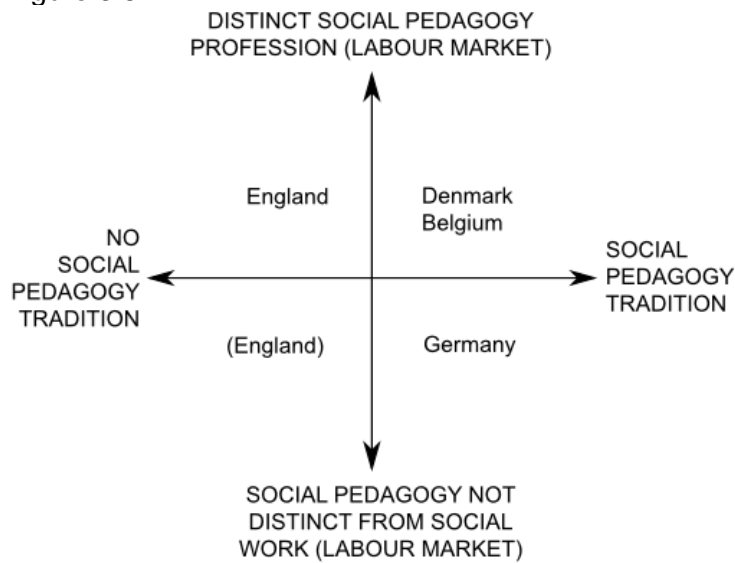


Figure 3.5



3.2.5. Addressing the transnational nature of the research undertaken

Borrowing the language used by Tripodi & Potocky-Tripodi (2005), doing “transnational”, “international” or “supranational” research is not the same as doing “intranational” – i.e., national, regional or local – research. A range of challenges are linked to this type of research, and these need to be addressed via an appropriate methodology.

“A study can be said to be cross-national or comparative if one or more units in two societies, cultures or countries are compared in respect of the same concept and concerning the systematic analysis of phenomena, usually with the intention of explaining them and generalizing from them.” (Kantowicz, 2005, p. 299)

This leads to the question of how best to compare, either by using a standardised matrix approach or a thematic one. Kantowicz (2005, p. 299) postulates the following five stages for the research process: (1) defining the problem to be solved, (2) collecting and sorting data in selected countries, (3) interpretation of data, (4) juxtaposition of findings and (5) formulation of hypotheses based on the above.

The investigation represents a mixed standardised/thematic approach. The ambition had been to have matrix-based country files, but this could not always be achieved. At the same time, many developments arose during the research process which made following particular narratives in the national case studies seem a more fruitful path to follow. While the potential for higher levels of inter-compatibility was renounced, preference was given to themes and storylines supported by more solid evidence. (Far too often, matrix-based studies contain some fields or sections which are so thinly documented, presumably for lack of evidence, that their reliability is potentially compromised, and so, therefore, is the entire structure and argument of the study.)

3.2.6. Ethical aspects

All social research must address possible ethical challenges involved and demonstrate awareness and, if necessary, satisfy expectations that invasiveness has been addressed appropriately. In relation to Social Work and Social Pedagogy research, a discipline-specific discourse on this aspect of research methodology seems absent, except in Anglo-American contexts, where Social Work associations tend to have their own

codes of conduct with some (limited) sections devoted to research methodology. The generally limited (and in non-Anglophone countries absent) awareness of research methodology challenges is thought to be a sign that Social Work is generally still not thought of very widely as a research discipline. Consequently, standards from neighbouring research disciplines must be used *mutatis mutandis* (Kornbeck, 2009e). Nevertheless, there are good reasons to assume that this investigation is not in need of justifying its stance with regard to ethical challenges. In each country, experts were consulted rather than interviewed (no transcripts made) as part of travels undertaken [Tables 3.6–3.7].

Conversations were neither taped, nor transcribed, but extensive notes were taken and follow-up was ensured via ensuing email correspondence. Crucially, no-one was quoted in the thesis, while opinions expressed and advice provided during conversations obviously helped shape the research. Conversations informed the work but were not used as the primary source of evidence – this being documentary sources. The bitterness of past conflicts did not pose a problem for the research,¹⁹ thus allowing both the researcher and his experts to approach the issues “without hate and zealotry” (*sine ira et studio*, Tacitus, *Annales*, I.1): the gold standard of historiography (at least) since the first century AD.

No ethical problems regarding confidentiality were identified as no-one was quoted and all experts were strong, resourceful persons who would not object to being listed in my thesis. All were informed of my intentions, and no aspect of the study visits indicated invasiveness: respondents were not marginalised people but individuals with an interest in voicing their opinions.

3.3. Empirical phase: field work

3.3.1. Correspondence

The field work phase (two years) was preceded by years of desk research. The collection of material, usually via e-mail, from experts as well as institutions, started

¹⁹ That the issues dealt with had, in their time, sometimes been more than ordinarily sensitive did emerge from more than one conversation – indeed one expert showed me original documents in his/her private archive showing attempts had been made, by involving lawmakers, to obtain his/her dismissal due to his/her role in relation to professional education reform proposals – yet such findings have not been disclosed in the thesis (as indeed the expert referred to cannot be identified from the remarks just made).

Table 3.6 Field work

Schedule		
Period	Case studies concerned	Status
1st half 2004	Denmark (planned and used)	Used as a case study (Ch. 5)
2nd half 2004	Belgium (planned and used)	Used as a case study (Ch. 6)
3rd half 2005	Germany (planned and used)	Used as a case study (Ch. 4)
2nd half 2005	England (abandoned)	For comparison only
Travels and visits		
Time	Destination or location	Case studies concerned
October 2003	Denmark	Denmark (social pedagogy)
February 2004	Denmark	Denmark (social work)
December 2004	UK	England (social work)
March 2004	Brussels, Belgium	Denmark (social work)
February 2005	Germany	Germany (NRW)
June 2005	Brussels, Belgium	Belgium (general)
June 2005	Germany	Germany (Bavaria)
June 2005	UK	England (social work)
June 2005	Belgium	Belgium (<i>éducateur</i>)
1–2 December 2005	UK	England (social work)
21–22 July 2008	Bonn, Germany (archive)	Germany (federal level)
1 April 2010	Belgium	Belgium (<i>éducateur</i>)
<i>UK/England: Not a case study, but used for comparison.</i>		
Disciplines/professions covered by the investigation		
Belgium	Assistant social	No (but mentioned)
	Educateur	Yes
Denmark	Socialrådgiver	Yes
	Pædagog	Yes
England	Social work	Yes
	Youth work, etc.	No (but mentioned)
Germany	Sozialarbeiter	Yes
	Sozialpädagoge	Yes

UK/England: Not a case study, but used for comparison.

well before the field work was conducted; it helped inform it in many ways, including as regards the material not to look for, while on visit, and the questions not to ask of experts. A range of propositions were formulated, many of which had to be abandoned in the light of the experiences undergone while travelling.

3.3.2. Travels (field visits)

Visits were made to destinations in all three countries [Table 3.6]. The institutions and persons visited are listed. Material was collected, as far as feasible, from archives and libraries and supplemented by information and guidance provided by experts.

Experts were approached during the desk research phase. Some were already known to me; others were recommended by contacts whose expert knowledge of the field was thought to offer sufficient trustworthiness; while some were identified through written sources and then approached with a request for discussions via email and, later on, a face-to-face meeting.

To ensure uniformity, experts were consulted but not interviewed formally: as some information was derived from email exchange, some from face-to-face talks and some from insights derived from confidential material which I was asked not to disclose. Rather than transcribing some talks and not others (which would have implied a clear disproportionality and hence a bias), it was thought preferable to maintain that the research was based on document analysis, while this analysis was supported as far as possible by information derived from contacts with knowledgeable individuals, including email exchange and face-to-face meetings.

3.3.3. Use of experts

As mentioned above, meeting with experts took the form of consultations rather than interviews, and no transcripts were made. Experts are listed – anonymously – with their affiliations [Table 3.7]. Information provided could not always be quoted, and in one case, I was granted access to surprisingly sensitive material, pointing to the highly conflictual nature of professional education reforms and individual academics' decisions to get involved in it. Experts were also asked to read drafts of the three country chapters; they responded to various degrees, so that this intended element of the research strategy could not be used systematically. Here in particular, my intimate knowledge of the national contexts, including the professional and academic cultures (with implications for cultural codes and communication styles), as well as my degree-level studies in pedagogy and social science were an advantage.

Country	Expert	Visit	Comments on draft	Affiliation
Germany	German 1	Y	Y	Higher education (Social Work/Social Pedagogy) (Dichotomy maintained)
	German 2	Y	Y	Higher education (Social Work/Social Pedagogy) (merged)
	German 3	Y	?	Higher education (national university association)
Denmark	Danish 1	Y	Y	Trade union (Social Pedagogy), staff
	Danish 2	Y	N	Trade union (Social Pedagogy), Vice President
	Danish 3	Y	Y	Trade union (Social Work), board member
	Danish 4	Y	N	Trade union (Social Work), Vice President
Belgium	Belgian 1	Y	Y	Higher education (Social Pedagogy)
	Belgian 2	N	Y	Former Senator, former MP
	Belgian 3	N	Y	Higher education (Social Work)
England*)	English 1	Y	Y	Higher education (Social Work)
	English 2	Y	Y	Higher education (Social Work)
	English 3	N	Y	Higher education (Pedagogy)

*) UK/England: Not a case study, but used for comparison.

One particular source of bias can be identified as flowing from this approach: the “interviewer effect” (Lyons, 1999, p. 234) implied by knowing respondents and sharing common codes with them. While this may be an advantage as well as a drawback in the sense of accepting “assumed meanings”, the parallel search for information from various experts in addition to variegated written sources is believed to have provided sufficient control for bias. Granted the investigation’s exploratory (as opposed to explanatory) scope [§3.1], the risk of bias is believed to be only marginal, as opposed to the authentic nature of the knowledge unearthed.²⁰

²⁰ Lyons found there was no clear line among her respondents about “an agreed assumption of what the researcher wanted to know”, although all respondents certainly “sought to be helpful” (Lyons, 1999, p. 234).

3.4. Post-empirical phase: interpretation

3.4.1. The archive; elements of triangulation

3.4.1.1 The archive

Starting in the pre-empirical phase, material was collected in country files following the rationale of Foucault's "archive": all that is found to pertain to a particular case can enter into the archive (Foucault, 1969) which is not intended to be perfectly structured, but rather to reflect the diversity of authentic material generated from real-life experiences. While this approach followed quite naturally from the exigencies and constraints of realities governing the research, the Foucault reference was found in a Danish MA thesis dealing with Social Pedagogy education (Erlandsen, 2003a, p. 17); it was instantly felt to provide a convincing conceptual grounding for the filing system practised.

Arranging this material reflected a rationale of "confidence levels" (as applied by translators and terminologists) or a "hierarchy of norms", as used in civil law jurisdictions: the assumption was always that including a law or an otherwise binding document into the country file was preferable; but could it not be achieved, the rationale of Foucault's "archive" would apply and the second-most authoritative piece of evidence would be entered.

3.4.1.2. Control for chronocentric bias

Systematic use of triangulation to control bias was not applied, as indeed the embedded role of the researcher, often (but not always) acting as a participant observer, was taken for granted. Whenever "intersubjective agreement" between different sources could be found (Franklin & Ballan, 2005, p. 438), this was taken as evidence that the material used was reliable. A "synchronic reliability" in the sense of a "similarity of observations within the same time period" (ibid., p. 438) could surprisingly often be detected.

Overall, the interpretation of the material was guided by a historiographical ambition to "explain the past based on surviving remains" (Stuart, 2005, p. 331), even if this past was very recent, and to avoid assuming a scenario of perpetual progress within the meaning of "presentism" (ibid., p. 331) or a chronocentrism which may be

“hindsight-biased” (Payne, 2005, p. 9). Yet “antiquarianism”, a kind of academic nostalgia, reserving reverence for things past and “analogous to the fascination with the exotic that characterizes some students of other cultures, who emphasize differences between groups and ignore commonalities” (Stuart, 2005, p. 332), is another pitfall to avoid. Although it may be “rare in social work history” (Stuart, 2005, p. 333) where the past tends rather to be portrayed negatively, it may nevertheless serve the purposes of a “celebratory” Social Work historiography (Payne, 2005, p. 9).

Yet rather than yielding to the temptation of portraying this bias as being a feature unique to Social Work, this author contends that it may simply be a discipline-specific or profession-related version of what mainstream historians know as “the Whig interpretation of history” (Butterfield, 1965): historiography biased in favour of certain ideas and forces perceived as progressive.

3.4.1.3. Drawing on multiple sources

Finally, and in line with established practice not only among historians, but also in quality journalism, investigation teams (prosecutors, tax, customs, etc.) and with critical NGOs such as Amnesty International, efforts have been made, as far as possible, to cover all major claims reported by more than one source. This is a standard of good investigative practice in non-academic circles and deserves, as a minimum, to be respected in an investigation such as this one as well.

3.4.2. Theories as heuristic rosters

In line with the heuristic nature and design of the investigation, the research was structured by the theoretical concepts underpinning it rather than by a systematic, predetermined research design. (An exception is the sequential arrangement of assessments and tests related to the two RQs shown in Charts 1.1–1.2). Also, the research is about exploring the use of a set of concepts, derived from one national context (Germany), within two other national contexts (Denmark and Belgium) (Chapter 1). These concepts were used as theoretical-heuristic rosters or grids

throughout the thesis, where references to Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence and Europeanisation are ubiquitous.

As announced above (3.1), the use of the “hermeneutic circle” is central to the methodology of this investigation. This circle, has a cultural history stretching from Greek mythology through medieval scholastics and literature to modern scholarship. It is a recurrent image or simile of the process of knowledge creation:

“Hermes carried the messages of the gods, and hermeneutics is the art of reading them. The circle with a message, the hermeneutic circle, was a Neo-Platonic image designed to intimate the relation of an infinite, eternal, and omnipresent God to his creation, and it makes its most significant appearance in the late Middle Ages, never to leave our imaginative literature thereafter.” (Shklar, 2004)

Its most obvious quality lies in its graphic representation of complex and abstract processes, but an additional merit is the way in which it underscores the perpetual feed-back from research findings to (initial) problem formulations and the repercussions of such feedback both on research design, on findings, on their interpretation and on the final presentation of the entire investigation. The researcher could, strictly speaking, continue going literally “round and round” since new findings will never stop prompting new research questions which in turn call for verification. That researchers do escape from the hermeneutic circle, is not so much due to any finite nature of the answers they have found, but rather because they determine – arbitrarily but necessarily – to draw a line beyond which data collection will stop, and similarly a line is later drawn beyond which the interpretation process stops. New research questions prompted by the hermeneutic circle are usually summarised in the conclusion, mentioning that they would deserve to be investigated in the framework of future research. These considerations may seem banal or even irrelevant to a positivist, convinced that a specific research design may possibly produce intrinsically conclusive evidence and that the interpretation process may actually reach a finite end point. Yet in a qualitative study with an open-ended philosophy, where the researcher acknowledges his own subjectivity, the hermeneutic circle is experienced not as scientific theory but as almost palpable reality.

There is one additional reason why hermeneutics may be an attractive model precisely for analysing developments in social work education. According to Lorenz (2006),

this concept explains why Freud was received differently on the Continent to how he was in Anglo-Saxon countries. Lorenz emphasises “pedagogy” as an alternative to the prevailing positivism of that day, and one that had the capacity to “put up resistance”. Drawing on Dewe & Otto (1996) as well as Hamburger (2003), he concludes:

“The understanding of historical or literary texts required involvement in the lifeworld to which they referred and of which they were part rather than analytical abstraction and neutral distance.” (Lorenz, 2006, p. 125)

Interestingly, this contention refers to the most popular school of thought in German social pedagogy in the 1990s, that of “life-world orientation” (*Lebensweltorientierung*), a notion coined and defended by Hans Thiersch over the last three decades (Thiersch, 1978, 2003). It is worth noting that Thiersch – who came to social work from a background as a school teacher – committed himself to hermeneutics early in his scholarship (Thiersch, 1966). He saw hermeneutics as a solution to bridge the gap between traditional, humanistic education theory and the increasing empiricism which established itself during the 1960s under the slogan of “realistic renewal” (*realistische Wendung*). Thiersch has always defined his social pedagogical thinking as closely linked with general education theory (Füssenhäuser, 2005, p. 136).

“The academic tradition which consolidated around these hermeneutic concerns asserts that human beings are characterised first and foremost by their ability to give meaning to their world and their actions and that these meanings cannot be understood ‘objectively’ and from the outside; the learner, the researcher, has to participate in them, albeit systematically and consciously. Hermeneutics therefore proposes an at first sight paradoxical approach to understanding, namely that recognising the possibility that the observer and the observed occupy separate worlds and therefore cannot really understand each other is the decisive step that will eventually lead to some kind of understanding between both persons/worlds.” (Lorenz, 2006, p. 125)

So, can social work education be analysed without drawing on philosophical concepts of its own making? If hermeneutics is our working method, it cannot, and so it seems lucky that German social pedagogy offers an appropriate framework for recognising and addressing our own involvement, rather than seeking for excuses for our own lack of distance. This intimacy is not a methodological weakness, but rather a property of

historiography and (social) pedagogy. It should not be eliminated, but identified and addressed.

Based on the hermeneutic circle, the investigation consisted of the collection of various types of evidence, with texts of different types forming the bulk of the material [Figure 3.2]. This material and the direct handling of it come within what is here termed the “empirical sphere”. Working with scripted evidence may not seem empirical to colleagues who collect data in laboratories or via standardised processes with anonymised human subjects, nevertheless, the scripted evidence which other humans have left for an investigator to analyse is in the human sciences an empirical process. However, every adventure into the empirical sphere must necessarily depart from the “conceptual sphere”, of theories, “initial problem formulation” leading to “initial desk research” and “hypothesis formulation”. Once hypotheses have been formulated, the journey may start into the realm of empirical evidence – in this case often a real, physical journey – to find more data. It could be argued that initial desk research already stretches into the empirical sphere yet it does not do so in a systematic way. In this investigation, “data collection” took three forms, being concerned with “documents”, “interviews” and “statistics”. Some material could be obtained by correspondence, while much had to be collected during my travels.

What actually was collected often reflected hypotheses formulated on the basis of desk research. Often, too, the “data evaluation” started during the various visits and lasted until long after it had been concluded. Data evaluation lead to a reappraisal of hypotheses and every new journey carried new knowledge and new hypotheses from previous travels. This was especially the case for the availability and accessibility of material and indeed the conflicts and politics surrounding social work education. For both types of questions, desk research and personal reflection could not lead to the kind of discoveries which were made in the course of fieldwork travels. The existence of a specific type of material in one context was often matched by the absence or restricted nature of the same type of material in another context. Conflicts were not concerned with the same questions everywhere, nor were they based on the same values or strategic priorities. The hermeneutic mini-circle between hypothesis formulation, data collection and data evaluation could in principle have continued eternally. In the case of this investigation, it was repeated a total of 11 times, namely

by every new field-trip journey. The route out of the circle was undertaken after the last journey. It led to the definitive “reappraisal” of problems identified, hypotheses formulated and used, data collected and evaluated and the eventual “presentation/conclusion” of the investigation. This included the analysis and summary of initial considerations, the planning and conducting of the investigation, the results and their interpretation, as well as a more general framing of these results within theories and evidence from other sources and the final summary of unresolved research questions.

3.5. Ontological and epistemological implications

Having drawn up the research plan so far and addressed what seemed, to its author, to be all the major challenges posed by the research, this section will now address the issues of contextualisation and positionality as they arise from the theoretical and methodological choices which were made as outlined above. The national contexts of the three case study countries (as well as England/the UK for comparison) have been outlined earlier [§1.5]. The ontological and epistemological position underpinning these choices are essentially attitudinal (the author being a historian himself), reflecting a conviction

“that historians are under an obligation to convey to their readers any doubts that remain concerning how the evidence is best interpreted” [...] “a commitment to seeking the best way of accounting for the totality of the historical evidence, found or findable, relevant to the particular issue in question, as well as a commitment to conveying to their readers some sense of the limits of this evidence.” (Megill, 2007, p. 128)

The investigation being based upon the collection of material from three (four) countries, correspondence with and visits to the same countries, a certain “critical faculty” and a disinclination towards beliefs that “the grass is greener on the other side” would seem to be crucial to be able to make the most of the material collected. In this connection, it may be of interest to note that the defunct journal *Social Work in Europe* (1994–2003) printed many articles and short commentaries on the art and science of comparing Social Work in different European countries, including through field observation, a method used in many papers. In one controversy, Adam Crawford

(2000) claimed that British criminologists would “lose their critical faculties” once they crossed the Channel.²¹ Despite their research skills, academics from the social sciences and humanities must be aware that they are exposed to many of the same sources of bias as are ordinary holiday-makers. An engineer may study a foreign cabin lift without much cultural bias, but a criminologist must recognise and address his or her own embeddedness and address the possible bias involved in observing foreign practice. This is a discourse I have been subjected to myself, on one occasion, when visiting an English university as part of my PhD research: that European comparisons would lead to denouncing English/British rules, structures, practice as inferior to their Continental counterparts, whereas this view could not be upheld by observing the actual reality. I took care to stress that my visit to England was totally unbiased, and that my research questions did not include any ambition to judge English/British professional education.

What made the controversy launched by Crawford so memorable was the fact that he picked a number of (then) recent research publications and that the author of one of these responded to the criticism in another *Social Work in Europe* paper (King, 2000, p. 56), rejecting the idea that he and others had been acting like “a naïve, idealistic Englishman travelling to the Continent, mouth agape and starry eyes”. King engaged with Crawford’s criticism point by point, including by emphasising the fact that he had taken residence in France while doing the research and therefore had a heightened awareness of the tensions and shortcomings of French penal justice and Social Work. These are articles of faith to which I too can adhere: having lived in the three case study countries, I am not in any way tempted to assume that “the grass is greener” there: instead, I often find myself criticising the same things as local people do. That I maintained the choice of Belgium (French Community) rather than France – despite the fact that material is more plentifully available there, as I had been able to see for

²¹ Crawford's point of departure was one favourable to European comparisons, namely a concern that US-generated models of policy and intervention aimed at cutting crime levels were accepted too easily in the UK. Their transferability from a US to a UK context seemed to be taken for granted (Crawford, 2000, p. 22). Yet when “British criminologists increasingly cross (or go under!) the Channel” they would too readily assume that what they observed on the Continent (France in particular) was preferable to what was found in the UK. Crawford listed a range of fallacies connected with cultural determinants, the local context and not least the ability – or rather inability – to “translate”, both linguistically and otherwise (ibid., p. 22). That Crawford managed to identify a credible source of bias is corroborated by evidence of comparable bias (positive as well as negative) in innumerable British tourists visiting the Continent between 1815 and 1914. As 30 years’ research of two British historians have revealed (Mullen & Munson, 2010, drawing on a multitude of sources, visitors have always been tempted to overreact positively as well as negatively to what they observed.

myself when visiting a Paris-based research institution – is in line with this ontological and methodological position: I have never lived in France, although I have spent much time there over the last 25 years. The approach to “foreign” material and sources has thus been followed consistently by not taking on board a country case study representing a country in which I had not lived.

3.6. Country-specific methodological challenges

3.6.1. The German context: federalism and reunification

3.6.1.1. The time/identity aspect

Whenever the regulatory powers relevant to the subject investigated shifted during the course of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) (as it did in Belgium and England/the UK), this poses a conceptual, definitional and methodological problem, in particular as regards the availability and accessibility of comparable documents. As Germany was a federal country both in 1989 and 2004, with regulation essentially at the level of the states (*Länder*), no such problem exists (although the decentralised and often informal nature of curriculum regulation poses another type of methodological challenge).

Instead, Germany presents a singular challenge related to German reunification which intervened during the Reference Period: in 1989 there were two German national contexts (with regulation at the sub-national level in the West and at the national level in the East), with very dissimilar professional education arrangements and a strict Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy; in 2004, there was one national context (with regulatory powers at *Länder* level) and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence (until then an essentially West German phenomenon) had been successfully implemented across Germany. Against this backdrop, the absence of an East German case study needs to be accounted for in this chapter.

The “German–German” divide *is* relevant to professional education in general (see Hering, 2009), and to the issues of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in particular, in that by 1989 (the year when the Berlin Wall was opened) Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence had

been progressing in the Federal Republic of Germany (“West Germany”) while there was no sign of it in the German Democratic Republic (“East Germany”). Professional education in the GDR was different, already because of the denial of social problems under the slogan “socialism overcomes social problems (Hering & Münchmeier, 2000, p. 312). Most training was vocational, with capacities for the Social Work branch being kept consistently very low. Right until 1990, Social Work was known under the old German word (*Fürsorge*), while various educational services existed, with the aim to further labour market, family and women’s policies by providing extensive services, including at the level of crèches, nurseries and after-school daycare centres. HE-based courses were, however, almost non-existent and only staff with years of seniority would be admitted to them. SEN pedagogy (*Rehapädagogik*) was offered at university level and one sole Social Pedagogy course was offered at Berlin’s Humboldt University. Research was extremely limited (Seidensticker, 2005, p. 241). Under these circumstances, it may be possible retroactively to discover the Social Pedagogy implications in some of the GDR practice (Mannschanz, 1997; quoted in Seidensticker, 2005, p. 242), yet it would seem anachronistic to claim identification with decades-old Social Work/Social Pedagogy debates from the West. Therefore, while Social Work and Social Pedagogy existed separately in the GDR, they were actually both very different from West German Social Work and Social Pedagogy, both ideologically and structurally. Had one or two East German professional education schools been included in the investigation, this could have yielded interesting, additional information, yet it would have been misleading to make inferences from the East German material as if it were comparable to the West German material: the GDR was an entirely different country, and an East German case study would have formed a fifth national context.

3.6.1.2. The sampling aspect

In addition to these conceptual considerations, East German professional education was reorganised “from scratch” after 1990. While this may attract some critical remarks, the GDR heritage would have been even more difficult to defend in the case of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, simply because the GDR itself never purported its qualifying courses to have been at HE level. In line with the ideologically motivated neglect of Social Work and Social Pedagogy (see above), professional

Table 3.8 The West–East divide in German professional education, 1999–2000			
	Social Work, Social Pedagogy, Social Work/Social Pedagogy, <i>Soziale Arbeit</i> courses offered at Fachhochschulen (winter semester 1999–2000) (Amthor, 2003, p. 88)		
	Public	Private	Total
Old States	32	17	49
New States	10	1	11
Total	42	18	60
	Masters' degree (<i>Diplom-Pädagoge</i>) offered at universities (winter semester 1999–2000) (Amthor, 2003, p. 95)		
	Public	Private	Total
Old States	42	1	43
New States	4	0	4
Total	46	1	47

education was rudimentary by Western standards. On top of a partly problematic practice (Gatzemann, 2008, 2009a, 2009b), the Social Work and Social Pedagogy in the East appear to have been wanting in professional education, professionalisation and research. Interestingly, however, the GDR stands out as having perpetuated Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy rather than the Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence favoured in the West.

When HE professional education courses were established after 1990, GDR standards were hardly taken into account at all (Amthor, 2003, p. 422) and the validation of qualifications awarded in the GDR was not always easy: all the non-graduate Social Pedagogy qualifications were subsumed under one West German vocational qualification (*Heilerziehungspfleger*) (literally: curative educational care worker), while some university qualifications fared better (ibid., p. 535); yet this appears to be in line with workforce realities in the GDR (ibid., p. 473). Nevertheless, figures from Amthor (2003) show important differences in professional education organisation at the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) [Table 3.8] with far fewer courses being offered in the private higher education sector in the East than in the West.

Thus, the Germany case study includes two Old States (*Alte Länder*) but none of the New States (*Neue Länder*) incorporated into the federal territory as part of the 1990 reunification. The choice was made to include the two most populous Old States, one traditionally SPD-ruled (NRW), the other traditionally Christian Social (Bavaria); one

having conserved the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in higher education even after the 2001 reform (NRW), the other having embraced convergence even before the reform (Bavaria). The absence of an alternative to Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in the East, after 1990, explains why no field trips were made to locations in the East.

3.6.2. The Danish context: maintaining a unitary framework

In Denmark, no change in constitutional arrangements occurred during the 15 Year reference period (1989–2004), with regard to the powers of the national authorities to regulate matters relevant to professional education. (Indeed, no amendments were made to the Danish Constitution during the Reference Period.) Denmark was a unitary state in 1989 and remained one, so that the regulatory framework of 2004 was still a national Danish one. Therefore, no specific definitional challenges of the sort identified in Belgium (or in England/the UK for that matter) can be identified.

3.6.3. The Belgian context: from a unitary to a federal framework

Just as there is a “German–German divide, there is also a “Belgo–Belgian“ divide which needs to be addressed as a methodological issue. Belgium was still a unitary state in 1989, but due to protracted political crises in the late 1980s, the original Belgian Constitution of 1831 was replaced, in 1994, by a ‘Co-ordinated Constitution’ which introduced a high degree of federalism. Whereas sub-national authorities had existed prior to 1989, their powers had all been delegated from the national level; after 1994, however, the sub-national level of regions and communities [§6.1.1, §6.1.2] have been the sovereign powers of regulation within their particular sphere of competence. (Note that, for clarity’s and brevity’s sake the case study dealing with professional education in French-speaking Belgium is referred to as the Belgian case study. Although foreign commentators often refer to the dichotomistic notions of

“Flanders” versus “Wallonia”, this is a reductionistic and politically biased terminology which should be avoided in a scholarly investigation.²²⁾

This shift in regulatory powers has had obvious implications as regards research methodology, as the availability and accessibility of material altered during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004). The problem was overcome in a natural way, as the focus chosen for the Belgian case study is a process located at the federal (Belgian) level, even after the draft law of 1994 that aimed at recognition of the Social Pedagogy profession). This means that the same sources could be used both from 1989 to 2004 and in-between, although a critical interpretation of this material must take into account the fact that a federal document enacted in 2004 necessarily is different in relation to background, ramifications and impact, as opposed to a Belgian document enacted in 1989.

This solution (which was not an act of despair but rather a deliberate and well-considered choice) brought not only practical-methodological relief, but also conceptual clarification. It further revealed (through the parliamentary documents examined) that the definition of Social Pedagogy was understood differently in the

²² In legal terms, the dichotomy is inappropriate because Wallonia is a region (Article 4 of the Constitution), not a linguistic community (Article 3) and therefore not competent to regulate “person-related matters” (Article 128) pertaining to either professional education or to health or social services. Politically, the dichotomy of “Flanders” versus “Wallonia” excludes French-speaking Belgians living in Brussels and obscures the fact that a small part of Wallonia is German-speaking, as well as the relative absence of a Walloon identity. Given that the Belgian situation cannot be addressed adequately without using very cumbersome language, and given that French-speaking Belgians regularly refer to themselves as Belgians, while Dutch-speaking Belgians often seem to prefer calling themselves Flemings (a reality reflected in numerous institutional names), the choice was made for the words “Belgian” and “Belgium” rather than references to “the French Community of Belgium”, the “Brussels–Wallonia Federation” or similar labels, the words “Wallonia” and “Walloon” being considered inappropriate from the outset. An authoritative English translation of the current Belgian Constitution can be found on the website of the Constitutional Court. See in particular: Article 1: “Belgium is a federal State composed of Communities and Regions.” Article 2: “Belgium comprises three communities: the Flemish Community, the French Community and the German-speaking Community.” Article 3: “Belgium comprises three Regions: the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels Region.” Article 4: “Belgium comprises four linguistic regions: the Dutch-speaking region, the French-speaking region, the bilingual region of Brussels-Capital and the German-speaking region. [...]” Article 35: “The federal authority only has competences in the matters that are formally assigned to it by the Constitution and the laws passed by virtue of the Constitution itself. The Communities and the Regions, each in its own field of concern, have competences for the other matters, under the conditions and in the term stipulated by the law. [...]” Article 128: “§ 1. The Parliaments of the Flemish and French Communities regulate by federate law, each one in so far as it is concerned, person-related matters, as well as, in such matters, cooperation between the Communities and international cooperation, including the concluding of treaties. [...]” – For the English text, go to: <http://www.const-court.be/>, *Welcome English – Basic texts – The Constitution.* – For the English text, go to: <http://www.const-court.be/>, *Bienvenue Français – Textes de base – Constitution.* – For the Dutch text, go to: <http://www.const-court.be/>, *Welkom Nederlands – Basisteksten – Grondwet.*

Flemish (Dutch-speaking) part of Belgium, as opposed to the French-speaking part. The initial preference for only including material from the French Community (covering the Regions of Brussels and Wallonia) was thereby further confirmed, as it emerged even from Flemish research that, quite paradoxically, Social Pedagogy appears to have been *better* received in the Latin part of Belgium than in the Germanic part of the same country:

“It would be worth investigating if the orientation of the French speaking southern part of Belgium towards our French neighbours has stemmed the tide of this utilitarianism in Belgium’s French Community (Brussels and Wallonia). This could be an explanation for the less stringent boundaries in Brussels and Wallonia between *éducateurs* and *animateurs* and thus between pedagogy and culture (and ultimately also between the social and the political).” (Coussée & Verschelden, 2011, p. 114)

In consequence hereof, Flemish material has not been included into the Belgian case study. This does not pose a bias problem, but does mean that the Belgian case study is narrower than what might be expected from the concept of “national” case studies. It should however be acknowledged that the “orthopedagogy” of the Netherlands and the overarching “agogy” theory have a rich intellectual history in their own right (for an overview, see e.g., Van Gent, 1994). Though there is overlap with the German tradition, there are also clear differences; but in Flanders, this tradition has sometimes been viewed as potentially too progressive and was therefore never entirely assimilated (Coussée & Verschelden, 2011, p. 114). Similarly, the intellectual and professional traditions of the French *éducateur* has been addressed in other parts of the thesis [e.g., §2.4.2.1], yet without articulating Franco-Belgian differences and commonalities further. Acknowledging these further limitations indicates additional paths which future research could follow.

Part B

Chapter 4. Germany: Double Dichotomy Defeated – or the End of Dichotomy as We Know It?

4.1. Overview

4.1.1. Introduction to the case study

The Germany case study is of particular importance to the sequential presentation and analysis of all three case studies. The key notions of “Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy” and “Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence” are introduced and explained in this case study, to be used for comparison in the subsequent three case studies; additional theoretical concepts with German names are introduced and explained. This case study chapter is therefore longer than the three following chapters.

While all three case studies focus on Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in professional education, the German case is marked by “double dichotomy”, because two traditional disciplines and professions have (until recently) shaped professional education programmes, while professional education provision has at the same time been located at two different levels of higher education [HE] (*Fachhochschule* [FH] versus *Universität*). This double dichotomy was identified early on as a constitutive trait of West German HE (Lane & Seibel, 1979); it can be found to a lesser extent in Denmark and Belgium, while in England it stopped being relevant in 1992 when Polytechnics, Institutes of Higher Education and (in Scotland) Central Institutes were given the opportunity to become Universities (Further and Higher Education Act 1992, section 77). It would, however, seem that German professional education has seen its development influenced particularly heavily by this double dichotomy, and it will be seen from the case study that it was a particularly contentious aspect of professional education provision. The subject studied is therefore a key attempt to bring an end to double dichotomy, and indeed to Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy.

As discussed above [§3.3.2] [Table 3.7], the Germany case study is based on visits to one FH college in each of the most populous *Länder* (Würzburg in Bavaria, and Bielefeld in NRW); the *Länder* have paradigmatic status in relation to professional education, both because of being the two most populous ones, one traditionally social

democratic (NRW) and one traditionally conservative (Bavaria), one which has to this day largely maintained the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in its professional education curriculum (NRW) and one which abolished it early on (Bavaria). The case study combines an analysis of academic literature with an investigation into the events and circumstances of the adoption of the “(Federal) Exam Framework Regulation” (*Bundes) Rahmenprüfungsordnung*) [hereinafter: RPO, or *RPO Soziale Arbeit*] (KMK & HRK, 2001). The case study is based on extensive literature research²³ as well as a visit to the archives of the German Rectors’ Conference (HRK, *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*) where access was granted to original material from the years 1999–2001. This material is still classified, so for reasons of confidentiality no references are made which would allow readers to link statements made with specific stakeholders consulted, although a list of contributors is provided [Table 4.4]. Field work for this case study took place in February 2005, June 2005 and July 2008.

The analysis of sources (original archive material plus some printed sources) is placed in a wider context and interpreted as the possible culmination (but not the end) of a conflict between Social Work and Social Pedagogy in connection with neighbouring academic disciplines and professions.

²³ A considerable body of literature had informed my research up to the visit to Bonn, *all of which is listed in the References*: Amthor, 2003; Anastasiadis, et al., 2011; Berger, 2001; Birgmeier & Mührel, 2009; Brauns & Kramer, 1986; Dollinger, et al., 2010; Eikermann & Hutter, 1996; Engelke, 1996a, 1996b, 2003; Erler, [1993] 2007; Feth, 1996; Frankiewicz, et al., 1961; Füssenhäuser, 2005; Gängler, 1994, 1998; Gatzemann, 2008, 2009; Gerspach, 2002; Gödecker-Geenen, 2003; Grohall, 1997; Gröschke, 1997; Grunwald & Thiersch, 2001; Hämäläinen, 2003; Henseler, 2000; Hering & Münchmeier, 2000; Kersting, 2002; Kersting & Neumann-Wirsig, 2000; Knorr, 2001; Kobi, 2005; Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977; Kreuzer, 2009; Kruse, 2004; Kronen, 1980; Krüger, 2001; Lorenz, 1999, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Lorenz & Hirschler, 2005; Lowy, 1983; Maile, Bartosch & Speth, 2008; May, [2008] 2009; Merten, 1998, 2002; Mühlum, [1994] (2004), 2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Mührel & Birgmeier, 2009, 2011); Müller, 2002, 2005; Niemeyer, 2002, 2005; Nodes, 2007; Pfaffenberger, 1953, [1966] 1974, 1981, 1993, [1993] 2004, 2000a, 2000b, 2004a, 2004b; Pöhl, 1998; Prange, 2002; Rauschenbach, 1999; Rauschenbach & Züchner, 2000; Rehbein, 2005; Reyer, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Sahle, [2002] 2004; Salustowicz, 1989, 1995a, 1995b; 1999; Schilling, 1997; Schweppe, 2006; Smith, 1999; Stichweh, 1994; Sting, 2011; Thole & Galuske, 2003; Wilken, 1999; Winkler, 2002; Züchner, 2004. Due to the sheer volume of this literature, the diversity and nuance of the arguments it conveys, a systematic review hereof cannot be provided. Readers may notice that many factual statements are presented without specific references. This is due to the fact that these statements represent a global appreciation based on a large part of this literature.

4.1.2. Specific concepts and abbreviations used in this case study

To distinguish these different paradigms from each other, a certain amount of “sign-language” communication seems useful and therefore the use of a standardised set of abbreviations is continued. The use of the expressions Social Work (to designate social work “in the narrow sense” to indicate the more office-based or more therapeutic social professions) and Social Pedagogy (to designate social pedagogy “in the larger sense”, including traditions in the Latin countries where the word “pedagogy” is not routinely used) was introduced earlier [§1.1]. This usage will continue in the three case studies but some additional, country-specific abbreviations will be added at this stage, again to identify that terms are used in a more specific sense than they may commonly be in other texts. In the Germany case study, three terms specific to its context are highlighted via such abbreviations:

- “Science of Upbringing” (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) is a model within university-based pedagogy (as opposed to more vocational FH-based courses) which, commencing in the early 1960s, started challenging the then-prevailing “humanistic pedagogy” (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*). It exists in an empirical and a critical (in the sense of the *Frankfurter Schule*) version as well as in an integrated version and is discussed below in more detail [§4.6].
- “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) (literally: “Social Work science”) is a paradigm that emerged in professional education in the 1980s (Mühlum, 2004a) and which over the next two decades successfully fought for change in FH-based professional education prescription, design and delivery [§4.7]. The movement can be broken down into three elements. Its proponents challenged the leadership role of university-based pedagogy, in particular EW (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) (“educational science”), as the “lead discipline” providing guidance to professional education. They also rejected what they called the “additive” professional education curriculum (containing numerous courses with knowledge from various established disciplines) and demanded its replacement by a “professional science” (*Fachwissenschaft*) based on the professional practice of the social professions, defined by professional education staff and based on their own theories. Finally, having gained

confidence via the development of this new, autonomous discourse and feeling increasingly emancipated from the traditional university-based disciplines (in particular EW), the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement fought for the “dissolution” (occasionally the Hegelian term *Aufhebung* is used) (e.g., one reply to the HRK consultation)²⁴ [§4.6] of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, which they obtained at the level of FH curriculum prescription. “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) is close to the IFSW and embraces its understanding of a unitary social work profession.

- “Curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) is a paradigm in professional education and practice which has been around for almost 150 years and it refers to a profession (previously a semi-profession or occupation) working with people with learning difficulties, physical disability, etc., often but not always as the result of accidents or injuries. This medico-socio-educational paradigm integrates elements from all relevant “foundation sciences” but draws deliberately on education (*Pädagogik*) as the unifying theory (Gröschke, 1997; Kobi, 2005). It embraces the leadership role of pedagogy and the much-challenged “additive curriculum” (both challenged by “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*)) [§4.9].

Unlike Belgium and Denmark, Social Work and Social Pedagogy in Germany are highly productive in terms of published output. Even in comparison with many university-based social work schools in the USA, Germany’s social work departments based in polytechnics with a lower status often score higher numbers of publications per academic (Sałustowicz, 1989). It is thus no surprise that a case study dealing with professional education in Germany must include more literature than the other two case studies, and it may be argued that observing changes in literature generates a specific type of evidence which has an intrinsic value of its own in this context. Given the huge volume of literature, it is important that reference works are more readily available than in the other two countries (Deutscher Verein, 2002; Otto & Thiersch, 2001; Stimmer, et al., 2000; Thole, 2002). In relation to the PRO process, some sources have been printed (Engelke, 1996a) and regarding the development of

²⁴ Thus used in one of the submissions referred to in Table 4.4; however, for reasons of confidentiality, the author of the submission will not be quoted here.

paradigms in academic literature, a compilation of programmatic publications by various academics representing the years 1986–2002 is available (Mühlum, 2004a). It should be noted, however, that, as regards this collection of essays, they all represent the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) school, while for reasons which cannot be ascertained a publication of comparable standing representing the viewpoints of the competing EW school does not seem to exist.

4.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in German professional education

4.2.1. History of German professional education

The history of German professional education is complicated by the simultaneous existence of a great number of professions and occupations whose status and locus have changed over time (Amthor, 2003; Züchner, 2004).²⁵ In 2004, the medico-socio-pedagogical “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) existed both as a profession following education at FH college level, as well as in the shape of an occupation following training in more advanced vocational secondary schools (*Fachschulen*) (as opposed to lower-level vocational schools, *Berufsfachschulen*), but it is equally true that “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) training had not always been located at FH level. As late as 1976, the official lists of higher education programmes included no “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) programmes (WRK, 1976). Social Pedagogy is a clear illustration of the principle that present-day social professions (including professional education) can only be fully understood on the basis of knowledge of their history (Lorenz, 2008a). What this investigation aims to illuminate, is the way

²⁵ Amthor (2008) distinguishes eight professions and occupations (Amthor uses the feminine and masculine forms in accordance with the gender of the majority of each workforce): five occupations with vocational qualifications obtained in secondary education (*Berufsfachschule*): *Kinderpflegerin* (a crèche or preschool (nursery) assistant working under the supervision of an *Erzieherin*); *Familienpflegerin and Dorfhelferin* (a kind of home help assistant for families); *Erzieherin* (a qualified crèche or preschool worker with qualifications at two different levels); *Heilerziehungspfleger* (an assistant working with people with special needs); and *Altenpflegerin* (an assistant working with older people). One profession which has both a vocational and an academic level, that of *Heilpädagoge* (a more qualified worker for people with special needs, disability, etc.), either trained at secondary level in a vocational school (*Berufsfachschule*), or in the tertiary education sector within a polytechnic or “university of applied sciences” (*Fachhochschule*). Finally, two professions with higher education qualifications: *Diplom-Sozialarbeiter* and *Diplom-Sozialpädagoge* (educated in a *Fachhochschule*), as well as the more generic education graduate, *Diplom-Pädagoge* (with a master’s degree from a university) who may have a specialisation in social work and work in the field in a leading position.

that the territory of professional education (being by definition a matter for HE) has been shared by the Social Work and Social Pedagogy paradigms during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), as well as shortly before and shortly after this period.

Similarly, although the German *Kindergarten* movement of the nineteenth century is seen as a constituent development of Social Pedagogy, the development track which it started led to the current preschool worker²⁶ (*Erzieherin*) programme which is offered at secondary level (Züchner, 2004, p. 100) (unlike Belgium and Denmark where the same programmes are part of the professional education family). The current Social Pedagogy programmes at FH level stem from the “youth leader” (*Jugendleiterin*) occupation which was regulated for the first time in 1911 with a six-month training course and a minimum requirement of one year’s previous practice (ibid., p. 103). FH status was acquired in 1971 together with numerous other occupations and semi-professions, when the FH sector was invented, partly as the result of lobbying effort from the engineering profession. Social Pedagogy training at FH level originates from the first courses for female welfare officers (*Fürsorgerinnen*), whose training courses were initially offered by private organisations beginning in 1899, with the foundation by Alice Salomon of a more ambitious school in Berlin in 1908 (ibid., p. 101) marking a decisive step forward.

Finally, the pedagogy programmes at universities (*Diplom-Pädagoge*) also became members of the professional education family, with Social Pedagogy being one among several possible study routes, but only from the late 1960s onwards (ibid., p. 103), with 25% of graduates working in municipal youth and family services (ibid., p. 109). Against this backdrop of blurred boundaries, interdependence and frequent overlap (in many ways the German situation is less clear than the Belgian or Danish situation), it is obvious that Social Work and Social Pedagogy based professions would often seem interchangeable to the outside world, including to their employers, and this seems to have led to the assumption that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy had become a thing of the past – a mere formality which did not deserve to be maintained.

²⁶ As the concepts “nursery school” (UK usage), *Kindergarten* (German), “kindergarten” (US usage), *børnehave* (Danish) and *école maternelle* (French) carry different connotations and are partly overlapping, the term “preschool” was chosen because it is used by the OECD for transnational comparisons, and as such seems to be the most neutral international term.

Whereas in the nineteenth century, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich had all seen German professional education develop largely on its own premises, things changed abruptly in 1945. Numerous aspects of German public life were questioned and addressed via various “re-education” activities, including Social Work/Social Pedagogy and professional education. North American models based on the individual were brought to Germany and Social Pedagogy was regarded as problematic due to its focus on collective processes (Lorenz, 1999) and because of a perception that it had supported Nazism. This impression partly persists to this day (Smith, 1999) yet it should be remembered that Social Work was also expected to make its contribution to the agenda of the single-party state (Hering & Münchmeier, 2000) – a common trait in all totalitarian systems, where all walks of life are mobilised for the same cause. (In World War I, the official propaganda influenced the thinking and works of Social Pedagogy theorists Paul Natorp (Bruhn, 2007) and Herman Nohl (Thys, 2005) who have since then become household names; both theoreticians responded quite uncritically, but far from fanatically, as very average Germans of their time, slowly developing a more nuanced perception.) Social Pedagogy did survive but became heavily influenced from the USA in particular, as *Fürsorge* became *Sozialarbeit* – a direct translation of the term “social work”. In the process, German professional education (or at least the Social Pedagogy branch) became particularly influenced by the developmental model of US social work and especially by the Boston School of Social Work (Kersting & Neumann-Wirsig, 2000).

After 1945 North American social work practitioners were assigned to teaching jobs in Germany (American and British zones) as part of the re-education programme. Unsurprisingly, German émigrés were used as much as possible (Gisela Konopka, Louis Lowy, etc.) and German students were enrolled on professional education programmes in the USA with the objective of repatriating them for teaching or practice in Germany, where they would introduce methods and concepts that had not been known until then, and write occasional textbooks (Schiller, 1963) while others would translate and edit North American textbooks (Friedländer & Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974). In the process, a neat preference for the “developmental model” emerged, possibly under the influence of Louis Lowy (himself a Jewish-German émigré born in Munich) of the Boston School of Social Work. Other models were available then – especially the “remedial model” (Papell & Rothman, 1966) – but the

“developmental model” was preferred because of its focus on learning and the development of individuals and groups within a specific period of time (Lowy, 1973, p. 6). Thus, while a certain bias against Social Pedagogy had been palpable in the years after the war (Lorenz, 1999), this choice may actually be seen as a concession to Social Pedagogy, with its well-known focus on learning. This influence proved to be durable as Lowy was invited to teach in Germany for several months a year between the years 1964 and 1986 (Kersting & Neumann-Wirsig, 2000). At a later stage, Lowy was asked to write an expert report on the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy (Lowy, 1983).

Doubts about the relevance of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy may thus have arisen from observations of Anglo-American social work and it may also be assumed speculatively that the organisation of the 8th IFSW World Conference in Munich (1956) may have contributed to the bias favouring Anglo-American social work and, hence, the non-dichotomous Social Work paradigm. The efforts made by the American military administration during the immediate post-war years are an obvious factor to be taken into consideration and it seems that no development has been quite detached from this specific transatlantic reality. Significantly, when rescue was brought to Social Pedagogy in the form of the famous “slash” *Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik* (a label that sought and still seeks to reconcile the two paradigms by recognising their simultaneous occupation of portions of a common terrain), this happened as part of a project destined to bring North American ideas and methods to a wide readership of German students and professionals.

Hans Pfaffenberger, himself a one-time prisoner-of-war (who was allowed to study North American psychology in a Canadian PoW camp) (Kornbeck, 2002b; Merten, 2002), translated and edited the social work textbook of a German-American émigré, Walter Friedländer (Friedländer & Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974). In his editorial preface, Pfaffenberger advocated the “slash” notion as representing a “unitary functional system of forms of social help” (*einheitliches Funktionssystem gesellschaftlicher Hilfen*) (Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974, p. VII). During the following decades some would emulate this usage while others would reject it. According to one colleague, Pfaffenberger thus would find himself “walking between two worlds” (Mühlum, 1998, p. 94). Yet the same colleague – a proponent of the “Science of

Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) model, as evidenced in his role of editor of the main publication of that school of thought (Mühlum, 2004a) – praised the more pragmatic Pfaffenberger for having made the most convincing and most coherent of all contributions in the available literature, and for having predicted earlier than most other authors the eventual merger of the two traditional paradigms (Mühlum, 2001, p. 9).

This transatlantic relationship was going to be of a rather enduring nature. Heinz Kersting and Georg Nebel were students of Louis Lowy and founded an Institute for Counselling and Supervision in Aachen which, in 2005, was renamed Louis Lowy Institute (Kersting & Nebel, 2005).²⁷ Significantly, the only German to have presided over the IASSW (Heinrich Schiller, 1980–1988) was also an émigré (half Jewish, half Christian in origin) who brought new methods to Germany (Wieler, 2008). German professional education was thus set to develop according to two dissimilar modes, a more “German” (Social Pedagogy) and a more “American” (Social Work) mode. Seen from the perspective of the 1950s and 1960s it may be difficult to understand the later efforts to bring the two strands together, yet to understand what challenged the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy it becomes necessary to look at the specific German articulation between professional education at FH and university level, what here is termed “double dichotomy”. It seems that this may have been the root cause of the conflict between the Social Work and Social Pedagogy paradigms, which was to unfold in the 1980s and 1990s.

4.2.2. The double dichotomy of German professional education

One reason why the dichotomy was not always felt to be harmonious was, however, the fact that professional education was not only provided at FH level but also at

²⁷ “Louis Lowy’s influence is not to be underestimated, his visiting professorship in Bochum is still remembered by many colleagues today; his regular guest lectures in Germany in Aachen, Berlin, Essen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne, Mönchengladbach, Munich, Münster, Nuremberg, Paderborn – and I am sure I have not listed all the places in Germany at which Lowy taught – always brought new impulses and launched scientific discussions. His courses at the Meinwerk-Institute, in Freiburg with the Caritas Association, the Staffelnhof seminars in Switzerland, his advanced training courses and his development training sessions at the Academy for Youth Problems were trailblazers for the development of modern advanced training for social workers in Germany. In addition, Louis Lowy advised many institutions of social welfare about their day-to-day problems and carried out organisational development projects. Today, Louis Lowy still ranks among the important promoters of social work in Germany.” (Kersting, 2002)

university level, hence the double dichotomy which is a product of professional education history in Germany [§4.3]. In line with habits in the German public and semi-public sector (including private charities with public funding), university graduates should normally be placed in higher positions and paid better than FH graduates, yet only FH degrees qualified for registration as a practitioner (*Staatsanerkennung*). Conversely, an FH degree alone did not suffice for teaching an FH course (although it might be an asset if combined with a university degree) so that universities were in this respect stronger than the FH sector. With less than a handful of exceptions (courses set up in the 1980s and 1990s), universities did not have Social Work departments but rather Social Pedagogy study routes on pedagogy or EW courses provided by pedagogy or EW departments.

The result was that, although Social Work and Social Pedagogy were in theory equal in the FH sector – for many years they represented roughly the same number of degree programmes nationally (WRK, 1976, 1989; HRK, 1996) – they were not equal in the university sector, from whence the FH sector was expected to draw its knowledge. At universities, the ruling paradigm was that of EW, which since the 1960s had developed into an empirical social science, but which included numerous other study routes, specialisations and research interests of their staff, other than Social Pedagogy. Adult education, vocational training and intercultural work with migrants were (and are) only some of the specialisations coexisting with Social Pedagogy. The dualism was further underscored by a lack of permeability for graduates between the two higher education sectors which has been characterised as a “broken two-level structure” (*gebrochene Zweistufigkeit*) (Pfaffenberger, 2000a, p. 35). It was normal that FH graduates would only be admitted into university programmes on the condition that they would take the vast majority of modules on the relevant course. The specific knowledge that an FH graduate would bring to the fore did not really count in the eyes of Social Pedagogy/EW departments at universities.

As discussed above [§4.2.1], the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is rooted in history, although opinions may differ about how far back it can be traced – some would even see the prefigurations of work with the poor (Social Work) and work with orphans (Social Pedagogy) in the Middle Ages (Engelke, 2003). In a contemporary perspective, the dichotomy may be explained with reference to political, legal and

administrative frameworks, where Social Work is an emanation of social policy which aims to provide organised services designed to ensure people against social risks (*organisierte Sicherungsleistungen*), either via “the social security system” or via “psycho-social help” (Schilling, 1997, p. 138). To this end, Social Work draws on such established academic disciplines as sociology, law or psychology. By way of analogy, Social Pedagogy is an emanation of educational policies (*Bildungspolitik*) and aims to provide service users with “organised education services” (*organisierte Sicherungsleistungen*), be it within the framework of the education system or within specific socio-pedagogical services (*Sozialerziehung*). To this end, Social Pedagogy draws inspiration from the academic discipline of EW (ibid., p. 138). This model may have its flaws, but it also has the merit of bringing in highly needed clarity. One flaw is obviously that the theory and practice of Social Pedagogy are far more diverse and comprehensive than the simple addition of the education system and the professional practice of *Sozialerziehung*, not least because many social pedagogues work in social services departments. But despite its reductionism, the model draws attention to the core content of the two notions of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, which can be traced back to their historical roots as shown [Table 4.1].

Whereas German professional education was under strong North American influence in the decades after World War II, it may also seem, for the years 1960–2000 (approximately), that the ambition of Social Work has increasingly been linked with professionalisation (the Anglo-American paradigm), while Social Pedagogy seems to have been more concerned with academisation (thus perpetuating specific German features of the paradigm), following Schilling (1997, pp. 139–140) [Table 4.1] (but (with direct references made to the work of Richmond), although not by Paul Natorp, Herman Nohl or Gertrud Bäumer (Salomon, 1925). Social Pedagogy was not uninfluenced by these developments and sought, first during the 1920s, but later and with more vigour after the war, to get more closely associated with specific professional roles.

Table 4.1 Historical roots of Social Work and Social Pedagogy in Germany (Schilling, 1997, p. 138) (transl. JK)

	Social Work (<i>Sozialarbeit</i>)	Social Pedagogy (<i>Sozialpädagogik</i>)
1st phase Before approx. 1830	Precursor of social work: charitable work with poor people	Precursor of social pedagogy: work in orphanages
2nd phase Approx. 1830–1880	Development of practical relief work (<i>Fürsorge</i>)	Development of socio-educational work
3rd phase Approx. 1880–1930	Theoretical foundations justify professional practice and the emerging PESP	Theoretical foundations justify social pedagogy, including “the socio- pedagogical movement”
4th phase Approx. 1960, onw.	Modern social work on the way toward professional status	Modern social pedagogy on the way toward academic status

The idea of diagnosis did not remain unattractive to the entire academic and professional community either, and in the decades following World War II, it was indeed adopted by some theoreticians (Mollenhauer & Uhlendorff, [1992] 2004; Schmidt, 2006). Meanwhile, statutory agencies (Bayerisches Landesjugendamt, 2001; Sauter, 2001) and service providers in the voluntary sector (Deutscher Verein, 2005) have published detailed practice manuals based on the concept of Social Pedagogy diagnosis. Without questioning the merits of this approach in practice, this may seem a far cry from the anti-therapeutic, profession-critical, participatory ethos which has been highlighted as a hallmark of Social Pedagogy (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000; Tourrilhes, 2003), yet the contradiction is apparent but not real. Just like Social Work, Social Pedagogy is understood, in this investigation, in an ideal-typical way and, as such, it will rarely be possible to observe it in its most pure and uncorrupted form, even if an alternative view can be identified, according to which Social Pedagogy’s reliance on education and its character of an enlightening project can be seen as representing a male concern with understanding, mastery and autonomy, as opposed to the care values of Social Work (Kuhlmann, 2009).²⁸

This typology is based on the assumption that:

- (1) from the German classics of the nineteenth century; from some contemporary German Social Pedagogy theorists (of the “Science of Upbringing”

²⁸ Note that while the feminist, pro-Social Work position expressed by (Kuhlmann, 2009) is that of a woman, the gender-neutral, pro-Social Pedagogy position of Gaspar & Wéry (2000) as well as Tourrilhes (2003) is also that of woman scholars.

- (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) rather than of the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) school) (Müller, 2005; Niemeyer, 2003; Reyer, 2002a);
- (2) from the mainstream of francophone *éducation spéciale* literature (Capul & Lemay, 2008);
 - (3) from Social Pedagogy practice in Belgium or Denmark, as reported informally and anecdotally by colleagues;
 - (4) from British assessments of Social Pedagogy as observed in a range of Continental and Scandinavian countries;
 - (5) from the proposals made on that basis for the introduction of Social Pedagogy in professional education and practice in England;
 - (6) from the documents adopted by at least one international NGO (AIEJI, 2005, 2008);
 - (7) from the writings of a small group of authors who look specifically at Social Pedagogy (rather than “social work” in the sense used by the IFSW, or *Soziale Arbeit*, if writing in German) (Bens, 2009; Crimmens, 1998; Davies Jones, 1994a, 1994b; Gustavsson, Hermanson & Hämäläinen, 2003; Hallstedt & Högström, 2005; Hämäläinen, 2003; Kornbeck, 2001, 2002a, 2002c, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008b; Kornbeck & Lumsden, 2009),

it is possible to distill the gist of the Social Pedagogy paradigm, and to formulate it in ideal-typical form. This is indeed what much recent English Social Pedagogy scholarship has been about.

That German Social Pedagogy authors should adopt perspectives which do not fit this model, does not put the model’s intrinsic validity into question. It rather means that they, despite possibly carrying the Social Pedagogy label, either in their institutional affiliations or in their writings, have assimilated elements which do not belong to the ideal-typical Social Pedagogy model. This can be felt when an academic holds a post featuring *Erziehungswissenschaft* in its title, yet his or her book on theories of *Soziale Arbeit* includes no presentation of Social Pedagogy history or theory, and words like *Sozialpädagogik* (noun) or *sozialpädagogisch* emerge in an unsystematic way, and seemingly for stylistic reasons (German has no apparent adjective related to *Soziale*

Arbeit), rather than out of conviction. In one recent book, Social Pedagogy is virtually absent and the IFSW model prevails (May, [2008] 2009). This strategy may have been short-sighted, as departure from the initial, more theoretical model of Social Pedagogy meant that Social Pedagogy became partly meaningless – as theory to explain an already existing practice (Kornbeck, 2008b) or, worse, “a concept for a missing theory” (Holtstiege, 1976, p. 11) – and self-referential (Reyer, 2001, 2002a, 2002b).

While the *Erziehungswissenschaft* movement [§4.6] sought to address some shortcomings in the university layer of professional education by developing new models of thinking within universities, the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement [§4.7] challenged not only the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, but also the double dichotomy of German professional education. The “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement arose out of the frustration of FH-based professional education teachers who felt that their discipline had been colonised from universities and regretted that it continued drawing its knowledge (and for many years also its staff) from there. They were keen to bring this situation to an end (Engelke, 1996b; 2003; Mühlum, 2004a).

Traditionally, Social Work and Social Pedagogy had been separate professions with their own professional education programmes, having been regulated at different moments using dissimilar sets of rules and standards [§4.3]. The Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy continued playing a role in FH-based professional education, albeit a diminishing one, as contents became more unified and employers increasingly used Social Work and Social Pedagogy graduates as interchangeable, and as some *Länder* started merging programmes in practice. The “slash notion” (*Bindestrichnotation*) invented in the 1960s by Pfaffenberger [1966] (1974), became a comfortable and largely pragmatic (albeit by no means uncontested) label for describing a contradictory (and sometimes uncomfortable) reality. But until 2001, at least in theory, FH colleges continued educating both for Social Work and for Social Pedagogy practice, at least in some *Länder* (NRW, for example).

The “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) debate poses certain challenges to observers, especially those from abroad, because the concepts used are closely tied up with specific usage in German and many terms, therefore, are difficult

to translate into English. Regarding the so-called “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*), purists of English may argue that “science” in English refers solely to the exact sciences, and indeed this argument has been advanced in a professional education book review (Wilford, 2001).²⁹ If, however, the adjective “scientific” is replaced by “academic” (as in “academic standards”), all HE departments and schools in the UK are subject to the same minimum requirements as their German counterparts. The ESRC Seminar series, “Theorising Social Work Research” (1999–2000)³⁰ was concerned with many of the same issues as the German “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) debate: locus and status within the academic hierarchy, relationship between research and professional education, generation of knowledge via professional education staff or by drawing on knowledge from other disciplines, etc. It should also be remembered that “political science” is an accepted and official term in the English-speaking world, although it is no closer to the exact sciences than Social Work seems to be. The analysis provided by the review in question (Wilford, 2001) is an example of “manufacturing” foreign content and “proving” otherness as in the case of Edward Said’s “orientalism” (Said, 1978), whereby “the other” is routinely given stereotypical characteristics (here: opaque, cumbersome, speculative German expressions versus transparent, user-friendly, self-explanatory English expressions). The example is also an illustration of the need to have intimate knowledge of the language, culture and everyday-life details of another country to be able to make well-founded judgements as part of comparative research – as discussed earlier, this is a matter of methodology [§3.2.4].

For a British reader, it may come as a surprise that *Magister* and *Diplom* programmes offered by German universities were of equal or near-to-equal length. Anglo-Saxon degrees have traditionally been shorter and designed to be linked sequentially – this is

²⁹ One UK-based book reviewer thought that the term *Sozialwesen* (umbrella term for joint Social Work/Social Pedagogy courses) meant “the science of organisational structures in social work” (Wilford, 2001, p. 65). Reflecting on “whether a science of social work/pedagogy is possible at all and to what extent it does or can inform practice,” the reviewer pointed out that, since law schools in Germany refer to *Rechtswissenschaft* (literally: “legal science”) whereas “there is not [...] a science of law in the UK”, the word science “probably means different things in different contexts” (ibid., p. 66). However, this argument gives too much weight to the easily emerging impression that all concepts are culturally determined and that everything is different in other countries. A submission from a German academic, Friedrich Seibel, led to a note being published in the subsequent issue by the section editor, rectifying the misconception about *Sozialwesen* (Wattam, 2002, p. 63) but (unsurprisingly) without commenting on the issue of “science”.

³⁰ The ESRC Seminar series, “Theorising Social Work Research” (1999–2000) used to be available online (www.nisw.org.uk/tswr/html), yet the site appears to have been closed. The series has been quoted by a number of authors, such as Beresford (2000).

the reason why the BA/MA structure has been adopted for all of Europe as part of the Bologna process – but German study programmes, even within the same higher education sector (universities) were rather designed as parallel trajectories with dissimilar objectives and contents. In the 1970s and 1980s, British professional education on the contrary offered programmes of very different length and HE status (CQSW, CSS, DipSW), which nevertheless had exactly the same value in relation to entering the profession.

Magister degrees have been offered since the early 1960s, but have not been directly relevant to professional practice. *Diplom* degrees, usually in EW but with Social Pedagogy as a popular study route and a frequent elective, really opened up the doors of academia for professional education. While *Magister* students would rather study pedagogy (and/or Social Pedagogy) to extend and develop their knowledge, *Diplom* students would enrol in a programme that was easily recognisable and had a clear job-market value (albeit a lower status than the equivalent programme in psychology).³¹ The *Diplom* formula was not only among the ten most popular programmes offered by German universities (Schweppe, 2006, p. 11), but also overwhelmingly predominant in departments of education or EW. For twenty years (1973–1993), *Magister* programmes usually accounted for 10% of a year's graduates, with *Diplom*

³¹ In the pre-Bologna system of German higher education qualifications, the *Diplom* was the most professionally relevant, being conferred after successful completion of a full-length university course (typically 6–7 years) and a master's thesis (typically 120 pp). It should therefore be distinguished from the British "Diploma" with which it solely shared the Latin name. The *Diplom* was a single-subject degree, typically involving numerous exams, but the word was ambiguous since universities did not hold a monopoly for this degree title. FH colleges also provided a *Diplom*, which gradually replaced the older title, *graduirt* (abbreviated: *grad.*) written after the graduate's name (example: *Heinz Müller, Soz.Arb. grad.*). The professional value of the *Diplom* was visible as these were named degrees and the abbreviated title indicated the specialisation clearly (example: *Dipl.-Päd. Heinz Müller* (university graduate), *Dipl.-Soz.Arb. Heinz Müller* (FH graduate)), in contrast with the *Magister*, for which the English abbreviation, appearing after the name without any explanation of professional relevance (example: *Heinz Müller, M.A.*), was used. The *Magister* was a multi-subject degree and could be conferred solely by universities. It was believed to be more academic and its great flexibility (candidates could study almost any cross-faculty combination of two, three or even four subjects) meant that many students got familiar with the basics of pedagogy or social work, without taking their major in these subjects. (Being a graduate of the pre-Bologna era, I added a minor in pedagogy, with special focus on social pedagogy and social work, which represented two years' full-time study.) In the post-Bologna degree system, *Bachelor* and *Master* degrees (the English words are used) come in many different shapes with various abbreviations and the old standardised system is being rapidly phased out. What this means for professional practice remains to be seen, although it should be mentioned that registration systems at the level of individual *Länder* continue to exist and are specifically foreseen. This registration (*Staatsanerkennung*) does not confer any standard abbreviation, as for Registered Social Workers in the UK since 1993 (example: *Peter Smith, RSW*), but it is conceivable that state registration could become a more used reference in the light of the bewildering diversity of titles conferred by universities and FH colleges.

graduates taking up the remaining 90%. During these twenty years, departments conferred a total 60,442 degrees of which 54,459 were *Diplom* degrees (Rauschenbach & Züchner, 2000, p. 38). This was a major success, undisturbed by the fact that the university title (*Dipl.-Päd.*) did not mention Social Work (or indeed Social Pedagogy), as did the FH title (*Dipl.-Soz.Arb.*, *Dipl.-Soz.Päd.*). (Note also that for qualifications in teaching (*Lehramt*) and law were not considered HE exams but “state exams” (*Staatsexamina*) and thus outside of the scope of the Bologna process.)

We have now seen that the double dichotomy was the single most characteristic trait of German professional education, and it has been postulated that it was at the heart of the concerns of the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement. On the basis of the material collected in connection with the adoption of the RPO 2001, it also seems that the (at least semantic, if not necessarily real) abolition of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy was a major objective in the minds of the proponents of a “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*). To understand how that situation could arise, and to grasp the role played by EW as (at least theoretically) the university-based “mother” discipline of FH-based professional education, however, we will need to summarise the development of pedagogy, including “general pedagogy” theory (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), Social Pedagogy and EW since the nineteenth century.

4.3. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in German professional education

4.3.1. The shifting focus of university-based Social Pedagogy

Social Pedagogy originated in Germany in the nineteenth century where it developed under conditions linked to the rapid transformation of agrarian into industrialised societies (Böhnisch, Schröder & Thiersch, 2005, p. 18) – a situation not unlike the present one, marked as it is by migration on an unprecedented scale and an as yet undigested transformation from industrial to service and knowledge based economies. For many years Social Pedagogy was assumed to have been coined first by Paul Natorp [1894, 1908] (2007), yet Kronen (1980) has been able to trace the concept further back to Karl Mager [1844] (1989, p. 171) (in a text about school education),

and recent research has shown that earlier versions of the formulation exist in the shape of manuscripts written by Natorp (Follak, 2005, pp. 53–54).

Until 1911 [§4.3], Social Pedagogy was not a professional education paradigm although it was taught and researched at university level, it neither represented a profession, nor a field, nor indeed a set of methods. It originated as a critical, alternative paradigm in school education, which gradually developed into a more global anthropological theory and finally was linked closely to work with children and young people. The result was a massive “theory loss” where the theory itself lost its meaning, because its initial ontological and epistemological orientation was forgotten (Reyer, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). Contrary to what the IFSW definition of social work might suggest, in as far as it reserves a place for Social Pedagogy in connection with practice and methods (IFSW, 2001a) [§1.3], Social Pedagogy does *not* have a specific set of methods. According to a Finnish scholar (Finland being a Social Pedagogy country), it rather represents a specific perspective within social work (Hämäläinen, 2003), which becomes more plausible when considering the specific history of the discipline in Germany. In this respect, Social Pedagogy and Social Work are almost diametrically opposed.

The inception of social work in the Netherlands, UK, USA and Germany was via a series of quite short, targeted, purpose-built training courses for specific categories of welfare officers (Brauns & Kramer, 1986). Social work gradually achieved a higher status within the education hierarchy, with the introduction of bachelor and master’s programmes and finally (to degrees varying from one country to another), to reach the point where some research could be undertaken. Social Pedagogy originated as a paradigm in entirely theoretical educational discourses (Mager, Diesterweg), it was to be taken over by philosophers as a perspective on their examination of the world (Natorp, Nohl), to be developed into an anthropological theory (Nohl) and finally become a “theory of work with children and young people” (Bäumer, Mollenhauer). It was studied on master’s and doctoral programmes early on, but these programmes were not titled “...in Social Pedagogy”. In its university branch, Social Pedagogy only very gradually became associated with a professional programme, as the *Diplom-Pädagoge* programmes were set up in 1969 onwards, with the aim to provide

alternatives to the *Diplom-Psychologe* programme which had become successful in providing graduates for senior and management positions in various welfare services.

Despite the establishment of specific professional education courses at FH level [§4.3], the university branch continued thriving, especially after developing into the “Science of Upbringing” (*Erziehungswissenschaft*). This school of thought continues to be strong, though there are signs that it may have lost some of its control over the content of professional education. There is still a Social Pedagogy section in the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft*, and many important (but usually more theoretical) papers on Social Pedagogy are still being published in the two major educational journals, *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* and *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*. Since the late 1960s, however, the leadership of university educationists over the social work educators at FH level has increasingly been challenged under what has been termed first *Sozialwesen* (roughly “social matters”) and later via the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) debate. Significantly, this term (approx: “social work science”) refers only to *Sozialarbeit*, one of the two professional traditions trained for at FH level, and the academic society, which has during two decades been promoting this agenda, uses the same semantic trick (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sozialarbeit*). Nevertheless, when adopting the 2001 regulation the political decision makers preferred using the more neutral term, *Soziale Arbeit*, which (despite a stronger resemblance to Social Pedagogy), is still supposed to cover Social Work (*Sozialarbeit*) and Social Pedagogy (*Sozialpädagogik*) alike.

Via a combined reading of two of Natorp’s main works, it becomes clear that his Social Pedagogy was solidly based on a theory of “general pedagogy” (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), rather than defining itself on the basis of a specific practice field or a set of concrete practice experiences. The classic text introducing his Social Pedagogy is “Religion inside the limits of humanity” (Natorp, [1894] 2007) – a work dealing mainly with the philosophical and sociological aspects of religion, but which leads to a central proposition: Social Pedagogy as the practical ethical principle which is needed for the accommodation of individual existences within certain social parameters, with individuals behaving in a socially responsible way and collective structures being respectful of their individuality. In Natorp’s “General Pedagogy in Guidance Notes to Academic Lectures” (Natorp, [1908] 2006), the seasoned

philosopher places his Social Pedagogy within his general theory of education. This does not mean that social pedagogical actions in practice are not guided by a purpose, nor that their utility or impact cannot be measured, yet they are derived from a general theory of the human condition, not from common sense considerations of specific social problems. The fact that Natorp can present his arguments as the emanation of overarching ethical principles makes them more cogent.

Natorp's Social Pedagogy is anything but "academic" (in the sense attributed, by the world outside of academia, to something judged as abstract, unhelpful and not reflecting real needs), its purpose being the "elevation of all of humankind to the level humanity" (*Erhebung der ganzen Menschheit zur Höhe des Menschentums*) (Natorp, [1894] 2007, p. 62). The inspiration from the social policy debates of his time (*die soziale Frage, die Arbeiterfrage*) is apparent to informed readers, although it remains entirely unstated. With the theoretical framework being an investigation into the socio-ethical consequences of the diminishing role of religion during industrialisation and urbanisation, Natorp concedes that a secular society needs secular ethics of the same binding nature as the rules hitherto provided by religion. The reestablishment of lost community structures is an ambition that resounds in the thinking of his pre-contemporary, the sociologist, Ferdinand Tönnies, and his theory of "community" versus "society" (Tönnies, 1878). This theory may be less observed by modern sociologists, yet to social work it presents a powerful analytical framework of growing relevance in a context of multi-cultural realities (Kornbeck 2001). "Community" (*Gemeinschaft*) represents the traditional, largely unquestioned, organic forms of social organisation, as opposed to "society" (*Gesellschaft*): the conscious, negotiated, structured and rational rules and institutions of modern societies. Although Natorp does not refer to Tönnies, his thinking – unsurprisingly for his time – is congruent with that of Tönnies, similar to the debate between Mary Richmond and Jane Addams which took place during the same decades.

In Natorp's reading, however, the achievement of socio-pedagogical objectives become a matter of social policy. This combination of skills-building, empowerment and a consciousness of structural inequalities should be seen as a corrective both to emerging social work (the COS tradition), and more broadly as an alternative to the individualising approaches, not only of the case work method, but also of philanthropy. While this type of thinking was well accepted in the welfare states of

the 1960s and 1970s, Villadsen has argued that since the 1990s Denmark has seen a return to the philanthropological worldview (Villadsen, 2008). Despite the references to social realities, Natorp's theory remained grounded in education (*Pädagogik*), but a theory which unlike so many competing paradigms did not take the education provided by school teachers as its point of departure. Natorp thereby stood in direct (although unstated) contradiction with Johann Friedrich Herbart, one of the most influential German educational thinkers of the nineteenth century. Herbart's theory of "educating via teaching" (*der erziehende Unterricht*) – or "educational teaching" (Hilgenheger, 1997, p. 653) – suggested that social education would emerge as a spin-off from teaching (Herbart, [1835] 2003, pp. 47–48), even when only strictly formal contents (rather than attitudes or values) were taught.³²

The sources are dissimilar for these theories, for while Natorp developed his Social Pedagogy out of an analysis of the role of religion in society, and ultimately from a neo-Kantian re-reading of Plato (Follak, 2005), Herbart arrived at his theory of "educating via teaching" from combining his practice experience as a teacher with his reflections on psychology and aesthetics (Hilgenheger, 1997, pp. 653–655). Yet Social Pedagogy cannot espouse Herbart's attachment to a specific setting, for Social Pedagogy is a horizontal or "transversal" paradigm that cuts across sectors and bureaucratically defined structures through which services are provided.³³ In this sense it is potentially in conflict, not only with school-based education and the concepts represented by teachers' unions, but indeed also with Social Work in the

³² Herbart's influence can hardly be underestimated, his focus on formal education and schools is undeniable and it is my hypothesis that the disregard shown for so long by the Danish pedagogical academia toward Social Pedagogy may partly have been caused by the paradigmatic structure of the educational theories of Knud Grue-Sørensen who was strongly influenced by Herbart (von Oettingen, 2006). In direct contradiction to this, Natorp claimed that "schools teach, but life educates" (*die Schule unterrichtet, das Leben erzieht*) (Natorp, [1905] (2006), p. 66) – exactly the opposite of Social Pedagogy. This line of thought should have been welcome in Denmark, where educational movements like that of the preacher and adult educator N. F. S. Grundtvig (the EU Grundtvig Programme is named after him) have made the same point – "living interaction can be seen as secular corollary to Grundtvig's concept of the living world" (Lawson, 1997, p. 616) – yet this did not happen. The only academic publication to date where Natorp's philosophy is presented as the main topic of the investigation, while acknowledging the existence of the notion of Social Pedagogy in Natorp's works, reserves only two pages for this topic (Jørgensen, 1918, pp. 26–27) and no Danish scholar seems to have made similar attempts since then. Since its import to Denmark around 1900, Social Pedagogy has there been curiously devoid of deep philosophical reflection (Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2004; Kornbeck, 2004c).

³³ "Pedagogy [...] is always more than schooling, is always the totality of lifelong educational processes that take place in society, from informal processes through which a child acquires basic social skills of language and behaviour, habituation in family and cultural or leisure associations to formal learning in schools, apprenticeships, universities, adult education institutions and autodidactic projects" (Lorenz, 2008a, p. 633).

Anglo-Saxon tradition (where Social Work is regularly understood as “what social workers do”, assuming that “professional” Social Work is Social Work, *not* Social Pedagogy). Nevertheless, after World War II, Social Pedagogy and *Allgemeine Pädagogik* arrived at a point of no return where they were in need of justifying themselves better, both in terms of empirical foundations (to prove that their statements were not merely personal assumptions held by professors, however eloquent) and in the direction of adopting more “critical” perspectives, in line with the dominant trends of the post-war decades.

4.3.2. From *Pädagogik* to “Science of Upbringing” (*Erziehungswissenschaft*)

During their centuries-long history at German universities, both Social Pedagogy and *Pädagogik/Allgemeine Pädagogik* had of course gone through various phases of defining, defending and challenging theoretical models: a true representation of the paradigmatic nature of “scientific revolutions” where each paradigm has something akin to a life cycle (Kuhn, 1962).

Although *Pädagogik* and EW are often being used synonymously and interchangeably (even by university departments) (Krüger, 2001, p. 463), the former is the older word which can be traced back (as an official term in academia) to 1770 (Böhm, 2005, p. 748), while the latter is a term coined in the 1960s by a specific EW movement, and its adoption should correspond with the adherence to certain principles of pedagogical research regarding critical social theory, empirical orientation, etc. The word *Pädagogik* had been formed, in the eighteenth century, in analogy with *Rhetorik*, *Ethik* and *Logik* and by drawing on the Greek educational ideal of *paideia* (Böhm, 2005, p. 748) which – although completely absent in professional education and Social Pedagogy literature – should be seen as a major source of theoretical inspiration (Kornbeck, 2008a). During the nineteenth century, *Pädagogik* was developed under the influence of major German-speaking thinkers (Humboldt, Schleiermacher) and activist-theorists (Pestalozzi, Fröbel) (Krüger, 2001, pp. 464–465) and by the end of the century it was well established in academia. As we have seen, Social Pedagogy existed as a theme within *Pädagogik* but without a professional education functionality linked to it. The idea of using the German concept of “upbringing” (*Erziehung*), as “education in the broadest sense of the word” (Petrie, et

al., 2006, p. 2) was already conceived by Peter Petersen in his 1924 lectures in general pedagogy, where he sought to connect *Erziehung* with *Bildung* (Petersen [1924] 2002, pp. 154–159). Petersen’s interest in connecting individual and collective learning processes is essentially the core business of Social Pedagogy theory as set out by Mager and Natorp, so that EW in this tradition is largely congruent with Social Pedagogy. Yet it was not before the 1960s that EW became the leading paradigm that it is today, and it can be seen from the official HRK lists of degree programmes offered at German universities that it was not before the 1990s that EW had become really dominant at that level (WRK, 1976, 1989; HRK, 1996, 2004).

As we have seen, Social Pedagogy originated in the school-based discourse of Mager and was later to become an anthropological paradigm as defined by Natorp [§4.5], yet in the nineteenth century this ceased to be enough. In the 1920s Social Pedagogy had developed as a “human science” (*Geisteswissenschaft*) under the influence of Herman Nohl, but had also attached itself specifically to “all that is education, but not family or school” (*alles was Erziehung, aber nicht Schule und nicht Familie ist*) as phrased by his student, Gertrud Bäumer [1929] (1998). Yet after the war, the call for a more “critical” Social Pedagogy (critical in the sense used by the *Frankfurter Schule*, as in *Kritische Theorie*) became louder and both Social Pedagogy and *Allgemeine Pädagogik* became increasingly concerned with the big themes of the times, “emancipation” and “educational reform” (Mollenhauer, 1968). The development of a critical social theory of its own (Füssenhäuser, 2005, p. 82) became a necessity and, simultaneously, the previously humanistic positions of pedagogy were rejected as being too idealistic and theoretical and an empirical grounding was being demanded.

This “realistic turn” (*realistische Wendung*) had already been demanded by Heinrich Roth in his inaugural professorial lecture (Roth, 1962) and the call was followed by others, in particular Mollenhauer, whose textbook continued to be re-edited and re-printed right up to his death in 1998 (Mollenhauer [1964] 1998). Mollenhauer went through various phases, rejecting the humanistic tradition and later turning back more towards paradigms that could be characterised as humanistic, in the 1980s and 1990s re-defining Social Pedagogy as a “cultural theory” and discovering “forgotten connections” (*vergessene Zusammenhänge*) (Füssenhäuser, 2005, p. 93). The realistic thinking did not, however, remain merely empirical and latently positivistic. In many

cases it entered into a fruitful dialogue with the humanistic tradition and many authors found ways to reconcile the two paradigms. “Life-world orientation” (*Lebensweltorientierung*) being arguably the most original contribution, linked chiefly (though not exclusively) with the name of Hans Thiersch – although already discovered by Mollenhauer (1959) – was based on a recognition of the diversity of perceptions and experiences across humanity (Thiersch, [1986] 2006; [1992] 2005).

“Thinkers such as Goffmann and Ulrich Beck would appear to have influenced this school of thought” (Grunwald & Thiersch, 2001, p. 1138), but with its locus in departments of pedagogy or EW, and with its strong link to Social Work, this discourse is truly *sui generis*. When connecting life-world orientations with social problems and the German notion of *Bildung* (education as holistic personal development) (Sünker, 1989) it reveals itself as truly German and humanistic. Although life-world orientation is ultimately yet another modernisation theory (Füssenhäuser, 2005, p. 157) – thus engaging in the same type of investigation as did Social Pedagogy in the nineteenth century – the very idea that forms of social help offered across the life-span are all emanations of *Erziehung* or *Bildung* (Brezinka, 1957; Böhnisch, 1997) could only emerge against the backdrop of German philosophy. Life-world orientation is not only a “framework concept” for the formation of Social Pedagogy theories, but also provides “fundamental guidance” for Social Pedagogy practice (Grunwald & Thiersch, 2001, p. 1136) and far from representing an interruption of previous intellectual traditions, it connects with the hermeneutic-pragmatic tradition of nineteenth- and twentieth-century German pedagogy (Wilhelm Dilthey, Herman Nohl, Erich Weniger) in that it accepts the everyday experiences of fellow-humans as a source of knowledge and the foundation of a pragmatic academic discipline that may provide guidance to professional practice (*pragmatische Handlungswissenschaft*) (ibid., p. 1138).

Some attempts were made to reconcile the two trends, such as Brezinka’s use of Popper’s critical rationalism (Brezinka, 1957) and speaking in general terms, it can be said that Social Pedagogy and *Allgemeine Pädagogik* were keen to maintain a certain intellectual tradition. The development of new paradigms did not lead to the destruction of all previous ones, so when the dominance of EW over professional education was resented by the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*)

movement, it must be remembered, in the interest of fairness, that EW was neither the type of distant, theoretical, university-based discipline previously found at German universities, nor was it a discipline based on teacher training and lacking in knowledge about, and interest in, the professional practice of the social professions. It was also not a positivistic science laying claim to the universal validity of its statements.

As re-moulded in the “realistic turn”, Social Pedagogy had much to offer: it had become ideology-conscious under the influence of critical theory, and had adopted the life-world perspective (whereby service users’ perceptions of their own reality may have the same validity as claims about the same reality, made either by expert researchers or by expert professionals, Social Pedagogy, as represented by university-based pedagogy and EW). That its role as provider of theories and knowledge, including much of the research relevant to social services, was resented by FH-based professional education staff, is understandable under a human perspective but may not seem entirely fair from the perspective of university-based EW. Given the close connection between FH staff, DBSH and IFSW, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that a high level of confidence in professionals’ expertise could be found among “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) proponents. While the question cannot be solved here for lack of space (it would necessitate a systematic review of the major publications by members of the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement), a belief in standardised methods and evidence-based practice (EBP) is often found among professionals and academics who support the agenda of IFSW (Kornbeck, 2008b).

Yet the development of German Social Pedagogy thinking has not stopped with the adoption of the life-world perspective and the discipline continues picking up on new lines of analysis and development. It may thus be difficult to provide a short summary of its theories, yet some main epochs may be identified where specific themes and problems have been at the centre of concern as part of five consecutive “formations” (Böhnisch, Schröer & Thiersch, 2005, p. 18). The first formation marks the shift from an agrarian towards an industrial society (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries); its Social Pedagogy thinking was shaped by Heinrich Pestalozzi’s theory of education and by the philanthropic approach to poor relief. The second formation marks the

move towards more specialised, Tayloristic or Fordistic forms of production and labour (nineteenth–twentieth centuries) within already industrialised societies; its Social Pedagogy theories were influenced chiefly by the teaching and writings of Paul Natorp. The third formation is essentially congruent with the Weimar Republic (the Third Reich is deliberately omitted from this model) and is seen as a welfare formation; Social Pedagogy thinking was shaped by Herman Nohl and his concern for disciplinary autonomy and the professionalisation of Social Pedagogy. The post-war decades represent the fourth formation when social integration and social care became priorities as Germany received refugees from the East and later large contingents of guest workers from non-Germanic countries. Finally, the early twenty-first century is witnessing a fifth formation marked by the consolidation of three decades of academic and professional development, which have provided Social Pedagogy with success on an unprecedented scale in what has become known as “the social pedagogical century” (Rauschenbach, 1999); yet this period is also marked by an erosion of the borders of Social Pedagogy and a search for transdisciplinary dialogue.

From this summary, it will be seen that much is similar to the development of Social Work thinking, and yet much is different, be it only because the number of publications has been more influential in Social Pedagogy for the majority of its existence. Social Work may have caught up with Social Pedagogy during the last 30 years, yet during the years 1844–1970, there was less Social Pedagogy than Social Work literature, although German Social Pedagogy can boast some of the oldest journals in Europe (and probably in the world). The seven oldest journals which are still being published were founded in 1844, 1848, 1860, 1862, 1880, 1892 and 1896 respectively (Amthor, 2003, pp. 566–567) and the Social Work/Social Pedagogy ratio is roughly 50/50. This may point to historical links between Social Pedagogy and “social liberalism” in the nineteenth century (Dollinger, 2007) – a new approach to interpreting the genesis of Social Pedagogy.

4.3.3. The “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement

Despite the merits and qualities of Social Pedagogy and EW, and notwithstanding the often interesting and original arrangements behind the multitude of different professional education schools (created either by public authorities or by private

charities engaged in the delivery of social services), it is easy to understand why many professional education educators became critical of the German system. In a sense it may have been justifiable, from the perspective of the 1970s and early 1980s, to doubt that there even was a system, and Hans Pfaffenberger went as far as to talk of an “organic lack of systematics” (*naturwüchsige Systemlosigkeit*) (Pfaffenberger, 1981, p. 61). Pfaffenberger found German professional education to be more heterogeneous and more lacking in coherence than most other professional education frameworks in his country at that time. The frequent use of the “slash” (“Social Work/Social Pedagogy”) may at times have confused observers from abroad but this “dynamic duo of Teutonic taxonomy” (Brauns & Kramer, 1986, p. 5) was simply a pragmatic and bias-free formula circumscribing a complex and contentious reality, and yet it was not universally accepted in Germany, where a total of six theoretical positions in academic and professional communities have been identified by Mühlum (2001, pp. 12–14) and more recently by Hey (2000, p. 58).

The six different “theorems” found in German Social Work/Social Pedagogy/professional education literature, aiming at explaining the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and attempting to predict the future developments in the field, have been introduced earlier [§1.2], as they form the theoretical point of departure for this entire investigation, in the same way that the concepts dichotomy and convergence have informed and structured each case study [§4–6]. Notwithstanding the obvious academic interest in discussing the contributions made by these different schools of thought, it should be recognised that, for the purposes of curriculum policy making or trade unionism the nuances distinguishing as many as six theorems may not really be needed and that a total of three (nos. 1–3) are probably sufficient to provide a picture of the possibilities involved (Kornbeck & Lumsden, 2008, p. 128). Nevertheless, given the strong German interest in epistemological debates, the mapping exercise provided by Mühlum (2001) and Hey (2000) are of the utmost importance. They may be read in connection with Rita Sahle’s mapping of Social Work, Social Pedagogy and “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) paradigms (Sahle, [2002] 2004), inspired by Kuhn (1962) and published the year after RPO 2001 came into being.

Had the convergence theorem initially been dominant for a long time, since the 1990s (under the influence of the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement) it has been overtaken by the subsumption theorem which appears to have been successful in connection with the shaping and adoption of RPO 2001. Among German and Austrian professional education academics today, there seems to be a majority consensus that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence is an inevitable trend, but this is very far from reality in Europe, as the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy can be found in most countries (Brauns & Kramer, 1986; Crimmens, 1998; Hämäläinen, 2003; Kornbeck, 2001, 2007a). That subsumption has become dominant from 2001 onwards does not mean that convergence should be rejected as such (Pfaffenberger, 2000a, p. 42) – after all, what happened in 2001 was the result of a political process (where very few universities were heard). Organisations representing social professions or professional education at European level regularly refer to Social Work or Social Pedagogy, or to both at the same time, while pointing to the distinction, so that the dichotomy is well and alive outside of Germany and Austria (Hamburger, 2000, pp. 51–52). At world-wide level, the Social Pedagogy association, AIEJI, has adopted definitions and papers which clearly let Social Pedagogy stand out as a separate profession (AIEJI, 2005, 2008). While the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) clearly won the battle over the RPO 2001, some FH colleges maintained separate courses in spite of the new intended common federal framework, while universities maintained their Social Pedagogy/EW orientation.

The “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) was not a concept that came out of the blue. A convergence of Social Work and Social Pedagogy roles in professional practice seems to have been observed and felt for a long time, and the call for a common theory designed to cover the combined intellectual and professional space of Social Work and Social Pedagogy has not just made itself heard in recent years. As early as in 1959, Klaus Mollenhauer (later to become one of the most influential Social Pedagogy theorists) placed a paragraph to this effect in his PhD thesis. While the thesis dealt with the origins of Social Pedagogy in nineteenth century industrialisation, urbanisation and destitution, one of the conclusions drawn by Mollenhauer was that a “social work foundation science” should be established “from which the diversity of heterogeneous tasks may be explained and understood” (Mollenhauer, 1959, p. 128) (transl. JK). In an historical perspective, what strikes

immediately is the fact that it took four decades for Mollenhauer's vision to become reality. Although it had already found supporters in the 1960s (the decade following the publication of the thesis) (Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974), and although this support grew throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy remained a fact of life for a long time in German professional education, with programmes being clearly labelled as either Social Work or Social Pedagogy (WRK, 1976, 1989). Despite Bavaria's initiative to merge Social Work and Social Pedagogy programmes in the early 1990s (Eikermann & Hutter, 1996), the rest of Germany would take another decade to follow suit. The historically significant fact thus remains that a visible and articulate "Science of Social Work" (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement (Mühlum, 2004) only gathered in the 1980s and 1990s, and it may be assumed that this movement has played a crucial role in making the 2001 merger possible. Indeed, archive work for this investigation [§4.9] revealed that virtually all those stakeholders who were consulted, were academics representing professional education courses [Table 4.4], hence the importance of their having been converted to the idea of "convergence", roughly in line with the thinking of the "Science of Social Work" (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement.

As discussed above in connection with double dichotomy [§4.4], the "Science of Social Work" (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) debate is very much dependent on German usage and specific terminology. Yet the question, "Is social work an art or a science?" (England, 1986; cited: Lyons, 1999, p. 78) shows that it is possible for serious academic writers to use the term "science" in the Germanic sense. The German debates are therefore not debates that could only be made in a German-speaking context. It does remain, however, that the body of theoretical literature seems far more voluminous than anything comparable, be it in Denmark, Belgium or England. The debate has produced enough literature to fill entire libraries, so readers need some help to find their way through it. To this end, a representative collection of contributions to the debate has been collected by Mühlum (2004a). Although it is a very useful tool, the book has been much criticised for being biased: most of the papers which have been included have been written by members of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sozialarbeit*, an independent learned society which has been instrumental in sponsoring social work as an academic discipline. By contrast,

according to this critique, contributions challenging this agenda were omitted from the book (Effinger, 2005b).

Mühlum's selection contains the most important texts representing the protagonists and promoters of the "social work science" movement. A common concern of all these authors is the perceived lack of recognition of social work (in the generic sense), and in this respect it seems fair to say that all authors point in the same direction, namely toward the need to strengthen the discipline. Another recurrent problem in the debate is the question of whether university-based Social Work (as a part of the more universal "science of education", under the heading either of *Pädagogik* or EW) should assume a role of leadership, on behalf of the twin professional sisters, social work (in the narrow sense) and Social Pedagogy (here as a profession, not a science). On this second question, even the authors representing the "social work science" have diverging ideas, although they are clearly less in favour of a perpetuation of the asymmetrical situation in higher education, as opposed to the proponents of "pure" pedagogy.

In his own paper, Mühlum (2004b) revisits the genesis and development of what he sees as "social work science". In so doing, he obviously imposes the notions and contents which were valid and accepted in 2004 on texts which may be several decades older, as the discussion starts with contributions from 1910. According to Staub-Bernasconi, the inherent problems of social work as a discipline are the increasingly inconsistent body of highly dissimilar theories, as well as an unhelpful "division of labour" between the producers of "basis knowledge" and "practice knowledge" respectively (Staub-Bernasconi [1986] 2004, p. 27). This German contribution echoes, in fact, the assessments made by England (1986) and Lyons (1999): "The science/art split may be an unreal or unhelpful dichotomy, but it can be seen as further indication of disagreement about the nature of the subject, social work's identity problem, and its marginal position" (Lyons, 1999, p. 78). Lyons's remark is crucial in pointing to the fact that, even if a widely-held notion does not represent an objective reality, its social function in real terms may remain significant. While the "science/art split", as well as the "discipline/profession" split may rightly be criticised for being little more than a play with abstract notions, such notions guide human behaviour both at the individual and at the collective level. These types of dichotomy have been common since the days of Descartes, and a certain

“cartesianism” seems difficult to dispose of, yet its very perpetuation is a socially significant fact in itself, the concepts having achieved a status of their own. Finally, independently of the result achieved while assessing the relevance of such binary notions, it must also be recognised that problems may involve binary structures which are inherent to them. Examples would include the antinomies of education, being logical problems involving seemingly ambiguous principles, the tensions of which cannot be overcome by solving the problems, as the ambiguity is permanent. According to von Oettingen (2006), these antinomies are at the heart of education itself (e.g., the ambiguity involved in education for self-determination, where the process imposes something that is opposed to the planned learning outcome). The technicity/indeterminacy dichotomy (Jamous, 1969a, 1969b) is another such example, which has been applied to professional education and professional practice in a highly convincing way (Fino-Dhers, 1994). Finally, the dichotomy may also cease to be a problem if it is re-conceptualised into a structure of mutual support between research, teaching and practice (Engelke, 2003, p. 258).

In 1992, Ernst Engelke launched his version of the debate (Engelke, 1992). He draws heavily on the history of science and emphasises the common roots of “social work science” and all other humanities, as well as of social work practice and all other helping and “human” activities.

Hans Pfaffenberger has acquired fame for being the author “with the slash”. He seems to have been the first to use the (admittedly quite cumbersome) double notion *Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik*, as early as in the 1960s (Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974; Kornbeck, 2002). In the early 1990s, Pfaffenberger demanded that a merged social work discipline (including Social Work and Social Pedagogy) must distance itself from the traditional foundation disciplines, and called for a “differentiating specialisation” (*ausdifferenzierende Spezialisierung*) (Pfaffenberger, [1993], 2004, p. 89) which should include “a batch of theories linked to specific life world theories” (*Bündelung von lebenspraktischen Theorien*) (ibid., p. 89).

In the mid-1990s, Wolf Rainer Wendt made an empirical assessment of the academic literature related to the “social work science” debate (Wendt, [1994] 2004). Based on the assumption that the discipline had been constructed around an ideology that was closely linked to the dominant thinking of the 1970s, Wendt raised the question of how such a discipline could survive in the 1990s. He asked what could sustain its

claims to academic status and which role an “independent” “social work science” should have in relation to professional education. He found that most programmes lacked a “social work science” component, since they are still based on “foundation subjects” provided by the traditional academic subjects, and asked which could be the alternatives.

In the same year and in the same edited book as (Wendt, [1994] 2004), Albert Mühlum discussed the necessity of achieving a “social work science” subject (Mühlum, [1994] 2004). Also in the mid-1990s, Peter Erath and Hans-Jürgen Göppner found that the “social work science” debate was still anchored to a pedagogical perspective from which it would need to emancipate itself to be successful with its project. They demanded a stronger focus on practice with a holistic vision, which could make social work “the prototype of a modern action science” (Erath & Göppner, [1996] 2004) with an intensified focus on practice research.

At the same time as Erath & Göppner, Sommerfeld ([1996] 2004) did not see the “colonisation” of professional education via the dominance of Social Pedagogy as a significant problem. He regards a discipline which would only seek to provide advice to practice as problematic (like EBP today), since effects and functionalities are not sufficient criteria of truth. He did not think, however, that social work needed to have its own body of “action theory”, nor indeed its own body of methods or an independent paradigm, but he remained convinced that social work needed its own “basic research and its own theory building” (Sommerfeld, [1996] 2004, p. 189) (transl. JK). Whether Social Work and Social Pedagogy would continue to coexist in practice, how their mutual relationship would be structured, and even the question of whether there would be an independent social work discipline in higher education (!), seemed irrelevant to Sommerfeld ([1996] 2004, p. 203).

In the late 1990s, Mühlum, Batholomeyczik & Göpel called for a social work theory focused on human beings. Since the profession needed to define itself around the needs of other people, so would it need a theory and a “science” in line with this principle, which could only be a holistic one (Mühlum, Batholomeyczik & Göpel, [1997] 2004).

The need to establish a “social work science” was also emphasised by Feth ([1998] 2004), largely echoing the publications of Engelke. Based on his experience of

teaching social work courses, Feth thought that a serious curriculum needed an autonomous social work discipline as its cornerstone. The recognition of social work as a profession would also need a better representation of its practice knowledge at the academic level, and “social work science” would also help compensate for the identity deficit of social work, and would contribute to a more systematic accumulation of social work knowledge.

This is in fact largely what happened, first in Bavaria and later (although to a lesser extent) in other German states. It is also similar to what happened in England and Denmark with the creation of new, more task-centred curricula, while the Belgian curriculum, on the contrary, remained rooted in segments of knowledge from numerous mother disciplines. The lamentations of German academic authors over their teaching conditions obscure the fact that the development there has not been particularly unfavourable and in the early years of the new millennium, academic job adverts regularly required candidates to demonstrate professional qualifications and years of practice experience, in addition to a PhD and a list of academic publications. In sum, the situation may not have been worse in Germany than in Belgium or Denmark, and in some ways it may even have been rather better.

At least the German FH courses were dominated by a wide range of mother disciplines which provided for a very diverse curriculum and this has also provided for more diversity in textbooks and research publications (to the extent that they were written). The predominance of lawyers in the Danish Social Work curriculum and the predominance of psychologists in Danish Social Pedagogy education (see Erlandsen, 2003b) are bound to have repercussions regarding the possibilities of these disciplines developing their own disciplinary discourses, rather than drawing on precepts taken from law and psychology, respectively. In Belgium and Denmark, teaching posts are still largely being filled with graduates from other disciplines. Pedagogical research in Denmark has been almost exclusively reserved for psychologists until the creation of the Danish School of Education (*Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitetsskole*) (DPU) in 2000. When the national school of education, DLH (*Danmarks Lærerhøjskole*), acquired university status in 1963 (the first professors had been recruited in 1958), the last principal, who remained in post until 1975 was still a teacher, yet his three successors were all psychologists (Historisk Pædagogisk Studiesamling, 2006a). Similarly, the pedagogical research institute, DPI (*Danmarks Pædagogiske Institut*)

which existed from 1955 to 2000, though it was responsible for serving the entire pedagogical community (not only the school sector), had six directors. Five of them were psychologists and only the last director, who in 2000 became the first DPU rector, was from another background, being a philosopher (Historisk Pædagogisk Studiesamling, 2006b).

A faculty dean from NRW, Klüsche edited a publication in which a piece signed by the social work department conference (*Fachausschuss des Fachbereichstages zur Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) was published. The conference, too, took the position that social work (in this case spelled *Soziale Arbeit*, not *Sozialarbeit*) needed to be conceptualised as an autonomous discipline (Klüsche, [1999] 2004), as only this would allow for a comparison of all the different models of social work knowledge developed hitherto.

According to Obrecht, “social work science” would need to define “nomological” concepts for social work (from Greek, *νόμος/nomos* = law), implying that “laws” akin to the laws of physics should be developed. Such a perspective may indeed be surprising in a paper published as late as 2000, as it seems to echo the technological self-confidence of the 1960s, rather than responding to the reflexive and doubt-ridden *Zeitgeist* of our decade (Obrecht, [2000] 2004).

Had Lukas once claimed that social work must remain a “non-paradigmatic science”, because there were no basic “own” paradigms and knowledge was being borrowed from nearly all other disciplines (Lukas, 1979), a paper by Sahle attempted to summarise the paradigms which had been developed until 2002 and to check the validity of Lukas’s claim 23 years later. In listing various strengths and weaknesses of different social work models, Sahle came to a conclusion which differs slightly from those proposed by most other representatives of the “social work science” school. She did not see the absence of an “own” concept as the main problem, but rather the absence of sufficient “own” empirical evidence. This led to a situation where “social work paradigms lead their own lives in the private studies of scholars and in their discourses” (Sahle, [2002], 2004, p. 319) (transl. JK), underlining that the differences between social work paradigms were bigger than their commonalities. This did not prevent her from ending on a more optimistic note, insisting that Social Work and Social Pedagogy had, in principle, more in common than what divided them. She

underscored the need to further a common project for the good of service users as well in the interest of the profession (Sahle, [2002], 2004, pp. 331–332).

Such polemic contributions might, according to one author, deter students and practitioners from engaging in debates. This type of academic debate also runs the risk of confirming these groups in their prejudice that social work theories were of no relevance to professional practice – a point underscored by empirical evidence (Effinger, 2005 a). The same author pointed out, however, that the discipline needed to be developed more at the highest academic level and showed concern that decision makers in politics, despite finally recognising “social work science” via the 2001 regulation, were actually closing down more and more academic posts at university level, where the necessary research could be provided (Effinger, 2005 b).

4.3.4. From simple dichotomy to multiple study routes: professional education programmes offered, 1976–2004

While it may be difficult to gauge the change incurred solely on the basis of academic literature (where authors are likely to be biased, especially along the lines of the university-FH fault line), accessible, reliable and widely standardised data on professional education programmes can be extracted from the semestrial publications of the German Rectors’ Conference, HRK [*Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*] (before 1990 known as WRK [*Westdeutsche Rekonferenz*]). The comprehensive lists of all programmes offered by HRK members (representing 98% of all HE students in Germany) (HRK, undated) are intended to provide guidance to prospective students and due to the use of small pictogrammes are known as the “small dots lists” (*Pünktchenlisten*). To illustrate the development in the nominal definition of programmes, relevant titles were extracted from the lists published at the beginning, middle and end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), as well as one decade before its beginning (WRK, 1976, 1989; HRK, 1996, 2004).

The results are broken into university qualifications [Table 4.2] and FH qualifications [Table 4.3]. They show a clear trend away from a simple system with very few qualifications (at least nominally) but a clear use of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, towards a mutli-programme landscape with a diverse but also potentially bewildering range of qualifications on offer (bewildering both for students and for employers). Some margin of error must be allowed, as the information provided by

WRK/HRK has already been filtered considerably, with the risk of reductionism and errors of interpretation. Alternative sources occasionally lead to dissimilar findings, but these are only marginal and the official status of the WRK/HRK publications makes them the most trustworthy, as compared with study guides published by academics (Berger, 2001; Boeßenecker & Markert, 2003; Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977, Nodes, 2007; Zacharias, 1993, 1999) or even a major newsmagazine (*Focus*) (Haltmeier & Steinert, 2002).

Table 4.2 Change in titles of German higher education qualifications (Social Work, Social Pedagogy), 1976–2004: The university sector

Title of qualification	Type of qualification	1976	1989	1996	2004
Qualifications offered by universities					
Erziehungs- und Sozialwissenschaften	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Erziehungswissenschaft	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Erziehungswissenschaft	Magister	...	...	0	...
Erziehungswissenschaft/Behindertenpädagogik	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Erziehungswissenschaft/Sozialpädagogik	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Erziehungswissenschaften	Diplom	...	...	...	17
Erziehungswissenschaften	Bachelor	...	...	...	4
Heilpädagogik	Lehramt	1	...	...
Pädagogik	Diplom	31	14	...	
Pädagogik	Magister	30	20	...	
Pädagogik/Erziehungswissenschaft	Diplom	...	...	36	15
Pädagogik/Erziehungswissenschaft	Magister	...	...	53	22
Pädagogik/interkulturelle	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Pädagogik der Kindheit	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflegewissenschaft	Diplom	...	...	2	
Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Soziale Arbeit	Diplom	...	...	...	2
Soziale Arbeit	Magister	...	...	...	1
Sozialpädagogik	Diplom	4	12	9	2
Sozialpädagogik	Lehramt	...	...	0	...
Sozialwesen	Diplom	...	1	...	1

Glossary: *Erziehungswissenschaft*: pedagogy with social science inspiration after the “realistic turn” of the 1960s); *Behindertenpädagogik*: “disability pedagogy”; *Heilpädagogik*: “curative pedagogy” (an independent tradition since the nineteenth century); *Pädagogik der Kindheit*: “pedagogy of childhood”; *Pflegewissenschaft*: “care science” (implies physical, usually long-term care); *Soziale Arbeit*: umbrella term for social work and social pedagogy; *Sozialwesen*: umbrella term for social work and social pedagogy

Types of qualifications: *Diplom*: single-subject degree (university or FH); *Magister*: multi-subject degree (university only); Bachelor: post-Bologna degree, part of BA/MA structure; *Lehramt*: teaching qualification.

4.3.5. The adoption of the RPO Soziale Arbeit

Knowledge derived from literature (Engelke, 1996; Füssenhäuser, 2005) had led to the formation of some hypotheses and to a number of more open questions. How did it happen that the first (and last) such document for professional education did not

Table 4.3 Change in titles of German higher education qualifications (Social Work, Social Pedagogy), 1976–2004: The non-university sector of higher education

Qualifications offered by FH colleges					
Health Care Management	Diplom	...	...	...	1
Heilpädagogik	Diplom	...	...	5	5
Heilpädagogik	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflege	Diplom	...	...	...	2
Pflege	Bachelor	...	...	...	0
Pflege und Gesundheit	Diplom	...	...	5	...
Pflege und Gesundheit	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflegeleitung	Diplom	...	...	...	2
Pflegemanagement	Diplom	...	...	16	7
Pflegemanagement	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflegepädagogik	Diplom	...	...	6	4
Pflegepädagogik	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflege/Pflegemanagement	Diplom	...	...	...	2
Pflege/Pflegemanagement	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Pflegewissenschaft	Diplom	...	...	...	2
Pflegewissenschaft	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Sozialarbeit	Diplom	31	24	31	...
Sozialpädagogik	Diplom	33	25	27	2
Sozialpädagogik	Bachelor	...	...	...	1
Sozialwesen	Diplom	20	23	29	...
Qualifications offered by PH colleges³⁴					
Pädagogik	Diplom	8	...	...	...
Qualifications offered by “other HE institutions”³⁵					
Pädagogik	Diplom	2	...	...	...

Glossary: Pflege: “care” (implies physical, usually long-term care); Pflege und Gesundheit: “care and health”; Pflegeleitung: “care management”

recognise the eminent historical importance of Social Pedagogy? Given that two factions existed in academic literature (*Erziehungswissenschaft* versus

³⁴ “Pedagogical colleges without the right to confer PhD degrees” (*Pädagogische Hochschulen ohne Promotionsrecht*) (HRK, 1976, p. 7).

³⁵ The Defence Universities (*Universitäten der Bundeswehr*) in Hamburg and Munich (HRK, 1976, p. 12).

Sozialarbeitswissenschaft), how did it happen that one of these was so completely successful? Furthermore, why was the distinction between Social Pedagogy and “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) maintained? For a long time my Germany case study had been handicapped by being the only case study lacking in original sources, reflecting both the informal and decentralised nature of regulation, and the federal

Table 4.4 HRK consultation on RPO draft: Replies from schools/departments

Number and date of submission	School	Type of stakeholder	Public or private
1. 03.03.99	Evangelische Fachhochschule Berlin	PESP school	Private
2. 11.03.99	Evangelische Fachhochschule Reutlingen	PESP school	Private
3. 11.03.99	Alice-Salomon-Fachhochschule für Soziale Arbeit, Berlin	PESP school	Public
4. 14.03.99	Evangelische Fachhochschule für Sozialwesen, Ludwigshafen	PESP school	Private
5. 20.04.99	Fachhochschule Niederrhein, Mönchengladbach	PESP school	Public
6. 23.04.99	Fachhochschule Neubrandenburg	PESP school	Public
7. 26.04.99	Katholische Fachhochschule Mainz	PESP school	Private
8. 28.04.99	Katholische Fachhochschule Norddeutschland, Vechta	PESP school	Private
9. 29.04.99	Fachhochschule Jena	PESP school	Public
10. 03.05.99	Fachhochschule Dortmund	PESP school	Public
11. 04.05.99	Fachbereichstag Soziale Arbeit, Hildesheim [Conference of Social Work Departments]	Academic organisation	Private
12. 05.05.99	Fachhochschule Regensburg	PESP school	Public
13. 05.05.99	Hochschule Zittau-Görlitz	PESP school	Public
14. 06.05.99	Fachbereichstag Soziale Arbeit, Hildesheim [Conference of Social Work Departments] (2 nd submission)	Academic organisation	Private (?)
15. 07.05.99	Fachhochschule Würzburg-Schweinfurt-Aschaffenburg	PESP school	Public
16. 07.05.99	Fachhochschule Coburg	PESP school	Public
17. 10.05.99	Katholische Stiftungsfachhochschule München	PESP school	Private

18.	10.05.99	DBSH, Deutscher Berufsverband für Soziale Arbeit, Essen	Professional organisation (and trade union)	Private
19.	11.05.99	Fachhochschule Ostfriesland, Emden	PESP school	Public
20.	12.05.99	Fachhochschule Hildesheim-Holzminde	PESP school	Public
21.	12.05.99	Fachhochschule Bielefeld	PESP school	Public
22.	17.05.99	Evangelische Fachhochschule Nürnberg	PESP school	Public
23.	18.05.99	Fachhochschule Merseburg	PESP school	Public
24.	18.05.99	Fachhochschule Hamburg	PESP school	Public
25.	18.05.99	Katholische Universität Eichstätt	PESP school	Private
26.	18.05.99	Fachhochschule Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig	PESP school	Public
27.	20.05.99	Otto-Friedrich-Universität	PESP school	Public
28.	25.05.99	Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Praxisämter/-referate an Hochschulen für Soziale Arbeit [Federal Network of Placement Offices at Schools of Social Work]	Academic organisation	Private (?)
29.	10.06.99	Fachhochschule Dortmund (2 nd submission)	PESP school	Public
30.	08.07.99	Fachhochschule Münster	PESP school	Public
31.	10.12.99	Fachhochschule Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig (2 nd submission)	PESP school	Public

structure of Germany (meaning that even if regulatory documents could be found in each of the two *Länder* visited, these would still not provide a satisfactory answer to what happened globally to German professional education). At a quite late stage in the investigation, I had the chance to visit the library and archive of the HRK secretariat to consult original material from the (now defunct) HRK–KMK Common Commission, or GemKo [*Gemeinsame Kommission*]. This material turned out to be highly illustrative, while limited in volume to merely one A4 folder. In connection with the documents adopted for “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) and Social Pedagogy respectively (HRK & KMK, 2000, 2001), it was thus possible to make

more substantiated statements about the importance of the RPO for German professional education, about the quasi-invisibility of Social Pedagogy and the dominance of Anglo-Saxon style Social Work as well as about the continued parallel existence of “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*).

GemKo was first entrusted with the development of a professional education framework regulation in 1994, and when it finally adopted its recommendations to HRK and KMK, that meeting was the fourteenth dealing with the matter. The report prepared for the 188th HRK plenary session (05.07.1999) presents a summary and analysis by the Vice President, followed by approximately 78 pages of unpaginated annexes. These are photocopies reduced to half size (two pages A4 reproduced on one page), providing a synoptic presentation of the entire draft (including comments), accompanied by the most important comments and queries submitted by stakeholders.

In 1998, following four years of preparation, GemKo concluded its work and a draft Regulation was ready for consultation with stakeholders (HRK, 1999). It is not quite clear exactly for how long GemKo and/or other organs had been working on the issue, though some archive material speaks of fourteen meetings, while (Hutter, 1996, p. 190) indicates that work had commenced in some form as early as 1994. This process cannot be reconstructed as the relevant archive material is either not available or not accessible. The process investigated concerns the period from November 1998, when the draft was released to HRK in view of the upcoming consultation, and the adoption in 1999. The analysis is based on a range of letters and notes, but in particular on the submissions made by stakeholders [Table 4.4]. Out of 32 submissions (including three double submissions) from 31 stakeholders, 20 are from public and eight from private professional education schools/departments, while two come from academic organisations and one from a professional association with trade union rights and IFSW membership (DBSH). (It is interesting to see that almost all private schools submitted their comments very early in the process while state schools generally submitted late, some of them long after the closing date, one ostensibly complaining about the deadline.)

On 16.02.1999, the HRK Secretary General circulated the draft to 82 schools offering professional education courses and asked for comments to be submitted by 10.05.1999. The *rapporteur* noted that stakeholders were generally favourable to the

draft and to the rationale of conceiving professional education as *Soziale Arbeit* (HRK, 1999). It will be seen, however, both from the report and from a careful reading of all submitted comments, that while only a very small minority of stakeholders challenged this philosophy (those in favour of abolishing the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy seldom spent much time developing that point), most comments were related to other points. The structure of the document and many technicalities about exams were discussed in great detail. Almost all stakeholders made detailed comments on the question of whether the articulation between studies and internships should follow the “one-phase” (*einphasig*) model, with one or two internship semesters integrated into the study trajectory, or rather the “two-phase” (*zweiphasig*) model, where one year’s post-graduate internship (*Anerkennungsjahr*) would follow after the degree exam (*Diplomprüfung*). The two-phase model is used traditionally in German legal, medical and teacher training and to some degrees applies to engineering and science also, while the one-phase model had already been introduced by many Länder (Bavaria as early as 1995) (Eikelmann & Hutter, 1996, p. 156).

These questions have taken up a great deal of attention while the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy did not attract much notice at all – presumably because, of the 28 schools, only two were universities, and none of these departments were from the Social Pedagogy tradition. On the other hand, when dissenting opinions arose regarding the future of Social Pedagogy, they clearly corresponded with the orientation of the departments providing comments and with the system in place in the relevant *Länder*. (A minority of *Länder* still maintained distinct Social Work and Social Pedagogy programmes and sometimes even two different departments within the same FH colleges.) For reasons of confidentiality (the archive material being barely nine years old), citations and references are made anonymously. While I am aware of connections between statements made and affiliations and opinions represented by persons or institutions, these connections could as a rule not be made explicit in the analysis and comments set out below. Yet even in this shape, the results of the archive work should provide the reader with a clear sense of direction – namely that very few were prepared to defend the maintenance of Social Pedagogy at FH level, although those who did so were very outspoken in their support for Social Pedagogy, and indeed rejected the *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* paradigm.

One dissenting college noted that the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy, “which until now in this draft has only been addressed very vaguely”, had been “discussed controversially” within their department. “Agreement can be found among colleagues who – with reference to study programmes in engineering or science – favour an ‘emancipation’ from *Erziehungswissenschaft* institutions and contents (Social Pedagogy at universities) and advocate the formation of an independent discipline”. Yet in the same department, another school of thought had doubts about the *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* approach (to which they referred explicitly), pointing out that “the current attempts to define its concepts have been unclear” and rejecting the idea that a “professional science” (*Fachwissenschaft*) in *Soziale Arbeit* should have a monopoly to speak on behalf of all. With a reference to the professorial competence (*venia legendi*) bestowed on those who had taken the higher doctorate (*Habilitation*) at German universities, the author of this submission clearly denounces the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) agenda as being unduly concerned with accessing a position of expertise and power, and suggests that the alternative position (presumably the status quo with an acceptance of the guidance provided by university-based EW) represents academic communication on more equal terms. Finally, the concept of “reference disciplines” (*Bezugswissenschaften*) regularly used by the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement, is interpreted as “degrading” these subjects, instead of using them as “foundations”. (The final Regulation uses a cross-breed of both types of terminology.)

Another submission supported the “bringing together” of Social Work and Social Pedagogy in the cover note signed by the Rector, while an annexed opinion from a department devoted exclusively to Social Pedagogy rejected the same idea energetically. The department wished to insist on maintaining separate qualifications in Social Work and Social Pedagogy, regretting the literature used by the Regulation drafters (admittedly, outspoken *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* literature) and denouncing a “radical unification” (*radikale Vereinheitlichung*) of currently existing programmes. The dissenting colleagues admitted that Social Work and Social Pedagogy had common elements but stressed that this did “not justify drawing such far-reaching unifying consequences” and cleverly added a quote from an *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* colleague pointing out that: “It is one thing to speak about *Soziale Arbeit* as one

discipline; a quite different thing is speaking of the professional education of future professionals” (Engelke, 1993, p. 312) (transl. JK).

The dissenting colleagues rejected the idea that Social Work and Social Pedagogy were already “fully integrated” in teaching practice and insisted that at their schools *Erziehungswissenschaft* was a subject which was taught separately. They regretted that in the draft some modules were not termed as “pedagogy” (for example: *Ästhetik und Gestaltung*, instead of *Medienpädagogik*), that no module in “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) and no degree title mentioning Social Pedagogy (*Diplom-Sozialpädagoge/Diplom-Sozialpädagogin*) was anticipated for the future. The department concluded by challenging what they saw as “the marginalisation of Social Pedagogy aspects in the programme” (*Marginalisierung sozialpädagogischer Aspekte im Studienangebot*) and consequently the very “abolition of Social Pedagogy” (*Abschaffung der Sozialpädagogik*). Finally, the department stressed that in connection with admissions procedures, prospective students often continued asking for a Social Pedagogy programme. A submission from a college situated in Bavaria (where the dichotomy had been abolished in 1995) (polemically?) recommended that the Social Pedagogy degree title be maintained “for euphemistic reasons, to protect the profession and for academic reasons” (*aus euphemistischen, standespolitischen und akademischen Gründen*).

Finally, another college stressed that a widely held prejudice among students as well as the public, according to which professional education studies were very easy to manage, could too easily be confirmed because the examinable matter as defined by the RPO was rather limited.

The HRK plenary meeting adopted the text without discussion or amendments. It has not been possible to find intermediate drafts of the text but the comments submitted by stakeholders (mainly social work schools and departments) are significant.

A minority of dissenting stakeholders opposed the “abolition of Social Pedagogy” (*Abschaffung der Sozialpädagogik*) while one FH pointed out that a special Social Pedagogy profile was still needed for some post-qualifying training purposes. Under the terms of the *Psychotherapeutengesetz*, Social Pedagogy graduates (but not Social Work graduates) were eligible for admission to the training programmes. Finally, one

FH thought that the resulting professional education programme, by establishing professional education as a “professional science” (*Fachwissenschaft*) without reference to established academic disciplines, would harm the professional education community by giving the university-based EW community all the arguments they needed to maintain their privileged position.

As a result, the adopted text never refers to an individual Social Pedagogy (sub-) discipline, except when references are made to the drafting group, which included Social Work and Social Pedagogy in its name. The name of the document refers to *Soziale Arbeit* and takes a clear position regarding the “harmonisation” Social Work and Social Pedagogy programmes (section 1.2: *Soziale Arbeit als Vereinheitlichung der Studiengänge Sozialpädagogik und Sozialarbeit*) (HRK & KMK, 2001, p. 34). The argument is made that the needs for professional competency, including service users’ expectations, diversification of tasks on the job and increasing specialisation, are constantly changing so that prescription should not be too specific, and that this objective is furthered by the “bringing together” of Social Work and Social Pedagogy (*Zusammenführung von Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik*). The text is therefore committed to a “unitary programme in *Soziale Arbeit*” (*Die Rahmenordnung geht von einem einheitlichen Studiengang Soziale Arbeit aus*) (ibid., p. 35) and adds a specific reference to a publication by an FH-based academic which it seems safe to attribute to the *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* movement. The drafters have considered that “the individual practice fields, be it in regard to their tasks or to their methods”, cannot be attributed systematically to either Social Work or Social Pedagogy, the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy cannot be “supported” by professional practice (HRK & KMK, 2001, p. 35) (transl. JK). The RPO is thus based on the assumption that “a unification of the study programme will integrate the specific elements from Social Work and Social Pedagogy on an equal basis”. The importance of EW is recognised as an “integral part of the foundations of the professional science”, while teaching should follow the principle of “exemplary learning”, thus presumably suggesting a more casework-based teaching style.

The RPO also reminds readers that the label *Sozialwesen* used to cover Social Work, Social Pedagogy and “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) but explains that the text deliberately excludes *Heilpädagogik* because “meanwhile, the programme in

Heilpädagogik has, by comparison with the professional education self-concept, developed into a separate study route” (section 1.3: *Abgrenzung gegenüber dem Studiengang Heilpädagogik*, p. 35) (transl. JK).

The RPO defines a curriculum structure based on “Foundations of Social Work Professional Science” (*Grundlagen der Fachwissenschaft Soziale Arbeit*) which is broken down into legal and social policy aspects, elements from the humanities and social science foundations. This block is followed by “Social Work Professional Science” (*Fachwissenschaft Soziale Arbeit*) and “Reference Disciplines” (*Bezugswissenschaften der Sozialen Arbeit*) (RPO, pp. 25, 27–28, 38). A comparison with the previous standard curriculum (see Amthor, 2003, p. 490) demonstrates clearly that professional education had entered a new age; a look at the Bavarian model curriculum from 1995 (*ibid.*, p. 580) confirms just how visionary Bavaria had been in the early 1990s, in stark contradiction to the Free State’s reputation for conservative values and practices.

4.3.6. After the *RPO Soziale Arbeit*

The *Wiener Deklaration* adopted by the professional associations of Germany, Austria and the Netherlands (DBSH, NVMW & ÖBDS, 1997) (intriguingly in German only) only provides a definition of Social Work (*Sozialarbeit*). No mention is made of a professional or educational Social Pedagogy paradigm, and the generic Social Work/Social Pedagogy term (*Soziale Arbeit, Sozialwesen*) has not been used. The reference to Social Work (*Sozialarbeit*) is in the best IFSW tradition, indeed, some passages resemble those in the IFSW definition, which at the time of consulting the text was placed immediately after it on the same web page. The language used is sometimes strongly medico-psychological (*Sozialarbeit leistet Prävention und Prophylaxe*) and Social Pedagogy is totally absent from the text (unlike the IFSW definition), where “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) is mentioned at least once as one of the “services provided”, alongside counselling, information, therapy, expertise, etc. (*Sozialarbeit leistet [...] Sozialtherapie, heilpädagogische Behandlung*) (DBSH, NVMW & ÖBDS, 1997).

The same applies to the Qualifications Framework adopted by the Conference of Social Work Departments (*Qualifikationsrahmen Soziale Arbeit*, QR SArb) (FTSA, 2006). Obviously, when the focus of regulation shifts as part of the introduction of accreditation procedures, common standards need to be agreed on and this is the *raison d'être* of the document (similar to the Benchmark Statement in the UK (QAA, 2000)). (Except that the QAA is a government agency, the TSA is not, and the individual course accreditations in Germany have been entrusted to agencies with a private, non-profit status.) It is thus part of the bigger post-Bologna picture (Maile, Bartosch & Speth, 2008). The document does not mention Social Pedagogy, “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) or EW.

In the early 2000s Germany entered into a new post-Bologna phase and the old logical of *Rahmenprüfungsordnungen* became obsolete following the introduction of accreditation systems, where every single course is to be accredited individually. The famous GemKo was “buried”³⁶ and hardly any protests were heard (Barthold, 2002). And yet, the first and last social work *Rahmenprüfungsordnung* appears to have paved the way for a professional education landscape where there is no evident place for Social Pedagogy. The *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* school was successful and though the *Rahmenprüfungsordnung* is no longer important, it was the instrument by which their success was confirmed.

The RPO does not refer to Social Pedagogy and says explicitly (section 1.3) that it considers Social Work and Social Pedagogy to have merged, and the FTSA Qualification Framework (FTSA, 2006) confirms this impression. It was prepared and adopted by the Conference of Social Work Departments, FTSA [*Fachbereichstag Soziale Arbeit*], an organisation which had also been consulted in the *Rahmenprüfungsordnung* draft. Obviously, when the locus of regulation shifted toward accreditation agencies, the need for commonly agreed standards did subsist, but instead of prescribing learning content, the focus is now (like in other industrialised countries) on learning outcomes, understood as competencies. The FTSA document was developed with financial support from HRK and has been published by HRK and, significantly, pays tribute to similar frameworks adopted in

³⁶ (NN, GemKo zu Grabe, FAZ, 6/2002, p. 6)

other EU countries as well as to the EU Tuning Project (FTSA, 2006, p. 6). The document, however, includes no reference to Social Pedagogy.

In the explanatory statement annexed to the RPO *Heilpädagogik*, the programme is defined as qualifying for “pedagogical-therapeutic work with people whose need for education (*Erziehung*) and support (*Begleitung*) [accompaniment] due to exterior or interior vulnerabilities or damages is higher than in normal cases” (HRK & KMK, 2000, p. 39). The text goes on to point out the medical, social and educational aspects of the work performed and of the qualifications needed to perform it, and stresses the need for professional education to integrate scientific knowledge, professional know-how and an “intensive personal development” (ibid., p. 40). The drafters have taken note of the rationale of the RPO *Soziale Arbeit* [§1.3] and the decision of social work not to integrate *Heilpädagogik*, this discipline having developed away “from the recent understanding of social work”, which proves the need for a separate RPO for “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*). Yet the drafters feel that the disciplines should know each other and advocates common introductory courses for students of both disciplines (ibid., p. 41). While the curriculum is also structured on the basis of a “professional science” (as is the case for social work), with derived intervention methods, the text goes on to underscore the “human-science foundations of *Heilpädagogik*”. In the face of increasingly complex social realities, the profession can only deliver results if its knowledge integrates elements from “natural, human and social sciences, in particular pedagogy, psychology and medicine” and if certain “anthropological and socio-ethical presumptions” can be taken for granted (ibid., p. 52).

Not only have the drafters here put themselves in direct opposition to the curriculum rationale of the social work document, where the integration of clearly defined elements from established academic disciplines, as in the old social work curriculum, had to be avoided and a generic social work curriculum was to be favoured instead. They have explicitly chosen in favour of the traditional curriculum which pays tribute to other disciplines, at the obvious risk of submission to them. This leads to a remarkable section which defines pedagogy as the first in a series of foundation disciplines upon which *Heilpädagogik* builds its knowledge and know-how. The theory and practice of upbringing (*Erziehung*) is the most central concept and general

pedagogy theory (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*) is the first discipline providing guidance to the profession (ibid., p. 52). The resulting impression is that social work (including Social Pedagogy) may have chosen to abandon pedagogy, but that the lesser-known sister, “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*), has maintained its belief in pedagogy as a theory that is apt to represent and guide a profession providing complex helping activities.

4.4. Interim conclusions

For decades, the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy as well as the specific German double dichotomy had been a constitutive feature of professional education as well as professional practice in Germany. The Social Pedagogy paradigm has been present in higher education since the nineteenth century, but degree titles did not include a Social Pedagogy reference until after 1945. While Social Work started off within schools without university status – colleges which later got FH [*Fachhochschule*] status, Social Pedagogy only later entered the non-university sector of HE. While Social Pedagogy emerged as speculative, humanistic science and only later had a branch of professional education added to it (Reyer, 2002), Social Work shows the reverse pattern, having only later added a theoretical and meta-theoretical discourse. The juxtaposition of these two, almost directly opposed dynamics may be at the heart of the process which found its culmination with the adoption of the first (and last) federal Framework Exam Regulation for professional education Programmes – hereinafter termed RPO-SA [*Rahmenprüfungsordnung Soziale Arbeit*] – which marks the victory of the Anglo-Saxon, non-dichotomous Social Work paradigm over the Continental, dichotomous model (Social Work-cum-Social Pedagogy).

Today the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has disappeared and is rarely even talked about, whereas only three decades ago it was a matter of much discussion. As late as 1977, a chapter in an authoritative textbook and “study guide” (Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977), indicated that official labour market statistics distinguished between professionals employed within a “social care segment” (*sozialpflegerischer Bereich*) and those employed within a “social pedagogical segment” (*sozialpädagogischer Bereich*) (Stooss & Otto, 1977). The data collected in 1961,

1970 and 1973 clearly corresponded with the two main types, Social Work and Social Pedagogy as defined in this investigation, and much like the current situation in Scandinavia and in Belgium, three-quarters of the Social Work professionals (defined by the type of their higher education qualification) were in public or parastatal employment, while a similar proportion of their Social Pedagogy colleagues were also in public or semi-public employment but spread over a much larger field of practice (ibid., p. 185). The authors found the Social Pedagogy profession to be too diverse for one qualification profile and wondered whether a stronger link between HE and professional profiles could not be established, which they thought would contribute to the professionalisation of Social Pedagogy (ibid., p. 191). When this textbook was published, the dichotomy was already being questioned by various academic authors, but the “slash notion” (*Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik*) (Pfaffenberger, [1966] 1974) could still be regarded as covering the main consensus. The parallel existence of two traditions was still reflected in the realities of the labour market and the existence of two types of higher education programmes (with no specific study routes like those introduced in the 1990s onwards) and was probably still widely accepted, yet the generic umbrella term *Sozialwesen* was already being used as a reference to the wider field of professional practice (Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977). Both the suppression of references to Social Pedagogy, and the recommendation to abolish the two-phase system (which was still reality in NRW when I visited Bielefeld in 2004), have been regretted by some FH-based academics (Gerspach, 2002).

Those who might see Social Pedagogy as a thing of the past are wrong. *Internationally*, German Social Pedagogy has been successfully exported to a number of other countries, and the purported cultural determinism (Smith, 1999) has not prevented it from being adopted in countries with such diverse cultural, social, political and intellectual traditions as Denmark (Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2003, 2004), Finland (Gustavsson, et al., 2003; Hämäläinen, 2003), Poland (Marynowicz-Hetka, 2007) or Spain (Quintana Cabanas, 1998). While French books on *education spécialisée* only quote francophone and anglophone literature (Capul & Lemay, 2008), it is quite interesting to find that just one chapter in a major Spanish textbook, with a bibliography of merely two pages, refers to Diesterweg, Kerschensteiner, Kronen, Natorp (two publications) and Pestalozzi (Quintana Cabanas, 1998). England has discovered Social Pedagogy (Kornbeck, 2007a, 2007b) and provides evidence of

the continued attractiveness of this 164-year-old concept. *Domestically*, Social Pedagogy does not seem to be dead either. In Germany Social Work roles are increasingly specialised and hopes of increased professional recognition and prestige are connected with the “specialist Social Work” (*Fachsozialarbeit*) status (Gödecker-Geenen, 2003). Schools are increasingly using social professionals and finding it impossible to separate their roles of instruction and (social) education (Greesen, 2005), but while “school social work” may be interpreted in a Social Work perspective (following an Anglo-American tradition) as a Social Work role, it may also (in line with a Continental tradition) be interpreted as a Social Pedagogy role (Kornbeck & Radermaeker, 2011). If this closes the circle back to Karl Mager, then Social Pedagogy has once more proven its *raison d’être*.

In the post-Bologna HE landscape of German professional education, bachelor programmes still tend to concentrate on relatively few titles and specialisations (HRK, 2004; Haltmeier & Steinert, 2002) but master programmes have developed into a myriad of specialisms (Boeßenecker & Markert, 2003; Knorr, 2001; Nodes, 2007), often without any reference to Social Pedagogy – or to Social Work for that matter. This may perhaps account in part for the negative reception of the Bologna process among many professional education academics (Steinmetz, Elsen & Seibel, 2004); by comparison, it would be interesting to know the perspective of employers.

We have seen that Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in Germany was weakened but did not disappear, while the double dichotomy was attacked and annihilated. In comparison herewith, the existing Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, including elements of double dichotomy, seem to have survived overwhelmingly well in Denmark and Belgium.

Looking at the development in Germany, dichotomy was not defeated, but maybe the year 2001 did see the End of Dichotomy “as we know it”? The RPO did impose a new reality on all those involved in professional education, but paradoxically, it was the Bologna process and the consequential abolition of the Framework regulation system which made the RPO redundant soon after it came into being. The development reconstructed in this case study was in many ways typically German and represented a rationale and a dynamic which are truly *sui generis*. The subsequent case studies will show rather different lines of development and the observer will not instantly discover

signs of convergence. And yet it was a new development launched at European level which got the last word – “Bologna docet” (Seibel, 2004) – so that, at the end of the day, the Europeanisation of professional education did seem to be a reality, despite the utterly national agenda followed in professional education development.

Chapter 5. Denmark: Dichotomy as Usual, and the Return of Social Pedagogy

5.1. Overview

5.1.1 Introduction to the case study

Like Belgium and Germany, Denmark has a Social Work and a Social Pedagogy profession, and in line with the Belgium and Germany case studies, this case study, too, focuses specifically on professional education for Social Pedagogy careers, with less attention paid to the Social Work branch, albeit without deliberately leaving it out of the investigation. What distinguishes Denmark from Belgium and Germany is that despite a Social Pedagogy tradition reaching back over a century, and despite the existence of *relevant*, degree-level professional education, a *dedicated* programme for Social Pedagogy at bachelor level existed only during the years 1987–1991 (with an MA course set up in 2002), so that Social Pedagogy identity has not, as a rule, been based on a separate undergraduate programme. On the other hand, labour market organisation and other factors have favoured the continued existence of a discrete identity and, even though separate Social Pedagogy higher education programmes have mostly not been offered, the generic higher education programme(s) to which Social Pedagogy has belonged has consistently been located outside of Social Work higher education structures.

Existing literature was far less voluminous than the equivalent for Germany, yet still helpful in view of forming hypotheses and preparing the field trips³⁷ which, in this case, entailed visits to the relevant Social Work and Social Pedagogy professional associations (trade unions), talks with resource persons and academics and visits to the Danish School of Education (*Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitetsskole*) (DPU).

³⁷ (Ærø, 2003; Andersen, 2006; Bryderup, 2005; Callewaert, 1984; Den Sociale Højskole i København, 2005; DS, undated, 2002; Ejrnæs, 2004; Erlandsen, 2003a, 2003 b, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012; Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2003, 2004, 2005; Erlandsen, Kornbeck & Paulsen, 2003; Eskelinen, Bergman Hansen & Olsen, 2002; EVA, 2001a; Grue-Sørensen, 1974, 1978; Grundtvig Buus & Strauss, 2004; Gustavsson, Hermansson & Hämäläinen, 2003; Gytz Olesen, 2005; Hansbøl & Kofod, 2004; Hegstrup, 1995, 1996, 2005; Hermann, 2002; Hermansen, 1997; Jensen, 2004; Langager & Vonsild, 2007; Madsen, 2000, 2005, 2006; Mason, 2004; Moos, Krejsler & Fibæk Laursen, 2004; Nordenbo, 1984; Oettingen, 2006; Øgendahl, 2000; Petersen & Nørholm, 2002; Petrie, et al., 2006; Rasmussen, 1986, [1975] 1986; Rosendal Jensen, 2004, 2006, 2007; Rothuizen, 2003; Schmidt, 1998; Skytte, 2005; SL, 2006a, 2006b; Villadsen, 2004, 2008; Weber & Johansen, 1995)

All visits took place in Copenhagen (reflecting the Danish tradition for centralism) in October 2003 (Social Pedagogy) and February 2004 (Social Work), while a meeting with a resource person took place in March 2004 in Brussels (Social Work). Unlike the Germany case study, colleges were not visited, but this reflects the dissimilar nature of curriculum-relevant decision making in the two countries. Unlike Germany, Denmark has a strong element of central prescription and those in the professional associations (elected trade unionists or full-time paid staff) dealing with professional education policy making are first-rate resources. Due to the parliamentary procedures regarding Social Pedagogy regulation and the relatively transparent ministerial decision making regarding the Social Work programme, all original sources are accessible to the public, many recent ones even on-line.

5.1.2. Specific concepts and abbreviations used in this case study

As with the Germany case study, this chapter combines the nomenclature of the complete thesis (professional education, Social Work, Social Pedagogy) with some customised abbreviations specific to the Danish context, some of which are directly needed to describe the Danish Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, while others pertain to specific HE structures and thus, indirectly, are of considerable importance to Danish double dichotomy.

- The Danish form of the Social Work paradigm is the *socialrådgiver* profession. Throughout the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), this small and rather exclusive profession had its own professional education programme, mainly situated outside of the university sector, with the relevant bachelor degree indicating the name of the profession. Students do not enrol on a *socialrådgivning* (literally: “social counselling”) programme, but rather on a *socialrådgiver* (literally: “social counsellor”) programme, which indicates the professional character.
- The Danish form of the Social Pedagogy paradigm is the *socialpædagog* profession which, nevertheless, represents only as a profession and not as a specific first qualifying higher education programme at bachelor level. The *pædagog* programme is generic and prepares for as diverse careers as

nurseries, leisure services (in Danish: *fritid*)³⁸ and Social Pedagogy, the latter again being broken down into at least nine different professional roles and settings, ranging from children and youth services over residential units for all ages to street-based work and even work with young offenders in “secure units” (youth prison equivalents) (SL, 2006b; Koudal, 2011). The Social Pedagogy profession is bigger and more heterogeneous and yet the relevant professional education programme is not exclusively for Social Pedagogy careers.

- Being so-called “mid-length HE” programmes (*mellemlange videregående uddannelser*) (MVU), both professional education programmes belong to a portion of the higher education sector which can be roughly compared to the German FH system. Since the 1990s Denmark has had a systematic nomenclature, which also includes “short higher education” (*korte videregående uddannelser*) (KVU) and “long higher education” (*lange videregående uddannelser*) (LVU) programmes, where professional education were classified at MVU level while university programmes were attributed to the LVU segment.
- MVU institutions can have many different names, reflecting their history and affiliations (private ownership being not uncommon, in contrast with the university sector). For the Social Work profession these are the “national schools of social work” (*sociale højskoler*), while pedagogue education has been offered at various colleges (*seminarium*, sometimes: *socialpædagogisk seminarium*, plural: *seminarier*). Since the early 1990s MVU institutions have been encouraged to form networks known as CVUs (*centre for videregående uddannelse*) which, with the 2006 law coming into force, have been transformed into “professional colleges” (*professionshøjskoler*), with the (often-used) option to adopt the English name, University College (UC).³⁹

³⁸ Although the exact equivalence of *fritid* in Danish and “leisure” in English may be debatable on the account of cultural connotations, “leisure” has been used as the preferred shorthand translation. This appears also be in line with the usage of the Education Act 1996 (see definition on p. 2): although the definition provided therein is intended to cover persons over compulsory school age, it applies by analogy: “‘organised leisure-time occupation’ means leisure-time occupation, in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements.” (Education Act 1996)

³⁹ No Danish word is used in these cases, even when combined with typical Danish toponyms which would probably pose a problem to native Anglophones if they were asked to pronounce them (*UC Lillebælt*, *UC Hovedstaden*).

Finally, since 2002 Social Pedagogy professionals have been able to take a master's degree in Social Pedagogy at the Danish School of Education (DPU).

Danish concepts have been used, if and when necessary (in italics), but readers will notice that direct quotations (in italics) are less common than they are in the three other case studies. This is merely a reflection of the fact that Danish is only read by very few colleagues outside of Denmark. While readers may wish to know the exact name of Danish key concepts, they cannot be expected to follow a textual analysis based on the Danish original.

5.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy Dichotomy in Danish professional education

5.2.1 History of Danish professional education

A hallmark of the Danish Social Work and Social Pedagogy professions is the high degree of trade union organisation among professionals, with one single organisation playing the combined roles of the professional association and trade union. (In Germany, a combined organisation can also be found, but the level of membership was extremely low during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), while in Belgium (and England) professional associations and trade unions were two distinct types of organisations.) For these reasons, and because access to the profession has never been regulated in Denmark, the natural point of departure for an account of Danish professional education should be the professions. This will also be in line with practice in Danish literature where little effort is made to distinguish between Social Work and Social Pedagogy in the bureaucratic or trade union sense, as opposed to the same paradigms in a more abstract sense. No equivalent to the German *Erziehungswissenschaft* and *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* literature can be found, and it seems fair to say that the labels and limits defined by lego-administrative structures and employment conditions are accepted as being constitutive of professional work, Social Work being “what Social Work professionals do” and Social Pedagogy being what is practiced by Social Pedagogy professionals.

Throughout the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), the Social Work profession was organised in *Dansk Socialrådgiverforening* (DS) while the Social Pedagogy

profession was organised in *Socialpædagogernes Landsforbund* (SL). DS and SL had joint IFSW membership, curiously, together with the local authority branch of the administrative workers' union (*HK Kommunal*).⁴⁰ In 2004–2006, DS was seriously considering a merger with HK, which would have moved DS closer to the British trade union model (where trade unionism is based on larger entities with fewer internal affinities) but would have moved DS away from its role as a professional association (in the British sense), thereby creating a discontinuity with a well-established Danish tradition: that unions also serve as professional associations, and that they tend to be smaller than their British (or Continental) counterparts, and rather narrowly defined, typically on the basis of the qualification(s) needed to enter the trade or profession in question.

Conversely, despite challenges shared with Social Work, the Social Pedagogy profession would seem to have much in common with other “pedagogues”, but not with Social Work *colleagues*. Since 1992 Social Pedagogy professionals have been graduates of the same, unified pedagogy higher education programme as “early years” and leisure pedagogues. Interestingly, however, despite having lost their own distinct higher education programme, the Social Pedagogy profession had successfully retained its own trade union, SL (see above), which did not include the two other pedagogical professions. They were organised in BUPL,⁴¹ the Danish National Federation of Early Childhood Teachers and Youth Educators [official transl.]. The history of professional education for Social Work and Social Pedagogy in Denmark is thus one of segregated trajectories, as is indeed the history of labour market organisation for the same two professions.

The Social Work profession got its first semi-professional, 18-month, entirely school-based programme as early as 1937. The “social helper” (*socialhjælper*) of those days was essentially based in hospitals and the curriculum was one-third medical, one-third social and one-third “general” (Skytte, 2005, p. 83). Although the Social Work curriculum has changed considerably since 1937, the basic design of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy remains valid to this day, with Social Work being taught in only a handful of schools at MVU level as well as one (occasionally two)

⁴⁰ *HK Kommunal* being the municipal clerical workers' branch of the Trade Union of Commercial and Administrative Clerical Workers [transl. JK] (*Handels- og Kontorfunktionærernes Forbund i Danmark*) (HK).

⁴¹ *Forbundet for Pædagoger og Klubfolk* [previously *Børne- og Ungdomspædagogernes Landsforbund*, hence the acronym].

university departments, while Social Pedagogy professional education has known numerous and diverse forms of organisation, curriculum and provision over the years.

Unlike the situation in the UK or the USA, Social Work education did not originate within universities but rather outside of them and as a result, Social Work schools did not develop a traditional research role. Welfare research was for decades entrusted largely to economists (Kærgård, 1997; Kornbeck, 1999) and the professional education–social policy connection, which is common in some countries (including the UK), did not develop until rather late.

In 2001 an evaluation report was published by the Ministry of Education's own evaluation institute (EVA, 2001a, 2001b). The evaluation of the Social Work programme found that the ambitions laid down in the legal basis of the programme had not materialised into teaching reality and concluded that if the programme was maintained on the basis of only three years of study, the objectives could not be met. These conclusions were supported energetically by DS who agreed that the programme was not good enough in terms of preparing future professionals for practice: "Three years are not enough," was the programmatic statement (Juul Rasmussen, 2001) which seems to have been well received in the Ministry of Education. In the following year an extension of the programme, from three to three-and-a-half years, was decided upon, a move which DS greeted enthusiastically, underlining that the union had been fighting 25 years for this additional half a year (Juul Rasmussen, 2002).

Within Social Pedagogy, certain training courses for staff working in residential care (orphans, underage delinquents, people with physical and intellectual disability of all age groups) had been set up as early as in 1911 by the residential facility *Kellers Anstalt* (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 110), and courses for preschool school staff, privately organised and financed entirely from fees, were set up in 1885.⁴² Since then, numerous programmes have existed and until 1991 there was a clear tendency toward

⁴² Reference is made to the resources made available on-line by *Danmarks Pædagogiske Bibliotek*, including explanations, a chronology of reports and legislation regulating relevant education programmes since 1953, downloadable HTML documents as well as PDF files containing scanned old laws (DPB, 2000). This resource is particularly valuable as the history of professional education for SP is far more complex than professional education for SW, including numerous and dissimilar occupations and semi-professions, a panoply of curricula and a variety of regulatory documents from various decades. For the purpose of providing an overview of the history of Danish professional education it does, however, neither seem necessary nor indeed helpful to summarise all these developments prior to the programmes set up in the 1970s (Bek. 202, 1976; Bek. 207, 1976).

specialisation. These courses, however, were of short duration and did not lead to a promotion into the ranks of the professional as envisaged by Flexner (1915). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the public salary scale regulation of 1919 made some kind of training mandatory for life appointments (on an equal footing with civil servants), even for care, kitchen and laundry staff (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 110), but it is equally significant that reticence toward training remained very real, especially among employers in the voluntary sector, for several decades. What counted was a commitment to “the cause” (Erlandsen, 2003a, 2003b), with the welcome collateral effect that salary claims would not rise to professional levels.

The beginnings of professional education for Social Pedagogy may thus be identified at different stages, but chiefly, at the establishment of a six-months’ course at the Hindholm facility in 1934, where it was to remain (upgraded via several policy changes) until its transferral to another college 74 years later, on 1 January 2008 (Rothuizen, 2007, p. 5). Upgrading to (semi-)professional level was acquired via the legal base of a curriculum designed for Social Pedagogy and preschool careers jointly (Bek. 202, 1976; Bek. 207, 1976). It still did not give any legal status to the title (*socialpædagog* (and until 2008, no labour market regulation mechanism was ever inserted into the legal frameworks), but the promotion of the workforce was now a fact that had to be taken into account when negotiating pay and working conditions. The introduction of professional education in courses specifically designed for Social Pedagogy practice, however, came as late as 1987 (Lbk. 614, 1987) – i.e., 86 years after the word *socialpædagogik* had first been used in a Danish professional journal (Dahl, 1901; Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2004). There is something curious about this belated promotion, given the involvement of the workforce in important day-to-day work, but also considering that Social Work got its own programme 49 years earlier.

Upgrading Social Pedagogy from a nondescript higher education programme to a recognised “professional bachelor” level (signalling equivalence with bachelor programmes offered by universities, yet also with specific professional characters) was rendered possible since the mid-1990s and became a reality for Social Pedagogy in 2001. Social Pedagogy was further rediscovered in 1997 when a group of trainers, academics and professionals founded the Danish Social Pedagogy Association (*Dansk Forening for Socialpædagogik*) in the spirit of “the return of Social Pedagogy” (Schmidt, 1998). A master’s programme and a research project at DPU announced a

new visibility, confirming the “disappearance and possible re-emergence” of Social Pedagogy (Hegstrup, 2005).

The Social Work programme was reformed in 1996 (the traditional curriculum with many small subjects was replaced by a shorter curriculum with bigger blocks) and in 2002 the length of the programme was increased from three to three-and-a-half years (Erlandsen, Kornbeck & Paulsen, 2003, pp. 21–22). Also in 2002, a ministerial regulation on “professional bachelor degrees” upgraded both the Social Work and the pedagogue programme, while also putting the bar higher in terms of expectations.

Whenever the relevant professional education programmes have been reformed, many different aspects have been up for discussion. The structure and content of the curriculum have been centre-stage since the 1990s (moving gradually towards a more practice-oriented and more competency-led, rather than a more theoretical and knowledge-based curriculum) (a general trend in the Western world). The role, place, financing and status of practice placements have, just like in Germany, attracted enormous attention. Many other aspects have been discussed, yet it is fair to say that since the 1970s, whenever professional education for Social Work and Social Pedagogy were up for a reform, a merger or just a rapprochement were never on the agenda. (That some individuals have occasionally thought in this direction is known to me, yet such thinking did not find its way into any official documents.)

The regulations and laws defining the terms of the higher education programmes for Social Work (Bek. 536, 2002) and Social Pedagogy (Bek. 202, 1976; Bek. 207, 1976; Lbk. 614, 1987; Lbk. 980, 2000; L. 370, 1991; L. 315, 2006) all define each type of professional education as specific and unique, without prescribing common activities with the other programme. The same impression emerges from examining the “framework study regulations” [*studievejledninger*] (transl. JK, previously prepared by the relevant Ministry (this type of regulation has been discontinued since)) which repeat the pattern (Studievejledning Børneforsorgspædagog and Omsorgspædagog, 1980; Studievejledning Socialpædagog, 1984, 1989).

Even the more visionary committee reports (*betænkninger*), having led to the adoption of new regulations, occasionally mention inter-professional collaboration but never go beyond that, be it for Social Work (Bet. 818, 1977) or for Social Pedagogy (Bet. 653, 1973; Bet. 1213, 1990). Such committees are, in principle, at liberty to propose what

they wish, as long as proposals are within the limits of the brief provided by the Minister in charge, although committees cannot rely on their proposals necessarily being followed. It is therefore significant that no proposals for Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence have been found while examining these reports.

The most recent pedagogue training law (2006) confirms that pedagogue training is neither a branch of Social Work, nor indeed one pertaining to teaching. The enduring impression is, therefore, that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is well and alive in Denmark, as is the conscience that Social Work and Social Pedagogy are specific roles, yet the absence of a professional education programme for Social Pedagogy poses a problem. In the summer of 2004 a rumour began that a merger was actually being discussed – this time with teacher training, not Social Work [§5.2.4]. It then became necessary for the government to show that such was not its intention, while at the same time making a case for a soft rapprochement (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004).

5.2.2. Historical development of Social Work and Social Pedagogy labour market recognition

While the Social Work profession may quite easily be circumscribed as the Danish version of the Europe-wide Social Work model, Social Pedagogy is more heterogeneous, while still matching the generic “European” Social Pedagogy label as proposed [§1]. An authoritative brochure lists articles and job profiles for ten different social pedagogical settings in Denmark: Children in residential care; Infants in residential care; Children with autism and ADHD; Young people in secure units (youth prison equivalent); People with learning difficulties living on their own; People with learning difficulties living in a community; Adults with brain damage; Drug users; Adults with mental health problems; and Homeless people (SL, 2006b). The rationale is roughly the same as in French-speaking Belgium but compared with Germany the field may be said to cover those of Social Pedagogy and “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) combined.

A clear link between higher education-based professional education programmes and professional roles existed during the short period 1987–1992, but since 1991 qualifying education has been offered via a generic “pedagogue” (*pædagog*)

programme, common to three rather dissimilar professions: “social pedagogue” (*socialpædagog*), “preschool pedagogue” (*børnehavepædagog*) and “leisure pedagogue” (*fritidspædagog*), from a new, generic higher education programme (*pædagog*). While the generic approach was confirmed with the enactment of a new curriculum law in 2006, Social Pedagogy, surprisingly, started developing as a university discipline at the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004).

Never before had Social Pedagogy been recognised as a discipline at the higher levels of Danish academia, and herein lies the *first paradox*. On the one hand, the rudimentary status which had only very recently been won in BA programmes offered at MVU level was lost shortly afterwards. On the other hand, in what appeared to be a period of status loss came an academic promotion of Social Pedagogy which, in the Danish context, was without precedent. The quote from Agnete Engberg, a senior civil servant speaking in the 1970s,⁴³ thus contrasts with the words of Niels Rosendal Jensen, an academic writing an innovative textbook in the first decade of the new millennium [§5.4.2]. Engberg, in 1975 (Y–14), probably stated what many others merely thought, implying that Social Pedagogy had no future as a credible theoretical paradigm, yet she also launched a rhetorical appeal carrying a strong judgemental aspect. Rosendal Jensen (2006), from the perspective of 2006 (Y+17, or Y+6 after the foundation of *Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet* (DPU)), made a more pragmatic assessment, recalling that Social Pedagogy as a paradigm had not died out but actually survived, and trying to propose an explanation. This case study will look at the transformation of the theoretical paradigm during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), and it will illustrate what has been and continues to be special about this paradigm which continues to support a profession that is not on the course of merger with Social Work, as has been the case in Germany since the 1960s.

The *second paradox* has to do with the absence of a clear link between labour market recognition and, albeit late, academic recognition. Danish Social Pedagogy has had a long history with numerous ups and downs, and indeed an astonishing history filled with contradictions. While the discipline in Germany was developed and recognised early in academia but never gained the shape of a recognisable profession (especially not one which could be distinguished easily from that of Social Work), the Danish

⁴³ Note that Agnete Engberg is not to be confused with the journalist, Dea Engberg, also quoted in this case study.

situation is almost the opposite. A high level of labour market recognition for a long time stood opposite an almost non-existent academic discipline, only represented by courses offered at MVU level, within higher education institutions situated outside of the university sector.

Taken together the two paradoxes provided for a climate of opportunities at the beginning of the twenty-first century, unlike previous decades. A “return of Social Pedagogy” had already been predicted by Lars-Henrik Schmidt, the founding president of DPU, in 1997 (Schmidt, 1998). It was further underscored by another scholar who, in 2005 (Y+16), saw signs of a return in the shape of the original paradigm, as coined by German social pedagogues in the nineteenth century (Hegstrup, 2005).

Although the Danish Social Pedagogy profession became organised and recognised earlier than it did in Belgium or Germany, it was and is far more heterogeneous than the Social Work profession and did not have one unified and highly visible professional association and trade union before the 1980s. The present-day organisation, *Socialpædagogernes Landsforbund* (SL), was born on 1 January 1981 out of the merger of four previous organisations⁴⁴ (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 284). One of these, DSL, had been firmly based in the residential care system for children and young people, while ÅP was the organisation representing staff in the learning difficulties sector. The distinction was very practical, since DSL’s members worked for a variety of public and private employers, while ÅP’s members were employed in the strongly sectoral learning difficulties care service (*åndssvageforsorg*), a specialised service depending directly on central government but which was devolved to the regions in the 1980s. This situation is not unlike that of BASW (the British Association of Social Workers) which emerged in 1970 from the merger of seven professional associations and one umbrella organisation. A detailed pedigree chart showing the genealogy of BASW since c. 1900 has been provided by Malcolm Payne (2005, p. 191) and a similarly interesting and diverse “tree” could be drawn for SL, which can trace its origins back to various occupations and semi-professions.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ DSL [*Danske Socialpædagogers Landsforbund*], ÅP [*Åndssvageforsorgens Personaleforbund*], representing staff working with people with intellectual disability), FMS [*Foreningen af Medarbejdere ved Særforsorgen*] more focused on delinquency, and TFSHV [*Tjenestemand- og Funktionærforeningen ved Samfundet og Hjemmet for Vanføre*], dealing with physical disability.

⁴⁵ DSL had before 1972 been DBS [*Danske Børneforsorgsarbejderes Sammenslutning*] (Danish Association of Child Welfare Workers), but had then changed its statutes explicitly to “unite employees

Against this history, SL must be understood as an organisation with multiple and diverse roots and traditions, which fully reflected the great diversity of job profiles and settings represented by its members during the Reference Period. Whether SL will keep this profile in the future, bearing in mind the results of the 2007 local authority reform and the block-wise transfer of members to BUPL, remains to be seen.

SL became a highly successful trade union, and what had been a rather docile professional association with a strong public service ethos, without a strong labour union role, was transformed into an organisation that would fight with more determination for the rights of its members as workers. This may have been the result of a growing commitment of active Communists within SL's governing bodies (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 285; Lihme, 2006), but it also reflected a shift in social pedagogues' self-perception where the role of salaried worker became more constituent in the professional identity. This shift was confirmed when SL left the white collar trade union confederation FTF (*Funktionærernes og Tjenestemændenes Fællesforbund*) (literally: Common Confederation of Civil Servants and White Collar Workers) and joined the traditionally left-leaning blue collar union confederation, LO⁴⁶ in 1986 (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 285).

In 2006, talks about a possible merger were even officially reported in the DS membership magazine. Some reactions from members were concerned with efficiency, some with Social Work professional identity, while others were worried that DS would become the junior partner in such a merger (Paulsen, 2006). On-line searches in the archives of the DS magazine, *Socialrådgiveren*, indicate that the first debates on the merger issue may have taken place in 2004, while after 2006, no further articles can be found. On one occasion, the merger issue was one that three candidates for the post of Vice-Chair were asked to answer in a comparative article

within the social pedagogical sector" (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 265), whereby the trade union made the SP paradigm official before it was adopted by the legislator. The DBS magazine had changed its name five years earlier from *Børnesagsarbejderen* to *Socialpædagogen* (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 259). The clearly settings-specific union ÅP had joined FTF in 1972 as well as the civil servants' union CO I [*Centralorganisationen for Tjenestemænd*] in 1969. They had simultaneous membership in two confederations as they were keen to ensure that they would "be included at all negotiation tables where decisions are taken about our members", but due to rules in force in the 1960s, parts of their membership (including kitchen and office staff, social workers and nurses) had to be unionised in the sister organisation CO II (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 235). DSL had been following a similar line, remaining within FTF while joining CO II in 1970 (Øgendahl, 2000, p. 267).

⁴⁶ *Landsorganisationen i Danmark* (LO), The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions [official transl.].

(Ellegaard, 2004). Notwithstanding these efforts, the merger did not become reality, yet it is significant that the debate could take place, in the same way that it remains significant that the political leaders were, in the years 2002–2004, considering a partial merger of higher education programmes for Social Pedagogy and teachers [§5.2.4]. These examples show that both Danish Social Work and Danish Social Pedagogy have at some stages been facing merger proposals which could, had they been successful, have taken them even further apart than they already were: in other words, evidence that Danish Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence was never really an option.

This DS/HK merger case may be a reflection of a practice, especially in smaller municipalities, of a “cash and care” system where Social Work and Social Pedagogy would both be involved in assessment, counselling, treatment and other types of service provision (Mason, 2004, p. 50): in a system where Social Work is as much understood as providing people with cash benefits as playing counselling or therapeutic roles, it may also be natural to include staff with a purely clerical profile under the Social Work umbrella. By contrast, it would seem difficult to defend using the Social Pedagogy term to describe them. So while the Social Work profession shared many traits with the Social Pedagogy profession, it would also seem that, due to its office-based nature, it would in some respects share other traits with city hall co-workers, but not with Social Work professionals.

5.2.3. Origins and development of Danish Social Pedagogy

The question “how to write the history of Danish pedagogy” is methodologically tricky (Nordenbo, 1984; Callewaert, 1984), although it may be argued that similar difficulties are encountered when attempts are made, for instance, to write the history of Social Work in the UK (Payne, 2005).

Given the big differences usually observed between social professions and professional education in different countries, it is potentially surprising to find that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is reproduced in many countries. That the dichotomy also applies to professional practice is illustrated in an empirical study devoted to the “the conditions determining cooperation between pedagogues, health

visitors, teachers and social workers”⁴⁷ (Ejrnæs, 2004). The study is based on case studies focusing on specific cases, all related to vulnerable children, and seeking to identify the assessments made and attitudes held by members of the four professions in connection with these cases. Interviewees were asked to comment on the cases, propose solutions and comment on other proposals. While the study did not look at neighbouring “higher” professions (the medical, legal, clergy and civil services), it did identify links with the histories of the four professions, and how their identities influenced their perceptions. All four professions are “central in relation to social work” (*socialt arbejde*) [the generic umbrella term covering Social Work and Social Pedagogy] in this field (ibid., p. 7), but they differed in how they detected and identified problems and especially in whether they wished to involve other professions in the file. The Social Work profession (*sagsbehandlergruppen*) was, “with one single exception” always the one to decide differently from the other three professions and featured “a general tendency to be more hesitant regarding involving psychologists or other professionals” (while it is also true that teachers were less likely to recognise social problems in the first case). Such situations seem to engender struggles over which professions should assume which roles, and it becomes clear that Social Work professionals prefer their own profession to be given a more central role on each single file, “at least with regard to the bigger children”, while they also “do not think that psychologists should have quite as central a position” (Ejrnæs, 2004, pp. 82–83) (transl. JK).

These results point not only to a common Danish phenomenon (narrowly defined professions with their own trade unions and a high level of union membership, recognised by employers), but also to a strong adherence of the Social Work profession to the Anglo-Saxon model of Social Work, perceived as a largely administrative and therapeutic profession with a high level of expertise and a claim to exclusivity. The results also point to the decades-old jealousy between Social Work and psychology which can probably be observed in many countries, where, sometimes, social workers have (according to a Norwegian Social Work trade union leader) been the “psychologists of the poor” (Grønningsæter, 1999). The Danish

⁴⁷ Thus the book’s subtitle (*vilkårene for samarbejdet mellem pædagoger, sundhedsplejersker, lærere og socialrådgivere*) (Ejrnæs, 2004), whereby the word *vilkår* may refer to an objective condition or to a (legal or otherwise) pre-condition determining the ability for someone to take action on a specific issue. Arbitrariness (*vilkårlighed*) presumably invokes the idea that an agent follows the conditions given, rather than his or her own agency.

material also illustrates the cross-national validity (at least in Europe) of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and suggests that more objective reasons than mere prestige may be at stake. Rather, it seems to confirm that Social Work and Social Pedagogy represent two different approaches to the helping activities performed by the social professions.

In the Danish context, it seems clear that the Social Work profession is the more exclusive of the two. DS membership has typically been oscillating around 5,000 members (as confirmed by extracts from relevant DS databases, while SL featured 31,123 members in 2003, as compared with a mere 8,905 in 1981 (a 250% increase) (SL, 2003). DS members would often occupy key positions in municipal and regional bureaucracies while SL members would often work more closely with service users, and DS members would usually have more specialised roles. In line herewith, DS membership was as a rule conditional, in 2002, on the possession of the relevant Social Work bachelor degree (DS, 2002). While this rule was “only” written into the DS by-laws, it would seem that it came close to a regulation on entering the profession, given the special role played by Danish trade unions in areas like this one.⁴⁸ In contrast, SL allowed even workers with no formal education (especially foster parents performing Social Pedagogy work covered by relevant agreements between SL and employers) to join SL and benefit from membership. The configuration with a small, exclusive Social Work profession and a big, heterogeneous and open Social Pedagogy profession is mirrored in French-speaking Belgium where the focus on “everyday life” would often mean that technical knowledge is less sought for (Gaspar, 2000, p. 28). It is only natural that in a “historically [...] vocation-based profession and one which values charisma,” rather than looking for technically superior professionals, there would be

“a sense that professionals must have a deep wish for this role. In recruitment and in professional practice, there is a philosophy of allowing those with such a wish to go ahead.” (Brocal, Gillet & Kornbeck, 2007, p. 25)

⁴⁸ Intriguingly, under the terms of European Community law, this does not constitute a regulated profession as the rule is not part of a public law and applicants from other Member States would thus not be able to claim equal treatment under the relevant Directive because, technically, the profession was open and unregulated. Yet if employers were unwilling to employ non-unionised workers, the rule in the by-laws would have the same effect as an official regulation.

From the structural similarities as well as from conversations with insiders from both countries it seems fair to assume that the pattern is basically similar in Denmark and in French-speaking Belgium.

5.2.4. Social Work/Social Pedagogy Dichotomy and higher education policy making, 1937–2006

During the first thirty years of Social Work/Social Pedagogy coexistence, the question of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy could not possibly have been posed as there was no great awareness of a specific Social Pedagogy profile. An article about German Social Pedagogy which was published in a journal dedicated to residential care and youth work (Dahl, 2001) seems to be the first Danish publication utilising the term (Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2004). The word was used from time to time, including by a prominent member of the kindergarten movement (Bagger, 1903), but it was not in any way recognised officially, as staff categories and training courses carried a variety of other titles. In 1967 the DBS (Danish Association of Child Welfare Workers) [§5.4] magazine *The Child Cause Pedagogue* (*Børnesagspædagogen*) changed its name into “The Social Pedagogue” (*Socialpædagogen*), a move which was explicitly motivated and explained in an editorial where the new editor-in-chief, Jørgen Helmstedt, pointed to Social Pedagogy as a unifying concept for the numerous and diverse groups represented by their organisation and “our most important tool” (Øgendahl, 2000, pp. 259–260).

As an alternative to the abstract, philanthropic term “child cause” (obviously a “good cause”), the adoption of a reference to pedagogy was in itself a sign of innovation, for only ten years earlier, the same magazine had been called *The Child Cause Worker* (*Børnesagsarbejderen*) (ibid., p. 208) and indeed this notion remained in the union’s name until 1972 when DBS became DSL, with Social Pedagogy in its name (ibid., p. 265) [§5.4]. The term “child cause” (*børnesag*) had become unacceptably antiquated to many (Erlandsen, 2007, p. 50) and pedagogy seems to have carried promises of modernity and professionalisation. By the 1970s and 1980s, Social Pedagogy had become the popular catch-all phrase presumed to unify all practice fields in the sector (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989). And yet, at a time when it emerges as obvious that Social Pedagogy itself was being talked and written about, it does not seem as if the

Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy attracted anybody's attention. The idea that Social Pedagogy is based on education seemed to be as widely (and largely tacitly) accepted as the idea that Social Pedagogy has a mandate to tackle social problems.

The 1992 merger changed the HE aspect of Social Pedagogy profoundly but had no impact on its labour market organisation where SL remained in place and "social pedagogue" (*socialpædagog*) had become a common job title in vacancy notices published in the SL magazine (*Socialpædagogen*) (source: author's archive with extracts from the years 1989, 1996, 2004). Social Work and Social Pedagogy continued to be organised via two different labour market organisations, DS and SL. Nevertheless, this labour market recognition was never something that could be taken for granted and when the idea emerged of further merging pedagogy training – this time with teacher training – significantly this happened, not as part of an HE debate, but as part of a public sector manpower debate. In 2002–2004, policy makers discussed openly whether social pedagogues and teachers (*lærere*) really had different roles and competencies (Kornbeck, 2004a). The Minister of Education and the Chair of the Local Authorities Association (*Kommunernes Landsforening*) (KL) agreed that "decades-old sharp disciplinary boundaries are bound to disappear. Teachers and pedagogues must be forced to work more together." The idea was to start off with a part-merger of the two higher education programmes "to allow the two study lines to cater for our children's lives in a more holistic way" (Lundager & Aarsland, 2002). The word "forced" indicated that the two policy makers did not regard the two professions concerned as natural constituencies in this debate, but rather parents and tax payers, and KL Chairman Bjørn Dahl imagined that graduates would soon become completely interchangeable.

The reaction from the teachers' union, *Danmarks Lærereforening* (DLF), was predictably negative but also consistent. DLF Chairman Anders Bondo Christensen warned against "hollowing out" the "core professionalism" (*kernefagligheden*) of both professions and also predicted that an upcoming evaluation of the teacher training programme might well reveal that teachers were not well enough equipped for the transmission of knowledge (ibid.). Finally, the debate died out, although the Minister's report to Parliament still kept the option open, stressing that discrete core competences continued to be needed, while "the programmes should be so flexibly

structured that pedagogues and teachers can work jointly on the same tasks, just as they should be able to work with other professions, including in the social and health sectors” (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004) (transl. JK). One might argue that inter-professional cooperation was already a reality in practice (Ejrnæs, 2004) and that the strength of a good team is precisely the diversity of its members, allowing for dissimilar contributions to be made; under this perspective, the need for a professional education reform would seem to be a non-problem. Yet the Ministry of Education insisted on following the findings of an evaluation report commissioned by the Ministry of Social Affairs which had indicated that local authorities found it difficult to apprehend what Social Pedagogy professions were doing in practice (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004, p. 10). The same message resounded from an action plan adopted by the Ministry of Social Affairs with the telling title, “Better Education and Training” (*Bedre uddannelser*) (ibid., p. 10).⁴⁹ But what remains is the fact that it was not questions of pedagogues’ and teachers’ professional competences that took centre-stage, but rather trivial manpower considerations linked to provisions for the number of posts (Politiken, 2003).

The appreciation of pedagogues’ competences which can be found in British research reports should be a source of inspiration in Denmark, as should the visit of Hilary Armstrong (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister for Social Inclusion) to Copenhagen in 2006. Significantly, the Minister spent more time visiting SL and some practice settings than she spent visiting the Danish Minister of Social Affairs (Sterll & Bengtsen Blem, 2006). The objective of her trip was to learn more about Social Pedagogy training and professional practice. Yet this competence is not always recognised by Danish policy makers (it may even be that Denmark is moving more towards British delivery systems,⁵⁰ including more paperwork) (Bunting, 2006), and the population has an unhelpful habit of calling teachers *pædagoger*, so that the specific profiles of each profession are not really recognised.

⁴⁹ “‘*Bedre uddannelser, handlingsplan*’, juni 2002” (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004, p. 10) – Again, the relevant bibliographical data are not provided.

⁵⁰ This assumption applies to daycare delivery systems, where increasing requirements for documentation and ensuing increases in paperwork are reported (Bunting, 2006), as well as to changing approaches to underage offenders, including a lowered criminal liability threshold (15 years) (Aarøe-Pedersen, 2010) and use of prison-like sanctions (Bryderup, 2010), even if staff in many cases are SP trained (Koudal, 2011).

Recent international comparisons of pupils' academic achievements and acquired skills have, however, sparked a debate of a novel kind – one which would have been unthinkable a decade earlier. Surveys such as the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) increasingly led to results rating the output of the Danish comprehensive school (years 1–9/10) (*folkeskole*) unfavourably, not just in comparison with distant countries like Singapore, but indeed also with the Nordic sister nation, Finland. In August 2004, therefore, the Conservative Party (the junior coalition partner) proposed that all teachers responsible for teaching grades 5–12 should be university graduates. Its education expert Ms Helle Sjelle used a distinction whereby teachers' roles in younger grades were “more pedagogical”, whereas in older grades it should be more academic. This wording is interesting because it seems to break with Danish habits whereby *pædagogik* is *not* perceived as an isolated competency in the sense of didactics or *Erziehung*. The Education Minister did not support this proposal. It was backed by an academic from the Danish University of Education, Professor Niels Egelund – with explicit references to Finland – but criticised by Social Democrat politicians and a representative of students preparing for the teacher diploma (Svane & Gram, 2004).

A further example of disregard for the professional competence came on 1 January 2007 when a revolutionary reform of counties and local authorities came into being,⁵¹ and the majority of SL's members found themselves with new employers and new colleagues (Lønbæk Pedersen, 2006). Again this “profession on wheels” saw itself moved around for reasons entirely external to it. Their posts were transferred from the old counties (*amtskommuner*) to the new, bigger local authorities (*kommuner*) whose roles had been extended greatly. While the old counties had possessed quite extensive competences in many fields (matched by a county structure within the SL trade

⁵¹ To fully apprehend the scale of this reform – significantly initiated by a Liberal–Conservative administration with the support of the far-right Danish People's Party – it is not enough to know that 271 local authorities (*kommuner*) merged into 98 (with only 33 more populous one remaining unaltered). It should also be borne in mind that 13 counties (*amtskommuner*) were replaced by five regions and the Greater Copenhagen Authority (*Hovedstadens Udviklingsråd*) (HUR) responsible for planning permits and urban transport as well as the public health trust of the Metropolitan Region (*Hovedstadens Sygehusfællesskab*) (HS) were abolished. To grasp the historical dimensions of the reform, it should be known that the despite mergers in the twentieth century, the 13 counties (*amtskommuner*) existed from 1662–2007 and constituted some of the most stable administrative entities of the Kingdom: a striking fact for a country which, since 1662, has passed from absolutism to constitutionalism, and from a heterogeneous, dynastic, state with three ethnic groups (Danish, German, Norwegian) to a unitary state with just one (Danish). That such a reform should be the result of a right–far right bill confirms the general impression that the twenty-first century has seen breaches in continuity on an unprecedented scale.

union), the five new regions (*regioner*) were mainly conceived to run the public hospitals.⁵² In this context, the social pedagogues were moved around once more, while the social workers – who used already to work mainly for the municipalities – were not affected nearly as much. Not only were these members (the overwhelming majority) transferred in a rather arbitrary way. Others were simply yielded to another union, BUPL (see above), because they would in future be considered, technically, as preschool or leisure pedagogues, while materially remaining social pedagogues in social pedagogue posts.

Yet when the reform was implemented on 1 January 2007, this meant that SL had to accept the unconditional transferral of a sizeable portion of its members towards the (less prestigious) union of preschool and leisure pedagogues, BUPL. The irony of the development at labour market level was matched by similar (if not stronger contradictions) at the level of professional education. Social Pedagogy only had its own, exclusive undergraduate programme between 1987 and 1992, the year when the three specialised programmes for social, preschool and leisure pedagogues were merged into one generic pedagogue programme, which did not reflect a wish from unions or employers: “In fact, the unifying drive was merely financial, as the Minister of Education, Mr Bertel Haarder, [...] estimated that 50 million DKK (Danish crowns) could be saved on an annual basis” (Erlandsen, Kornbeck & Paulsen, 2003, p. 27). Social Pedagogy thus continued to exist as a profession with a clear profile, but without its own undergraduate education. Some further education courses were provided by *Socialpædagogisk Højskole* until it ceased to exist on 1 July 2000 as a result of the merger of four institutions to form the new Danish University of Education (*Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet*) (DPU). For a short period no specific courses in Social Pedagogy existed, but in 2005 a master’s course was set up at DPU and in 2006 a multiannual research project on Social Pedagogy, with substantial external funding, was established, also at DPU. Although initial training would still not be Social Pedagogy-specific, the situation was suddenly completely changed – not only a full circle back to the years before 1991, but even going further than the pre-

⁵² Unlike the old *amter*, the *regioner* had not been granted power to raise taxes, so a new health tax (*sundhedsbidrag*) (8% of gross income) was levied by central government and distributed to the *regioner*. (The justification to keep these entities was not widely understood and it was suggested that they might have been kept to provide enough posts for politicians who had been made redundant when the *amter* disappeared.)

1991 system, since a strong research component based in a university was now being added.

The field continued to be split over the question of whether one higher education programme or two/three programmes were needed, while the 1993 merged “pedagogue” programme continued providing the only qualifying first degree, a fact much resented in the 1990s by at least one retired college rector (although the retired rectors pointed out that a certain genericism had already emerged before that date) (Hegstrup, 1995, p. 105). The 2006 law exalting the pedagogue programme to professional bachelor status (L 315, 2006), did not change these arrangements, nor did the 2007 law which, very interestingly, led to the merger of colleges into multi-departmental university colleges (*professionshøjskoler*) (L 562, 2007): a move not unlike the creation of the West German FH sector in 1970. With the new UCs being much bigger and based on real campuses, the critical mass needed for two different pedagogy programmes would seem to have emerged; yet the new campus life was reported rather to have promoted a culture of interprofessionalism (Ørsted Sauzet, 2011), and no official proposals for a separate Social Pedagogy programme were tabled, be it at the end of the Reference Period or after it.

The year after the 2007 law went into force, Social Pedagogy became particularly associated with abuse and neglect of residents with serious mental disability in a residential unit called *Strandvænget* in the Greater Copenhagen area. A TV documentary entitled *Er du åndssvag* (literally: “Are you Mad?”) had been filmed with hidden cameras and revealed shockingly low human and professional standards. One of the MPs who had participated, as part of the Education Committee, in the work leading to the adoption of the 2007 law, Britta Schall Holberg (former Minister of the Interior in the 1980s with the health system in her portfolio), published a remarkable commentary in a regional newspaper, advocating a review of the new law.

Although the majority of staff at *Strandvænget* cannot be expected to be MVU graduates, the ex-Minister inferred that “this is a task which demands particularly trained staff” and pointed out that the decentralisation of such residential units in the 1970s (from central government agencies to municipalities) seemed not to have solved the competency problem, stressing with reference to the human challenges involved that “this, too, demands training. Pedagogical training, targeted toward

people in very singular conditions.” As if these concessions were not enough, this senior MP went on to make a straightforward statement: “The staff organisation [SL] did, while we were working on the bill in Parliament, try hard to draw our attention to the need for a strong specialisation precisely for this kind of difficult work. Today we must admit that their warnings were well-founded.” The ex-Minister went on to advocate a review of the 2007 law and a strengthening of further training possibilities for staff in the sector (Schall Holberg, 2007). It would be naïve to believe that training alone could solve problems like those caught by the candid camera at *Strandvænget*. Yet, the declaration of this senior MP, pleading guilty after having voted in favour of the 2007 law (as evidenced in the voting results) (see L 114, 200 dossier), is remarkable as it points to a new discursive opening after the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) in Denmark.

While the 1970s provided Social Pedagogy with favourable conditions in which to develop, they were not used to “fill[ing] the gaps between the social problem analysis and professional practice” of Social Pedagogy (Rosendal Jensen, 2007, p. 9) and as a result, the academic deficit persisted.

The year 2008, surprisingly, witnessed a drop in admissions to the pedagogy programme which had always been very popular. SL VP Marie Sonne interpreted this as a sign that young people could not see what the generic programme is about and this reflects its fluid character and lack of professional relevance. She proposed that two different pedagogy programmes (one dedicated to Social Pedagogy) might be the solution (Sonne, 2008a).

The merger of three rather dissimilar pedagogy programmes in 1992 is hard to justify with regard to the training needs of the workforce, and the absence of a bachelor programme in Social Pedagogy calls for a re-examination. According to one pedagogy college principal, summarising opinions advanced by a university-based academic (Staf Callewaert), among the three professions, “it is Social Pedagogy that suffers particularly from the generic programme. Its content is diluted. Staf finds it difficult to see the commonality between having children and young people in day care and the fact that a third of the adult population needs Social Pedagogy support within very disparate and heterogeneous settings” (Ærø, 2002, p. 15). Against this backdrop, the creation of non-degree diploma courses (*diplomuddannelser*) and a

master's course in Social Pedagogy are good news but cannot remedy the basic shortcomings of a system that trains preschool and leisure staff jointly with Social Pedagogy staff. The calls for a bachelor programme in Social Pedagogy can be expected to grow louder, in particular after the SL Board voted a motion (Sonne, 2008a), declaring its policy intent to be the obtaining of such a programme in the future. It seems probable that the issue will be re-examined in the near future.⁵³

As regards labour market-driven HE debates, the 1992 merger was driven by an ambition to save on the HE budget, but the 2003–2004 merger rumours reflected employers' (in the public sector) wishes to have a more interchangeable workforce. J. Helmstedt made the point that the vision of the 1970s, whereby Social Pedagogy would unify the entire field, including crèches and nurseries (which in those days were seen as a social policy measure rather than as educational institutions), was opposed by the Ministry of Education and relevant unions (Erlandsen, 2007, p. 8).

5.2.5. Double dichotomy (MVU–LVU) and higher education policy making, 1937–2000

In the Danish case study, double dichotomy is no less important than Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. When the first Social Pedagogy programme was set up at Hindholm, it was obviously not a university programme, and right until the 1992 programme merger, the exact status of the *omsorgsassistent* and later the Social Pedagogy programme was never defined officially. An insider source suggests that it was considered a “post-secondary programme” (*postgymnasial uddannelse*) and thus not even MVU-equivalent, when the National Statistical Office had to classify the programme. When the KVVU–MVU–LVU structure was defined in the 1990s, it has been suggested speculatively that the 1992 merger, despite its obviously disagreeable nature for those involved, saved Social Pedagogy from a graver fate, namely from being degraded to KVVU status (personal communication from an insider source). At any rate, the MVU–LVU relationship was and is a fundamental fact about Social

⁵³ As an invited speaker at conferences in Denmark, I have myself been faced with the question – including at a hearing on the future of pedagogy education organised at the Danish Parliament by a network of pedagogy colleges, with the aim to sensitise lawmakers in this direction: *Verdens bedste pædagoguddannelse – under udvikling eller afvikling?* (The world's best pedagogy education – under development or dismantling?) Copenhagen, Denmark, 28 February: Landstingssalen, Christiansborg (Danish Parliament, old senate chamber). Organiser: *Samrådet for Pædagoguddannelsen*.

Pedagogy, both at professional education and practice level, and the double dichotomy has probably been an even more serious impediment on Social Pedagogy development than has been the case for Social Pedagogy in Germany.

The development of Social Pedagogy in Denmark is in many ways paradoxical and almost the opposite of the same development in Germany. As a practice paradigm, Social Pedagogy has, during the twentieth century, shown itself extremely successful (Øgendahl, 2000) and unlike its German counterpart, Danish Social Pedagogy has not entered into a common labour organisation with Social Work. In academia, however, the picture is exactly the opposite, with training being almost invariably restricted to the MVU sector and universities discovering Social Pedagogy very late (or not at all). Thus, not only Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has shown itself enduring in Denmark (and more so than in Germany), but double dichotomy has applied even more strongly. To understand the situation within universities it is necessary to look at the development of pedagogy and “general education” (*almen pædagogik*, or *teoretisk pædagogik*) at university level. It would be wrong to say that the paradigm was exclusively directed toward teaching, but it is fair to say that, for decades, Social Pedagogy was almost invariably excluded. Despite an interest shown in the late nineteenth century by some professors of philosophy, in a personal capacity but as part of their teaching, the discipline of education was recognised very late and the first chair in education (*teoretisk pædagogik*) was set up as late as 1955. The first holder (1955–1972) was a philosopher with extensive experience as a teacher and a school psychologist (Knud Grue-Sørensen, 1904–1992), who none the less saw no natural place for Social Pedagogy in his pedagogical system (Kornbeck, 2004a, 2004b, 2004d; Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2005).

The question of why a Social Pedagogy perspective did not emerge in Denmark has been explained (Erlandsen, 2003b) with reference to the absence of a nationally accepted definition, to the predominance of psychology, including within central government departments with relevant planning functions and, finally, to the late establishment at university level. And “as the first professor [...] was not fond of the Social Pedagogy concept, little help could be obtained from that side” (ibid., p. 47) (transl. JK). The single most important published works are a monumental “History of Education” (*Opdragelsens historie*) [*opdragelse* = *Erziehung* = upbringing] (Grue-

Sørensen, vols. I–III, 1956–1959) and a “General Education” (*Almen pædagogik*) (Grue-Sørensen, 1974) with the structure of a reference work. In these publications, Social Pedagogy is almost absent, except for a short article and occasional references, and statements made generally express the greatest reserves regarding the validity and usefulness of the concept. Social Pedagogy is discussed on occasions in other publications but the concept has never been a main element of his theory and it has regularly been disavowed (Erlandsen, 2003 a; Kornbeck, 2004a, 2004b, 2004d). Part of the “putting-into-speech” of a concept (*italesættelse*) (this is a Danish neologism frequently used in discourse analysis), however, is the option to “not-speak” (Erlandsen, 2003a, p. 19), and this was the option chosen by Grue-Sørensen who in his time was the only university professor representing the academic discipline of education in the entire country (*ibid.*, p. 19).

An appraisal of Grue-Sørensen’s theory is rendered difficult by the fact that his works fall into two phases – an earlier, philosophical, and a later, pedagogical phase (obviously reflecting his appointment in 1955), and it is thus “not entirely incomprehensible” that some have had difficulty in recognising “the fundamental unity between the philosophical and the pedagogical position” (Nordenbo, 1984, p. 89), yet recent research has demonstrated that the entire opus was to some extent philosophical (Oettingen, 2006). Notwithstanding this lack of clarity, the reticence against Social Pedagogy is explicit and recurrent and the implications for the disciplinary development (or lack of development) of the Social Pedagogy paradigm are obvious. In 1955 only one other candidate could have been chosen but he did not meet the formal criteria. Olaf Carlsen (1899–1956) had looked at “comparative pedagogical history” (Carlsen, 1949) and in two big historical investigations, he had reconstructed the contacts between Rousseau and Denmark (Carlsen, 1953), as well as Pestalozzi and Denmark (Carlsen, vols. I–III, 1955–1957), yet the latter of these works, intended as a PhD thesis, was never accepted as such, and Social Pedagogy was not represented at university level until the turn of the millennium (Riis Larsen, 2001).

When two teaching and two research institutions were merged to form the Danish University of Education (*Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet*) (DPU) in the year 2000, a Social Pedagogy department was not created, although the decision to set up

DPU was motivated partly by the need for an institution providing Social Pedagogy research (Rosendal Jensen, 2004, p. 32).

5.2.6. Social Pedagogy concepts and definitions in legislation, curricula and academic literature

During the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), a shift in Social Pedagogy concepts and definitions can be observed, and this applies both to official documents and to academic literature. The focus is mostly on Social Pedagogy, not only because it seems to be the key to understanding Danish Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, but also because very few curricular changes affecting Social Work professional education can be observed during the Reference Period. It seems fair to say that the nature and role of Social Pedagogy has been debated much more than the nature and role of Social Work. Notwithstanding, throughout the Reference Period, the accommodation of roles, responsibilities and resources for the two types of professional education did not shift notably. Basically the same system was in place in Y15 as had been in force in Y0. Readers will also notice that this section starts rather far back with legislative-curricular prescriptions from as early as 1976 (Y-13). This reflects the “long 1990s” perspective where realities within 15 Year Reference Period are seen largely as the product of processes having preceded the Reference Period itself. It does however not mean that the legal base for professional education in Y-13, but rather the one adopted in 1987 (Y-2) (Bek. 614, 1987), which still provides an illustration of the “long 1990s” perspective.

The definition of text genres is central to the methodology of the investigation, being based on the “hierarchy of norms” principle. Social Work professional education has always been regulated via Ministerial Regulations (e.g., Bek. 536, 2002) so that no parliamentary procedures have been necessary and stakeholder consultation has been confined to more restricted fora. Even so, one curriculum reform in the 1970s was prepared with the help of an ad-hoc committee appointed by the responsible Minister and this committee had a large and representative composition, including students (Betænkning nr. 818, 1977). The by-law of the Social Work trade union (DS, 2002) are an example of a document from a private organisation which nevertheless is presumed to be binding on members, unlike the SL document quoted (SL, 2006b).

The last Social Work curriculum reform was not based on a report from an ad-hoc committee and seems to have been more discretionary.

As with Social Work, Social Pedagogy professional education also used to be regulated via Ministerial Regulations (Bek. 202, 1976; Bek. 207, 1976; Lbk. 614, 1987) but, starting in 1991, regulation became a matter for the Danish Parliament which has since then adopted specific curriculum laws (L. 370, 1991; L. 315, 2006) which the administration implemented via Ministerial Regulations (Lbk. 980, 2000). One additional law which has been discussed below is the act to establish “Professional Colleges” (*Professionshøjskoler*) or “University Colleges” (the English word having been introduced *without* translating it into Danish) (L. 562, 2007), a construction not unlike the German FH sector. The curriculum and degree structure reforms of 1976 and 1992 were prepared with the help of committees appointed by the responsible Minister (Betænkning nr. 653, 1973; Betænkning nr. 1213, 1990) of which the latter is particularly important (as it prepared the merger of Social Pedagogy with preschool and leisure programmes) and will be discussed here in more detail. No such report was prepared in the 1990s (thus suggesting that Social Work was following a general trend in abstaining from using this method) but a Ministerial Report (*redegørelse*) on the future of teacher training and pedagogue training was presented to Parliament (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004). Finally, a special genre pertaining to Social Pedagogy (but not to Social Work), which has been discontinued but which used to play an important role, is represented by the voluminous and detailed guidance books issued to colleges by the responsible Ministry (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1980, 1984, 1989).

In 1987 a specific Social Pedagogy programme was established (Lbk. 614, 1987) and it seems to have represented a strong commitment in the Ministry of Education regarding the maintenance of a discrete Social Pedagogy profile, yet this programme was already discontinued in 1992 as part of the three-programme merger and the creation of the “common pedagogue programme” (*fælles pædagoguddannelse*) (L. 370, 1991). Disagreeable as this move must have been, it did mean that Social Pedagogy was definitively recognised as an MVU programme (until then its status had been undefined, and without this move it could possibly have been degraded to KVU level). In 2000, the programme was officially recognised as “professional

bachelor” degree (*professionsbacheloruddannelse*) alongside Social Work and other MVU programmes (Lbk. 980, 2000), implying a formal (if not always a real) equality with bachelor degrees conferred by universities. Despite the creation of DPU in 2000 and the establishment of a master degree in Social Pedagogy there, the approach has remained that there would be no separate Social Pedagogy programme at “professional bachelor” level (the essential qualification for entering the profession) and this approach was confirmed when a new curriculum law was adopted (L. 315, 2006) which otherwise brought change and innovation on many points. The pedagogical aspect of Social Pedagogy has been emphasised strongly, as was seen in the summer of 2004 when a merger with teacher training was being discussed openly, yet these rumours were finally quashed when a Ministerial Report (Undervisningsministeriet, 2004) submitted to Parliament made it clear that two separate programmes would be maintained, although some coordination and common modules would be mutually beneficial. Social Work professional education had had its own, discrete professional education programme since 1937 [§5.3] and continued to be thus provided for throughout the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), but for Social Pedagogy the situation has been far more complex. Initially there was no Social Pedagogy programme, but in the 1970s a Social Pedagogy profile became visible in the “care assistant” programme (Bek. 202, 1976; Bek. 207, 1976) and it became commonplace to refer to all pedagogy-related programmes and practice fields as “social pedagogical” (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989, pp. 8–10).

In the second half of the 1960s, various colleges offered a variety of programmes. The “child welfare pedagogue, study route S” programme (*børneforsorgspædagog, S-linie*) trained pedagogical staff (as opposed to untrained staff) for crèches and residential care for preschool children. “Study route AI” prepared for work in residential care for school-age children and young people while “study route AII” specialised for careers as a “care assistant” for people with intellectual disability (*omsorgsassistent*). Other programmes prepared for work in preschool and after-school day centres (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989, p. 12). Yet the increased specialisation (arguably reinforced by the favourable economic climate of the 1960s) increasingly faced opposition, in particular within the voluntary sector which included numerous, very small residential facilities where staff needed to be able to tackle all sorts of problems. Residential care followed either a familial model (of either

conservative or religious observance) or a “collective” model (either of a centre-left or socialist orientation) and remained sceptical to the idea that specific training should be prescribed for specific posts. The professionalisation of the 1960s was thus being questioned increasingly in the 1970s and proposals were made for a merger of all “social pedagogical” programmes, understood as encompassing all the above-mentioned profiles. In 1974 study routes S and AI were merged to become a mere “child welfare pedagogue” programme (*børneforsorgspædagog*), while study route AII remained autonomous (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989, p. 13). The latter was now known as the “care pedagogue” (*omsorgspædagog*) and was to become the first (and last) Social Pedagogy programme in 1987.

It is remarkable, however, that the proposals (which cannot at present be identified) which in the 1970s were being made for a “common” pedagogue programme used the Social Pedagogy label, although by all reasonable standards the envisaged practice field was much larger than what has ever been thought of as Social Pedagogy. This cannot have been in line with the official thinking of the day, when the leading textbook equated Social Pedagogy with “education in residential settings” (Rasmussen, [1975] 1986), thereby also deliberately excluding other practice fields from its scope. It was not the Ministry’s philosophy and it has not been able to find it expressed in articles published in professional magazines. Yet it is interesting that the Ministry (in its instructions intended to help colleges implement curricular prescriptions) insisted that it was aware of the scrapped proposals. It recognised the hesitance of small, voluntary residential units against “a specialisation of the tasks performed by institutions based on pedagogical, psychological or psychiatric diagnoses” and noted that there had been a move away from big, specialised units towards small, generic ones. The Ministry also explained, however, that “if the proposal for a common education programme was not followed entirely, the reason was [...] a concern that a generic programme would become superficial”, given the diversity and complexity of tasks in practice (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989, p. 13). This was the Ministry’s philosophy in 1989 just three years before the Social Pedagogy programme was merged with the preschool and leisure programme, but when that happened, the motivation was much simpler – a wish to save 50m DKK (Erlandsen, Kornbeck & Paulsen, 2003, p. 27).

At first sight, the reform seemed only to be concerned with adjustments of the existing three programmes, to respond to recent changes in professional practice and employment opportunities. The Minister of Education appointed a committee and gave it a mandate to “make proposals for a future structure for the current higher education programmes (preschool pedagogue, leisure pedagogue, social pedagogue) with a view to ensure the highest possible quality and mobility”, taking into account “the ongoing transformation processes within the social sector, school sector and leisure sector”. To this end, the committee was asked to “make proposals for amendments to the content of the higher education programmes and coordination between them, including common modules” (Betænkning nr. 1213, 1990, p. 7). Whereas the text of this mandate would not sustain any claims to the effect that a merger of the three programmes was an explicit policy aim from the outset (irrespective of whatever hidden agendas may have been in existence), it has been suggested by insiders to the process that the merger was already decided by then.

In this connection, the composition of the committee is of interest, for they counted numerous civil servants among its 15 members. They included three from the Ministry of Education (responsible for the programmes) (including the Chair), two from the Ministry of Social Affairs and six from public authorities acting as employers (Cities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, Associations of Local Authorities and County Councils). Of these eleven civil servants, only two held junior professional grades while all the others had grades of head of unit or higher (Betænkning nr. 1213, 1990, p. 8). If it is true that employers in the voluntary sector favoured generic training (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989, p. 13), it seems curious that not a single representative of this important sector was appointed to the committee, where only public service employers were represented, while four leading trade unionists representing the two major unions (SL, BUPL) were included. No student representatives were included, as had been the case when the 1970s’ proposals were made for amending the Social Work programme (Betænkning nr. 818, 1977). In addition to the civil servants from the Ministry a secretariat of four civil servants, all from the Ministry of Education, was provided (Betænkning nr. 1213, 1990, p. 8), which included a senior specialist who had personally sent numerous written instructions to colleges (Uddannelsesvejledning, 1989). Should the rumours be true, according to which the merger had already been decided internally, the Ministry

would appear to have had the competitive edge in the process, notwithstanding the open-ended formulations in the committee's mandate.

Yet the committee's verdict was clear, the executive summary made no unnecessary detours and the subsequent report (in excess of 120 pages) entirely supported the conclusions presented at the beginning. Professional practice in "the pedagogical field" (Social Pedagogy was no longer catch-all phrase it had been in 1989) had been marked by "objectives regarding decentralisation, integration, principles of closeness [to service users] and minimal intervention, cross-sectoral collaboration and an erosion of traditional borders between sectors and professions". Using a rather loaded language, where specialisation is called "fragmentation" (*opsplitning*) (a word with connotations of discord and infighting) and the relevant higher education programmes are conceived as a "field" (*uddannelsesfeltet*) (a term usually reserved for professional practice), the conclusion is unambiguous: "These objectives speak in favour of a common pedagogue programme without the traditional fragmentation of the education field" (Betænkning nr. 1213, 1990, p. 11). It is remarkable that reference is made to "these objectives" (presumably defined by policy makers), rather than to realities in practice or wishes expressed by stakeholders. (Evidence of consultations is not provided.)

The drafters noted that employment was subject to constant change and demanded that staff demonstrate a willingness to adapt accordingly (*omstillingsparathed*). A "common pedagogue programme" (*en fælles pædagoguddannelse*) – which, incidentally, was also the title of the report – would respond to these necessities and would ensure "such qualities" (presumably referring to the flexibility and adaptability of staff) (*ibid.*, p. 11). The new programme should "provide students with broad professional foundations" relevant to all fields of practice and would (the language used is not prescriptive but represents a matter-of-fact statement) "embrace the general common traits which tie the broad practice field together", while also providing "an opportunity for more intensive study" (*mulighed for fordybelse*) (*ibid.*, p. 12). The latter point is again remarkable in its optimism, the Danish term being equivalent with *approfondissement* in French and *Vertiefung* in German. It suggests that by merging three programmes and training people generically for a vast field of employment, while preparing them for (potentially) three times as many tasks as

hitherto, the reform would also specifically allow them to study the content in even greater detail than before. Without being an eye-witness to this process (a key civil servant from those days was contacted with a request for a meeting but never replied), it seems fair – on the basis of the published material – to characterise the work of the committee as being objectives-based rather than evidence-based.

An examination of the official documents has revealed that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has never been on the agenda. While composite nouns and adjectives with “social” are recurrent, the Social Work/Social Pedagogy relationship has never been discussed and there have never been any proposals for a Social Work/Social Pedagogy merger. In this respect the Denmark case study is thus radically different from the Germany case study.

In addition to the official documents, some very interesting evaluations were also carried out. Shortly after the merger, the new pedagogy programme was evaluated comprehensively by a research group based at Roskilde University, financed jointly by the trade unions SL and BUPL (no money was provided by the authorities or by employers) and commissioned to identify the usefulness of the generic approach to professional practice. A total of ten partial reports, ranging from 120 to 250 pages each, were published, of which two have been examined, of which one looks at the prevailing concepts and self-concepts at colleges teaching pedagogy programmes (Johansen, Kampmann & Weber, 1998), while the other examines fresh graduates’ experiences with professional practice (Hjort, 1999). An academic paper by the most senior member of the research group summarises the project (Weber, 2000). Neither of these publications was found to address the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and the same holds true for a major evaluation which was carried out by the Ministry of Education’s own Evaluation Institute (EVA, 2001a, 2001b) and which looked at the Social Work programme. It concluded that the quality was not sufficiently high and thus had a direct influence on the 2002 Social Work curriculum reform and the decision to extend that programme from three to three-and-a-half years (Bek. 536, 2002), yet it did not address the Social Work programme’s relationship with the pedagogy programme.

In academic literature, Social Pedagogy has more texts dealing with definitions than Social Work seems to have: Rasmussen (1975) had defined Social Pedagogy in

simple labour market terms, as work performed in specific settings. Yet perspectives changed profoundly in the 1990s and the theories of the German social philosopher, Axel Honneth, on “recognition” (*Anerkennung*) (Honneth, 2003) became extremely popular. According to one scholar, this theory responds to “the very core of which Social Pedagogy is made” (Nørgaard, 2005, p. 63) and the recurrent use of the term in Social Pedagogy literature is remarkable. In the most recent version of Bent Madsen’s best-selling textbook, the objective of Social Pedagogy is defined as: “to provide conditions for social participation in communities that provide recognition” (Madsen, 2005, p. 13), underlining that “social pedagogical practice seeks to build and rebuild binding and reciprocal social relationships between the individual and the community within the conflict zones of societies” (ibid., p. 11). A similar, teleological perspective has been chosen by Rosendal Jensen (2006).

In spite of this new thinking, vocationalism remained strong in parts of the literature. One such example is Inge Bryderup, a sociologist with twenty years’ experience in doing field research and evaluations on Social Pedagogy practice. In her book, *Children’s Laws and Social Pedagogy Through 100 Years*, Bryderup categorically renounced the formulation of a definition of Social Pedagogy and settled instead for a pragmatic notion based on observations of labour market realities, where “the core area children and young people” was characterised via “a definition of a target group, working methods and mission statements” (Bryderup, 2005, p. 18). This is an empirically sound statement but not a definition, and not even a theory that would lead to any definition of Social Pedagogy, and it may seem a bit surprising that a book with this title should avoid defining Social Pedagogy. This position is undoubtedly typical of the situation of Social Pedagogy in Denmark, as a semi-profession with a weak theory base and a broad range of tasks in professional life, yet for an academic discipline in its own right it seems like refusing to take sides in a crucial debate – the one about one’s own discipline. Yet this line of thought has not been dominant in recent years (though evaluation literature may seem to reproduce it unconsciously), and the journal *Tidsskrift for Socialpædagogik*, established in 1998, has been successful in fostering academic and professional debates that do not avoid such issues.

The descriptive/prescriptive coupling should not be misunderstood. “Descriptive” means that authors’ Social Pedagogy concepts are based on observation of already existing practice, while “prescriptive” refers to a teleological perspective where the objective of Social Pedagogy interventions is put centre-stage in connection with attempts to define Social Pedagogy. The descriptive perspective tends to circumscribe Social Pedagogy and accept the perspectives of lawmakers, administrators and Social Pedagogy professionals while the prescriptive perspective attempts to state what Social Pedagogy should be. Authors have often fallen into in different categories at a time. Ramussen (1974) is descriptive in the sense that Social Pedagogy is assumed to be what professionals do in residential care centres, but prescriptive in the sense that, according to his textbook, if the same activities take place outside of institutional settings, they are no longer Social Pedagogy.

5.3. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in Danish professional education

5.3.1. The unsuccessful SFU project

During the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence never seems, in Denmark, to have been waiting round the corner. It does not appear to have been remotely realistic, neither does it seem to have been a policy goal for DS or SL. As such, it would be easy to close the chapter on Denmark with a remark to the effect that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence never even occurred to any Danish actor in the field as an interesting option, yet this would be an inadmissible simplification. For there was one such attempt, albeit a much earlier one: the Social Workers’ Joint Committee [*Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg*] (SFU) may have been a typical brainchild of the radical Left of the 1970s and early 1980s; it may have been ultimately unsuccessful in reaching convergence (or anything else); it may never have achieved much formal recognition in its own time and may well be forgotten by those who were not involved, while younger generations cannot be expected to have heard about it.⁵⁴ Yet SFU existed as an association with a legal

⁵⁴ Research for this section consisted in e-mail correspondence with two Danish contacts (Torsten Erlandsen, SL Education Policy Officer, and Bengt Rastén, former SL employee and former FSU board member), a meeting with the same two persons in Copenhagen (September 2008), subsequent

entity; it was fairly active internally; it occasionally mixed into professional education politics; and, uncharacteristically for the Danish Social Work and Social Pedagogy professions (but quite typically for Marxist movements of the 1970s), it produced an astonishing amount of literature, some of it programmatic, some more scholarly.

Although SFU was not one of the relevant social partners (it is not known that employers ever negotiated with SFU), it did play the role of a professional association. This is in itself unusual in the Danish context where the split between trade unions and professional associations is usually not relevant. Yet despite its name, SFU seems to have been more than a mere “committee” (the name is actually misleading, as a true committee would have been a subsidiary of (an)other organisation(s)), but rather an entity half-way between a grassroots movement and an organisation. Semantically and programmatically, by adopting the notion of *socialarbejder* in its name, SFU potentially signalled a position across the two traditional strands of Social Work and Social Pedagogy. For unlike the English word “social worker”, its direct translation *socialarbejder* is not, in Danish, directly (semantically) linked to the Social Work profession, given that it has another name (*socialrådgiver*). Whether its vision of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence was similar to German convergence (and thus closer to the Social Work tradition) cannot be established, as the original documents and publications have not been examined.

Nevertheless, database research combined with conversations and correspondence with experts visited allowed for an assessment of SFU’s main activities which, for the purpose of this section, have yielded some significant results. The inventory of the Library and Archives of the Danish Workers’ Movement [transl. JK] includes a Box 79 on “Pedagogical trade unions” where SFU figures alongside five other unions.⁵⁵ SFU documents include “minutes from meetings, documents from committees, etc.,

correspondence and literature searches using standard Danish bibliographical databases, supplemented by information from the two research contacts.

⁵⁵ *De pædagogiske fagforeninger. Kasse 79: Pædagogisk Kartel, korrespondance og skrivelser, 1976 – 1986. Pædagogisk Medhjælperforbund (PMF), korrespondance og skrivelser, 1976 – 1987. Danske Socialpædagogers Landsforbund (DSL), Socialpædagogernes Landsforbund (SL) og. Landsforeningen af danske klubfolk, korrespondance og skrivelser, 1972 – 1986. Landsforeningen for Socialpæagoger (LFS), korrespondance og skrivelser, 1978 – 1988. BUPL, korrespondance og skrivelser, 1977 – 1986. Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg (SFU), mødereferater, udvalgsarbejde vedr. EFG, 1981 – 1983. (ABA, 2001, p. 33)*

1981–1983”, whereas the material from the other unions also includes the 1970s (ABA, 2001, p. 33).

The central database of all Danish public libraries (www.bibliotek.dk) indicates that a magazine (*Socialarbejderen: medlemsblad for Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg*) was published during the years 1975–1977. The same database includes entries for a range of books and leaflets published by SFU, as well as some articles in the professional magazines of other trade unions. Professional education naturally occupied an important place in the work of SFU. One book offered interested people guidance on qualifying for Social Work and Social Pedagogy careers (Rastén, 1987), another with health and safety in the workplace (Hanberg & Kyed, 1983). Similarly, in 1992, when Parliament was negotiating a bill on employers’ insurance against work-related damages to employees,⁵⁶ SFU contributed.

Occasional articles in newspapers, as well as in the magazines of the established trade unions (SL, BUPL), also testify the activities of SFU. A conference organised by SFU, in 1979, focused on new policies aiming at increasing the integration of disabled people and concluded that the Social Pedagogy profession would need further training to upgrade their competences (N.N., 1979). When a Conservative Liberal Government took office in 1982 amid economic and budgetary turmoil, it launched a strict austerity policy with budget cuts and a macro-economic “potato cure” (*kartoffelkuren*) – a nickname alluding to overweight persons going on an unwanted diet. SFU had attacked the budget cuts the following year (N.N., 1983) and, in 1984, presented a paper with specific proposals (Hindø, 1984). In 1985 the Minister of Social Affairs received an SFU delegation, apparently not to discuss working conditions but rather social policy issues (Ladefoged & Gad Johansen, 1985). In 1985 a SFU delegation was received by the Labour Market Committee of the Danish Parliament to comment on a bill foreseeing the replacement, for the long-term unemployed, of a second job offer by a training offer (Ladefoged & Nissen, 1985). In 1989 a hearing on work injuries in Social Pedagogy was organised which looked into aspects of Danish and Swedish insurance legislation (Sønderriis, 1989). A conference on peace work,

⁵⁶ Forslagstitel: L 168 Forslag til lov om forsikring mod følger af arbejdsskade. Fremsat af socialministeren (Else Winther Andersen). Offentliggør.: offentligt. Afsendt: 24/3-92. Modtaget: 25/3-92. Omdelt: 25/3-92. Afsender: Sfu - Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg. Dokument med løbenummer 10701-1. Titel: henvendelse fra SFU - Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg om kommentar til lovforslaget. http://www.folketinget.dk/doc.aspx?Samling/1991/udvbilag/SOU/L168_bilag39.htm

organised by SFU in 1983, was reported in the magazines of both DS and SL (Larsen & Larsen, 1983a, 1983b).

Following the usual pattern of 1970s' and 1980s' radicalism, SFU also contributed to the debate on wider societal issues, including on the European and international scene. Two books dealt with the anticipated implications of the 1992 Single Market target date, including unemployment SFU (1989a) and employment for Social Pedagogy professionals SFU (1989b). This matches some of the publication activities of Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW) at that time (Barr, 1989a, 1989b, 1990) but would appear to have no direct Danish counterpart within *mainstream* Social Work or Social Pedagogy. Similarly, one publication dealt with peace work (Bender, 1986).

SFU's publications would allow a critical textual analysis and an assessment of its philosophy and aims in relation to Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence. Despite its natural focus on the Danish labour market (regarding the training and employment of Social Work and Social Pedagogy professionals) and an obvious interest in domestic social policy issues, SFU also commented and issued guidance on European and international issues.

Yet SFU never achieved its stated objectives and by the 1990s it seems to have ceased its activities, although the exact date cannot be identified. This prompted a commentator to entitle an article: "Three fails in three tries" (Enoksen, 2007). What may appear rather unfriendly seems nevertheless a quite truthful account of what happened (or rather did not happen).

5.3.2. Between genericism and specialism: the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy after 1992

Since 1992, Social Work training has continued to be specialised and tailor-made while Social Pedagogy education has been curiously generic. According to informal sources, among the 32 pedagogy colleges, employers in the Social Pedagogy sector would often prefer recruiting graduates from colleges that used to be "Social Pedagogy only" before 1992, not quite trusting that former colleges training pedagogues for work with very young children in nurseries, or for the leisure (*fritids*)

services, increasingly at that time being integrated into schools, could provide the same level of specialist knowledge. However, it may be expected that processes of CVU, “curative pedagogy” (*Heilpädagogik*) and UC formations will gradually lead to new profiles and specialisations, combined with the opportunity of taking post-qualifying “diplomas” (*diplomuddannelser*) (short qualifications not unlike British “diplomas”).

Ensuring that post-qualifying learning actually takes place is the challenge. After seven semesters, or three-and-a-half years, of studies-cum-placements, the generic pedagogue graduates are in principle qualified for a professional career. What may seem as a relatively long programme by English standards, is however not perceived as very much in a country where university graduates study for at least five years and many professionals are in their late twenties when they join the profession. The question of post-qualifying learning therefore cannot be resolved merely via learning-by-doing, and follow-up training and further studies become an issue worth considering for many. Its necessity maybe further underlined by the built-in incommensurability between an infinitely broad bachelor degree and often narrowly specialised professional roles.

Initial training is offered under the generic pedagogue programme (*pædagoguddannelsen*), which prepares for work in one of the three major fields – preschool, leisure and social pedagogy. The undergraduate programme aims to teach basic methods, theories and skills for pedagogical work, but – as the trade union advises its members – “in connection with more specialised work functions within pedagogical professional practice, you should be prepared to undertake after-training and further training. Social pedagogy practice includes some highly specialised fields of work where the necessary competences must be acquired via after-training and further training, or via in-house training measures” (SL, 2006a).

In the terminology laid down by the Danish Ministry of Education, post-qualifying training and education schemes includes “after-training” (*efteruddannelse*) which aims to update knowledge and skills acquired while studying on the undergraduate programme, regarding current theories and methods, in addition to “further training” (*videreuddannelse*). The latter focuses either on the development of professional theories and methods via academic, research-based courses offered outside the

university sector (*diplomuddannelser*), or the aim is to do one's own research and to develop new methods and theories via research-based training offered by universities (*master- og kandidatuddannelser*) (SL, 2006a). The list of diploma and master's degree programmes available in 2005 shows that many diploma programmes are aimed at teachers and officials in the education system rather than social pedagogues. This presents the Social Pedagogy profession with a problem, but developments in recent years have been favourable, especially with the formation of a master's programme in social pedagogy at DPU. It will also be seen that master's topics are more transversal and applicable to different settings. The continued division of labour between MVU's and universities thus represent a perpetuation of traditional roles, with MVU's being more vocational, practical and general and universities being more academic, theoretical and special, but also more "universal".

It is hard to see how such post-qualifying programmes can substitute for a qualifying first degree at bachelor level, and it is hard to see what justifies upholding the generic pedagogy programme created in 1992.

5.3.3. The Danish social pedagogues' shift from IFSW to AIEJI (2010)

This section will present a development which, despite being situated mainly outside of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), is nevertheless significant. The decision of SL, the Social Pedagogy union, for the purpose of its international activities, to leave the IFSW (officially concerned with both Social Work and Social Pedagogy but effectively more Social Work-led and Social Work-oriented) and join AIEJI (both officially and in reality an Social Pedagogy federation at world-wide level). While the SFU case points to an, at least theoretical, possibility that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence could have had some appeal in Denmark, the case of SL's shift from IFSW to AIEJI is one that seems to confirm the impression that Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy must be deeply rooted and quite self-evident in Denmark, that Social Pedagogy has a strong own identity and that it does not need recognition from Social Work quarters to realise its projects.

According to some sources, this move may have been expected by some of the players for at least some time. Similarly, an article published in the autumn 2009

(without any insider knowledge of on-going processes) treated precisely the question of whether IFSW or AIEJI was the right home for Social Pedagogy at international level (Kornbeck, 2009). The article tackled the issue by looking at the definitions of Social Work and Social Pedagogy found in the relevant programmatic documents of IFSW and AIEJI, and by pointing to the inadequacy of IFSW affiliation from a purely theoretical perspective, it nevertheless pointed in the direction which the events around 1 January 2010 showed that SL was going. Another article published that same autumn, in a German Social Work/Social Pedagogy journal, revisited the German convergence debate and argued that, by drawing on material from other countries, German colleagues might realise that a continued Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy might be a quite natural thing (Kornbeck, 2009b). Seen in the light of events that materialised a mere three months later, these articles may assume an involuntarily prophetic air.

In May 2009 SL hosted the AIEJI World Congress in Copenhagen (www.aieji2009.dk/). It was a major investment, widely publicised, and was further strengthened by the fact that SL Vice-Chair, Benny Andersen, was serving, at that time, as AIEJI President. An official SL statement explained what happened next:

“After the successful AIEJI Congress [...] SL decided to increase its international efforts in relation to the core business of Social Pedagogy and social pedagogues as a discipline and a profession. Concretely, this meant that by January 2010, SL left IFSW and FICE to make a stronger and more focused effort within AIEJI and NFFS [*Nordisk Forum For Socialpædagoger*] respectively. The rationale behind this change of priorities is to strengthen work on Social Pedagogy internationally, including by striving to obtain NGO status for AIEJI in UN and EU hearings.” (SL, 2010) [transl. JK]

The SL statement goes on to underline that “cooperation within NFFS is also very important”, as NFFS is a useful forum for exchange of experiences (SL, 2010). Yet AIEJI emerges from the statement, and from the subsequent news coverage in the SL magazine (Engberg, 2010), unavoidably, as the most important international structure for SL.

On 26 November 2009, the SL Board finally decided to leave IFSW and join AIEJI, both by 1 January 2010. This shift was more than merely semantic and it had implications for SL’s involvement in an international project worth DKK 1.5m

(approx. €0.2m) (Engberg, 2010). It prompts reflection on the reasons behind, and the implications of such a move. For although reliable sources in Copenhagen made it clear to me that the shift was un-dramatic and un-confrontational, it obviously constituted a statement. One could ask, for instance, whether simultaneous membership in IFSW *and* AIEJI would not have been an option. Did SL feel that they could not “serve two masters” at one time (Luke 16:13)? The decision to leave FICE at the same time does not seem to have had similar financial implications, and given FICE’s Social Pedagogy profile, it cannot be interpreted as having constituted an unmitigated move toward Social Pedagogy structures, yet it was certainly one step away from Social Work structures – or joint Social Work/Social Pedagogy structures which appear to be Social Work-led rather than Social Pedagogy-led. Most of the 1.5m international budget (4–5% of SL’s political budget, as opposed to unemployment insurance, etc.⁵⁷) went into projects in developing countries (Engberg, 2010).

No comments were made about IFSW, or the nature of SL’s cooperation with and within IFSW, yet it was clear that SL had found a new home – one with a clear Social Pedagogy profile. In relation to the considerations put forward in the autumn (Kornbeck, 2009a, 2009b), this felt vindicating; and the material does seem to justify using this sub-case to sustain the hypothesis that continued Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy may be a natural thing, not least in Denmark.

5.4. Interim conclusions

5.4.1. Summary of findings

Unlike Germany, Denmark never witnessed any substantial signs of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence, neither was it proposed officially. An exception was made for cooperation between some higher education institutions, and since the unsuccessful SFU project, no convergence project has been observed.

By summarising the history of Danish professional education and labour market organisation concerning the social professions, the case study has demonstrated the

⁵⁷ Like many other Danish trade unions, SL also includes a union-specific unemployment insurance scheme.

distinct nature of Social Work and Social Pedagogy. By spelling out the specific nature of the history of Danish Social Pedagogy, it has made it plausible that professional education for Social Work and Social Pedagogy had to follow dissimilar path routes, which has been reflected in legislation, curricula and academic literature: all signs of perpetuated Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. Having seen that the political considerations for a partial merger of higher education programmes for Social Pedagogy and teaching, in 2002–2004, showed a trend in the direction opposite to Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence, it became natural to ask whether any convergence-like developments had been observed at all. To this end, the unsuccessful (highly informal and probably unrepresentative) SFU project aimed at uniting the Social Work and Social Pedagogy professions was examined, followed by a summary of developments regarding the genericism versus specialism of Social Work/Social Pedagogy after 1992 (the year when the separate Social Pedagogy programme was discontinued).

Read in combination, these two development strands suggest a separate identity, albeit with a less pronounced profile, lived in practice rather than proclaimed in public. The very last development recorded (effectively located outside of the 15 Year Reference Period), SL's decision to leave IFSW and join AIEJI by 1 January 2010, however, justifies revisiting this impression critically: this very recent move seems to indicate a rather pronounced own identity, coupled with a willingness, both to put deeds and money behind the words, and indeed to utter the words in the first place. In this sense, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy can be confirmed with insistence, Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence can be denied and, as a hypothesis worth pursuing in further research, it may be postulated that Danish Social Pedagogy has such a strong own identity that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence has never been a realistic option. Finally, we have seen from the contribution of former Minister, Britta Schall Holberg, and the ensuing reactions of SL, that a separate Social Pedagogy undergraduate programme represents a politically relevant ambition.

5.4.2. Comparison with the Germany case study

Here Denmark is in fact more akin to Belgium than to Germany, in that Social Pedagogy survived as a distinctly different entity, both in higher education and on the

labour market. Also like Belgium, but unlike Germany, this was *not* due to a strong tradition in theoretical literature, taking possession of, and defending a particular territory; it rather happened despite the absence of such literature. Social Pedagogy has challenged many conventional concepts of what makes a successful profession (or even semi-profession). In 1975 it prompted a perplexed Agnete Engberg, Ministry of Social Affairs Inspector (then having the tutelage with Social Pedagogy education), overseeing Social Pedagogy professional education, to fume: “Let us leave this concept. It has brought more confusion than clarity” (quoted in Hegstrup, 2005, p. 5). Yet this tricky concept was somehow not abandoned and nor would it just wither away on its own: “Surprisingly, the notion of social pedagogy has proven to be rather resistant” (Rosendal Jensen, 2006, p. 232). Its end has been predicted many times, yet Social Pedagogy has survived and so has, by the same token, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy.

By way of a neologism, it seems that the trend in Denmark is going towards a “social pedagogicisation of general pedagogy and social work” (*socialpædagogisering af almenpædagogik og socialt arbejde*) (Langager & Vonsild, 2007, p. 3), where education is becoming more social and “the social” is becoming more educational. Learning processes at school are increasingly being defined in social terms (and Social Pedagogy professionals are employed in supporting roles), while Social Work/Social Pedagogy practice is increasingly being oriented towards learning outcomes (as exemplified in the “activation” measures accompanying modern “workfare” and “active” labour market policies) (ibid.; Rosendal Jensen, 2007). These developments make it natural that Social Work and Social Pedagogy should develop a new “curiosity” regarding each other (Rothuizen, 2003) and should remind us of the origins of Social Pedagogy in nineteenth century Germany – “how the social came into pedagogy” (Henseler, 2000).

Danish Social Work textbooks have not traditionally mentioned Social Pedagogy, let alone articulated its relationship to Social Work, and this tradition continued right up to the end of the Reference Period and beyond it (e.g., Eskelinen, Olesen & Caswell, 2008). On the contrary, the few Social Pedagogy books that took a theoretical look at Social Pedagogy (rather than a profession-based one) might occasionally come up with such analyses (e.g., Rosendal Jensen, 2006). Against this backdrop, it would

appear that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy continued to be well and alive, and not always questioned: it would seem to be such a natural thing that few would even mention it. On the other hand, a subjective impression of the relevant literature would suggest that Social Pedagogy was more aware of Social Work than vice-versa, and in the early 2000s the professional and intellectual climate seemed to be favourable to analyses of the professions and their knowledge base (see Moos, Krejsler & Fibæk Laursen, 2004). In professional practice, Social Pedagogy had “come into focus in relation to day and after-school institutions, schools, training and labour market services, community work and social work,” often without using the Social Pedagogy label, yet with a learning-based approach to social problems (Langager & Vonsild, 2007, p. 4).

Chapter 6. Belgium: the Hard (and Unsuccessful) Fight for Recognition of Social Pedagogical Professionalism

6.1. Overview

6.1.1. Introduction to the case study

This chapter is based largely on a previous article in Danish (Kornbeck, 2009b) but has been amended, extended and updated. The material used in the article was all generated as part of desk research and field work specifically conducted for this thesis. Existing literature was far less voluminous than the equivalent for Germany or Denmark, yet still helpful in view of forming hypotheses and preparing the field trips.⁵⁸

The Belgian case resounds Ovid's words: *Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas* (Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, III, 4, 79): although they are lacking in force, their determination commands respect. Such is indeed the impression of the Belgian (mainly francophone) social pedagogues and the lawmakers who worked on their behalves, for nearly half a century (1953–2001) to grant Social Pedagogy professionals (masc.: *éducateurs spécialisés*, fem.: *éducatrices spécialisées*) the same legal recognition and protection as had been enjoyed by the Social Work profession (masc.: *assistants sociaux*, fem.: *assistantes sociales*) since 1945 (Kornbeck, 2006a). The raw data generated by the research is made up of parliamentary papers from various Belgian legislative assemblies over the period (1953–2001).

The most important of these bills have been examined closely and some are presented and commented on in this chapter, each time focusing on the rationale of the bills: protection of the professional title and/or regulation of workforce access/recruitment. Visits were made to libraries and archives; documents were accessed on-line; meetings took place with resource persons in Brussels (March 2004) and Flobecq (June 2005); e-mail correspondence with persons and institutions supported the

⁵⁸ (Brocal, et al., 2007; Davagle, et al., 2008 ; Gaspar, 1986; Gaspar, et al., 2000; Hachez, 2004; Hempen & Holz, 2007; Leroy, et al., 2002; Mabile, 2003; Masoch & Veevaete, 2004; Van Gent, 2004; Van Gorp, 2005; Van Langendonck, 1999; Wauters, 1933; Wautier, 2000; Zélis, 2004)

process and enabled questions to be asked of the main political actors of the case study, including a face-to-face meeting in April 2010.

Research included discussions with resource persons (including face-to-face meetings as well as e-mail exchange), visits to higher education institutions, libraries and archives. The types of material collected included academic literature, articles from professional magazines, legislation and parliamentary documentation, of which the latter category was available in abundance and the easy accessibility commendable. Experts interviewed included two academics, an archive director and the parliamentarian (former MP and former senator, in 2004 governmental commissioner to a university) responsible for the 1994 law which the case study is about.

The case includes the first (and only) bill to be successfully adopted (in the federal parliament), in 1994; but while this law did enter into force, it could never be implemented, as it was challenged in court. The case study ends with the year 2001 which is the moment when the sponsoring MP made a plenary speech (this time in the French Community Parliament), summarising and commenting on this unsuccessful struggle for Social Pedagogy recognition (Charlier, 2001). As such, the Belgian case is a surprising variation of a well-known theme, namely the perseverance of the dichotomy, as can also be observed in Denmark; except that the Belgian case shows some remarkable attempts, not to overcome the dichotomy, but probably to mitigate its negative consequences for Social Pedagogy professionals. While the German and the Danish cases are predominantly (if not almost exclusively) concerned with higher education, the Belgian case is much more concerned with labour market policies and workforce regulation.

The case study is specifically focused on French-speaking Social Pedagogy professionals; this is a reflection of the archival material used, rather than a conceptual choice. Nevertheless, the first adopted, then defeated 1994 law, or Charlier law, was a federal act, adopted by the federal parliament for the benefit of the whole country.

While it may be claimed, generally, that inferences are hard to make from one national case study which may lead to valid generalisations for other national contexts, the Belgian case warrants more caution than might most other country case studies, the Belgian institutional framework being in many ways rather unique. On the

other hand, Belgium offers a very neat and clear-cut example of perpetuated dichotomy: if we accept that the dichotomy can be found, in one way or another, in most European countries (Kornbeck, 2008b, 2009c; Kornbeck & Rosendal Jensen, 2009, 2011, 2012), then a “muddled” case would not be useful in triangulating the German and English extremes with one or two cases in a median position. The fact that the Social Pedagogy profession has successfully achieved legal recognition and protection as early as 1945, and the fact that their special status does not seem to have been challenged since then – until the implementation of the Bologna Declaration (Décret du 27 février 2003) the 1945 law remained in force in all parts of the country – suggest that the Social Work profession has enjoyed and continues to enjoy a high level of respect, i.e., recognition of its professionalism. Conversely, the fact that the Social Pedagogy profession was unsuccessful in achieving the same recognition may be interpreted as a sign that its professionalism does not command the same respect, although other explanations (such as institutional and constitutional struggles detached from the two social professions) must also be considered.

6.1.2. Specific concepts and abbreviations used in this case study

The aim of this section is to introduce the specific Belgian context, including Belgian institutions and their impact on the case study.

Following the Belgian revolution of 1830, Belgium was founded in 1831 as a unitary state with French as the official language of administration and instruction. Yet it would not take long before this arrangement was to be challenged, since the majority of the population in the northern part of the country was not actually francophone (although, in fact, large parts of the Flemish, city-based bourgeoisie, nobility and clergy were), and the result was a gradual recognition of the Dutch language in the northern part. During the twentieth century, the conflict was gradually intensified for various regions and a continuous splitting-up of government structures began: the result is a federation which is truly *sui generis* (Vandamme, 2008, p. 129) and difficult to apprehend, even to most Belgians.

While this chapter cannot delve into the depths and complexities of what amounts to one of Europe’s most fascinating and edifying cases of socio-linguistic conflict and government devolution (such would not seem to be part of the remit of the

investigation), it should be known that the national (now often called “federal”) institutions have retained a range of prerogatives, but that these prerogatives (otherwise known as competences) tend to be transferred toward either the regions (*régions, gewesten*) or the language communities (*communautés, gemeenschappen, Gemeinschaften*) as part of the recurrent constitutional and institutional reforms (*réformes d’Etat, staatshervormingen*). In this context it needs to be emphasised that these devolved layers of government are not identical (although sometimes overlapping), with the region’s regulating, funding and managing structural policies (transportation, business, etc.), or the so-called person-related policies (education, culture, health, social, etc.) which are in the remit of the language communities. In relation to the topic of the case study, it should be understood that the language communities have powers to regulate the relevant curricula and also employ the workforce, or regulate and/or fund voluntary organisations acting as employers, whereas the federal and regional authorities are responsible for regulating the labour market as a structural policy field. Professions with legal regulation of access and recruitment, psychologists, for example, have for this reason remained in the remit of the federal legislature and executive. Unlike many other federal countries, the otherwise strongly devolved Belgian structure includes no regional or community courts: the judiciary, which plays a key role later in this case study, has until now (early 2012) remained a federal institution.

6.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy Dichotomy in Belgian professional education

6.2.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy Dichotomy in Belgian professional education structures

The Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is a reality in Belgium: this had been recognised in at least two European social work education publications (Brocal, Gillet & Kornbeck, 2006; Masoch, & Veevaete, 2004) and can be confirmed by consulting regular entries into the SIEP (*Service d’Information sur les Etudes et les Professions*) database (<http://www.metiers.be>). What is more – and in this respect, Belgium seems better documented than any of the other three countries – a comprehensive mapping of the complete labour market landscape covering the social, health and pedagogical

professions has recently been provided by a university consortium, with funding from an umbrella organisation jointly representing employers and unions in this field (Leroy, et al., 2002). With the explicit objective of generating the evidence needed to ensure a more coherent workforce planning, this exercise was never limited to one part of the country: it always recognised Belgium as one labour market, thereby implicitly also admitting the need for professionals to be able to seek employment in the other part of the country, as opposed to the part where they earned their qualifications.

Thus, the simplistic reductionism represented in the court trial later in the case study does not have any equivalent here. Some empirical evidence does support the assumption that cultural differences have a bearing on the delivery of services in the health, welfare and education sectors, but does this mean that access to health, welfare and education professions should be restricted to holders of qualifications from each language community? While a study commissioned by the (still) federal health insurance revealed that Flemish children are more frequently drugged against so-called hyperactivity, whereas francophones generally consume more anti-depressives, it also invalidated the widely held assumption that francophones use the health insurance system more than Flemings (INAMI-RIZIV, 2009). While culture and mentality may play a role (“hyperactivity” is a socially constructed problem, rather than a clinical one, presumably typical of cultures placing emphasis on self-control), would not income and the general combination of circumstances (depressions possibly being driven by the objective living conditions in large parts of the francophone population) be shaping factors, too? Would these reasons justify separate qualification schemes (other than what is required due to the existence of two different languages and different regional and community legislation)?

Current English experiences suggest the opposite. Although the post-2003 Social Work registration system in the UK operates four different registers (the wisdom of this arrangement is open to discussion, although the bow thus made to devolution needs no further comment), many professionals with non-British qualifications, even in Social Pedagogy, have been successfully validated, registered and employed in England where their contribution appears to be appreciated (Lyons, 2002). While the vast majority of successful validations (89.7% over the 1996–1997 period, representing 479 letters of validation) concern qualifications obtained in English

(Kornbeck, 2004, p. 153), this confirms the relevance of language as such, but still leaves a margin for individuals to adapt to another national context. The question of whether British Social Work is a “closed profession” was raised long ago (Shaw, 1985), yet recent recruitment practices suggest it to be far less closed than similar professions in other European countries. The fact that British academics are currently discussing how best to recruit professionals with “overseas” qualifications (Hussein, Manthorpe & Stevens, 2010) suggests that such recruitment has become a natural thing, while Irish experience seems to mirror the British ones (Walsh, Wilson & O’Connor, 2010). While Belgian devolution has very much become self-driven and self-motivated (what has been left as federal tends to be well-functioning, so that an improvement of services to citizens cannot be expected to be the underlying aim of any further competence transfers), it is doubtful that objective reasons regarding the delivery of services would justify splitting up the labour market for Social Work and Social Pedagogy professionals. It would go against the spirit of the above-mentioned manpower study (Leroy, et al., 2002), yet other interpretations are also plausible: the defeat of the 1994 law effectively cemented Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. This in turn has undeniable benefits to employers (or public authorities funding them, if employers are voluntary organisations), as it makes for savings on staff costs.

The legal aspects of the status of the Social Pedagogy profession within the Belgian labour market have been described as precarious (Davagle, 1998, 1999, 2000), with reference to the fate of the 1994 law. Owing to the absence of legal recognition, be it of the profession or of the higher education qualification usually needed to enter it, employers are not only free to fill *éducateur* posts with holders of other qualifications (or no qualifications), just as holders of the *éducateur* degree are not per se entitled to be employed at the foreseen graduate level (*niveau I*) (Davagle, 2000, p. 315). In line with the general impression across Europe (Kornbeck, 2008b, 2009a), the Social Pedagogy profession is in Belgium a much bigger, more heterogeneous and less exclusive profession than Social Work. According to 2002 estimates, of an aggregate workforce of 16,612 (presumably including all posts which would objectively qualify for being filled with relevant graduates), 8,927 had a Social Pedagogy degree against a mere 932 with a Social Work degree (Leroy, et al., 2002, vol. 3, p. 27). From a British perspective, the low drop-out of the Social Work profession (20%) (Ancia, Brocal & Cremer, 2002) might be taken to confirm its exclusivity, yet this cannot be

affirmed within an intra-Belgian comparison based on the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, as Belgian Social Pedagogy professionals actually tend to stay (Davagle, 2000, p. 323).

In other words, not only did graduates represent 58% of the workforce; indeed, 90% of the (more expensive) graduate employees had a Social Pedagogy degree: as this degree and the ensuing profession was not legally recognised, it would be perfectly legal for employers not to offer these Social Pedagogy employees graduate level (*niveau 1*) posts with commensurate pay (Davagle, 2000, p. 315). Also, it is known that it is not unusual for Social Work graduates to be employed to fill Social Pedagogy posts, while the opposite is not known to be practised (Leroy, et al., 2002, vol. 3, p. 82), just as unemployment among Social Pedagogy graduates is reportedly higher than for Social Work graduates (*ibid.*, p. 81). These objective, structural facts with clear budgetary implications – the English expression “to put your money where your mouth is” suggests that financial dispositions reveal the true priorities of individuals and organisations – confirm the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy as found in other European countries, too; they point to the likelihood that the dichotomy is far more than semantic, indeed highly relevant in the daily lives of professionals, a dichotomy which has been a fact of life since the year 1945.

In 1920, the first Social Work schools had been set up by Royal Decree [*scil.*, of the King in Council] (*arrêté royal, koninklijk besluit*) but the title *assistant social* was not yet being used. Rather, the even more humble *auxiliaire social* was the term of the day (Zélis, 2004, p. 1), yet such was the genesis of the Belgian Social Work profession that, from the very beginning, its training (and implicitly its professionalism) had a legal basis, and in this respect it was going, henceforth, to distinguish itself from the Social Pedagogy profession. Socialist Social Work courses had started in 1911 and Catholic courses in 1916 (*ibid.*, p. 6), yet the Belgian State would very soon take over the global responsibility. In its explanatory statement to the King (*Rapport au Roi*), the cabinet stressed that Social Work courses and schools had been established in the UK, USA and elsewhere, that they were highly successful and that international comparisons confirmed that professional Social Work training was (to repeat the concluding phrase of the statement) the best investment to achieve social welfare (*Nulle dépense ne peut contribuer plus efficacement au bien social*) (*ibid.*, p. 7).

Yet the status of the profession and its resilience to pressure would soon be debated, and in 1933 Edouard Wauters, head of the national Child Protection Office and vice-chairman of the Social Work schools' council (*directeur général de l'Office de la protection de l'enfance et vice-président du Conseil des écoles de service social*), published a paper analysing the Social Work profession's position with regard to professional secrecy as compared with other, more established and more respected professions (Wauters, 1933). While a direct link to the 1945 law cannot be established, this paper would appear to suggest that influential people wished to raise the status and autonomy of the Social Work profession.

6.2.2. Legal recognition of the Social Work profession: the 1945 law

Belgium had hardly got out of World War II before its parliament – which in those days was fully sovereign and did not have to share sovereignty with any other layer of government – adopted a law to protect the title of the Social Work profession (*assistant social, maatschappelijk werker*) (Kornbeck, 2006a). The objective was not to limit access to the relevant part of the labour market, but the law did aim to ban non-graduates from using the title, a degree programme having been previously established in 1933. (As the name of that programme was identical with the name of the profession (not a degree *in* Social Work, but degree *of* professional Social Work), protecting the title of the degree came close to regulating access). In those days, no references were made to the Social Pedagogy profession which did not yet really exist, at least not as a recognisable profession and not as an occupation with a specific higher education programme (Gaspar, 1986). The substance of the law was still in force in 2004 (Y+15) and it was not before the full implementation of the Bologna Declaration (Décret du 27 février 2003) that a new framework became necessary, so that the 1945 law can be said to have had a remarkable longevity; indeed, it would seem to have been unaffected by any attempt to challenge it.

A detailed discussion of the 1945 law will not be provided in this chapter, as it has been provided elsewhere (Kornbeck, 2006a), yet it seems significant that the Justice

Committee of the lower house, or “Chamber” (*Chambre/Kamer*)⁵⁹ [hereinafter: “the House”], in their debates, showed an interest in granting an exclusive and favoured position to Social Work graduates. Far from wishing to deter non-graduates from making a useful contribution to practice, the Committee nevertheless considered that graduates held a specific expertise which deserved recognition. Henceforth, the degree transcript would grant access to join the profession, and the Committee assumed that this scheme would raise the profile of the profession:

“Belgium will hereby have corps of specialists at its disposal who may apply indispensable professional knowledge to the implementation of our social legislation.” (p. 2) (transl. JK)

In other words, the 1945 law did not aim to regulate the labour market as such, but certainly to grant a specific status to Social Work graduates and their professionalism – not only in the interest of the profession itself, but indeed in the interest of the country as a whole. Undoubtedly, the political and economic climate for such reforms was favourable, as the destroyed countries of Western Europe (including Belgium) were badly in need of reconstruction, while a general situation of material want was coupled with an unusual willingness to pass reforms. Orwell’s (1941) vision of the need to win the war via promises of social reforms to the British working class seem to have been shared by many British opinion makers (Soukup, 2001, pp. 98–101):

“We know very well that with its present social structure England cannot survive, and we have got to make other people see that fact and act upon it. We cannot win the war without introducing Socialism, nor establish Socialism without winning the war. At such a time it is possible, as it was not in the peaceful years, to be both revolutionary and realistic.” (Orwell, 1941; cit. Soukup, 2001)

Although the word “Socialism” may still not have had a positive ring in more conservative (with a small “c”) times, the tenor of Orwell’s thinking is consonant with that of the Beveridge Report (Beveridge, 1942) and appears to have been successful once the war was over. Defeated Germany had its *Stunde Null*, while the victorious British Empire was beset with shortages, surprisingly for a victor, which nevertheless did not prevent the Labour Party from launching an unparalleled reform programme, starting in 1948, including nationalisations, an ambitious welfare programme and the National Health Service (NHS): of these three, the NHS has survived all counter-reforms since 1979 and, as a centralised, tax-financed health service providing care

⁵⁹ *Chambre des Représentants/Kamer van Volksvertegenwoordigers* (unlike English where “Chamber” denotes the parliamentary meeting hall).

free of charge, is quite exceptional in the Western world outside of Scandinavia. With a comfortable margin of 150 seats, it was easy enough for Attlee to pass these laws (Fraser, [1973] 2003, p. 247). The real test for the laws came with Attlee's defeat in 1951, which they passed to become "deeply embedded in British political and social culture" over the next quarter-century (ibid., p. 265). What better proof of the reform-friendly climate of the immediate post-War years, a climate which seems to have affected Belgium also?

In Denmark (which had suffered much less from the effects of the war), 1945 does not mark any social policy watershed, with a comprehensive social legislation reform having been passed in 1930 (*Steinckes socialreform*) which was to last, with minor adaptations, until the next big reform which, like its British counterpart, started in 1970. Germany, too, did not during its *Stunde Null* pass any major social welfare reform bills and did not introduce new higher education programmes relevant to this sector (Amthor, 2003), while it seems that Belgium was marked by a climate of optimism and reform. At any rate, in 1945 it was possible, with some speed, to pass a law protecting the Social Work title. Achieving the same for the Social Pedagogy title was not only difficult, but in effect impossible, a mere eight years later, in 1953. The scope of the 1953 bill did not differ significantly from that of the successful 1945 bill. It aimed at granting the Social Pedagogy profession the same recognition henceforth enjoyed by the Social Work profession; yet the 1953 bill remained unsuccessful and, while ten more bills were to follow during the next 39 years (1953–1994), none but one was to lead to adoption in the plenary – in itself quite a performance in a parliamentary context – and the successful one was to be adopted with significant amendments, only to be challenged subsequently in court.

6.2.3. The Nossent bill, 1953

Social Pedagogy training did not start as early as Social Work training, and it started later than similar courses did in Denmark and Germany (see the genealogy charts, Amthor, 2003, pp. 549, 552, 559). This is not to say that theory and practice did not develop: far from it, as Belgium was the home of a range of significant experiments, both in residential childcare and in special education. The comparatively best known, internationally, appears to be the neurologist-turned-pedagogue, Jean-Ovide Decroly

(1871–1932), better known as Ovide Decroly, whose *Ecole pour la Vie, par la Vie* is still operating in the Brussels borough of Uccle (now, Ecole Decroly). An important body of literature has been left to posterity (Decroly, 2009), not to mention literature by his students, some of whom founded their own schools, and Decroly was well connected with international contacts. Even from Denmark (Arvin, 1946; Nørvig, 1963) and Finland (Stadius, 1935, 1943) pedagogues came to learn from the Decroly movement in Belgium, who after returning home, wrote about what they had seen, thus attempting to further disseminate this new theory and practice. The apparent lack of theoretical literature which may today seem a recurrent feature of both Belgian social professions has not always been characteristic, at least not while Ovide Decroly was still living, practising, researching, teaching and publishing.

The international level of Belgian special education in those days is still evident today. Decroly was even included in a UNESCO-sponsored collection of texts on the world's most important educational theorist (Debreucq, [1993] 1997). He was similarly included in a Danish publication of the 1950s (Christensen, 1957); significantly, however, he does not appear to have been treated in Danish scholarship since the 1960s. The Decroly experience seems to have played a role in the development of special education in Finland, which appears to have adopted the paradigm of “anomalies” rather late (mid-1970s), and subsequently dropped it late (mid-1990s) (Kivirauma, 2004). In relation to the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, it seems quite certain that the Belgian Social Work profession cannot boast an author and leader as well-known internationally as Decroly. One Belgian Social Work education leader, however, became one of the very few Presidents of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW): René Sand (1877–1953, President 1946–1953). He was actually a medical doctor just like Decroly, but he does not seem to have had the same impact, in spite of his undeniable services to the Social Work profession, as “he was primarily seen as a promoter of social medicine,”

“[h]is rediscovery as a “social worker” has still to be done [...]. [He] wrote about three hundred articles and publications but kept his personal life to himself while he was an outstanding personality in the international social work scene.” (Eilers, 2008, pp. 66–67)

The Social Pedagogy profession (*éducateur*) does not seem to have been referred to as such until after World War II, at least not as far as residential care was concerned: Catholic orders usually staffed orphanages and boarding schools and those correctional institutions (*maisons de correction*) where young offenders purged their sentences, were staffed with guards and teachers. In 1938, however, a new professional training programme had been created for leisure workers (*éducation des loisirs*) (six years before France), which nevertheless failed to be accredited as a higher education programme. The year 1940 saw the inception of another training programme, at the Le Parnasse school in Brussels, and, together, holders of these two qualifications began to be known as “educators” (*éducateurs*) once they had taken up employment in a relevant post (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000, p. 13).

The analogies with Denmark (Erlandsen, 2006, 2007) – the other “most similar” case study, in terms of perpetuation of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy – are quite obvious, since professional education started outside of universities (both for Social Work and Social Pedagogy). This is because dichotomy was a fact from the beginning, and because the current degree titles and job titles underwent a number of changes until the current terminology was found. With regard to Germany (Amthor, 2003) the situation is far more complex, as some programmes existed earlier, others not, and because from the perspective of 1945 or 1953, it seems quite difficult to determine just which German education or training programmes (university-based or not) should form the base of a comparison with Belgium: the university programmes had started long before, and the modern FH programmes were not to emerge for the next 20–25 years. Another interesting similarity with Denmark is the fact that the Social Pedagogy label emerged as a matter of de facto practice in oral and written communication, without any legal basis: the word *éducateurs* was used in practice in the 1940s and 1950s (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000, p. 13), which also applied to the term *socialpædagog* in Denmark (Erlandsen, 2006, 2007).

In the Belgium of the 1950s there was a growing interest in Social Pedagogy professionals’ professionalism, as a result of increased transparency with regards to practice in orphanages and other residential institutions. The Belgian public was taken aback by reports of malpractice in these institutions – fast dubbed *les bagnes d’enfants* (literally: “children’s penal colonies”) with a polemic allusion to places like

the convict colonies of places like French Guyana – and one residential care institution, the Abbaye d’Aulne near Gozée, took on a trailblazer role by offering a Social Pedagogy course, directed towards Social Pedagogy work in residential care, which was the first such course offered anywhere in Belgium. Christian values as well as the pedagogical traditions of the scouts’ movement were the foundations in this initial phase (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000, p. 13), yet over the next decades, Social Pedagogy professionals became gradually more conscious of their own professionalism and increasingly sought to organise and claim more unified employment conditions, as well as recognition more generally. If they could have professionalism recognised in the same way as the Social Work had had theirs recognised, it would be easier for them to claim unified employment, pay and working conditions (Charlier, 2001).

During the next 41 years (1953–1994), no fewer than 15 bills were presented to various Belgian parliaments, representing a mass of material that cannot be dealt with in any detailed manner in this chapter, be it by analysing the laws, the drafts or the parliamentary debates. The case study remains at a more global level and seeks only to identify the main events and global lines of development. Compared with the ease and simplicity of the 1945 bill (very short proposals, short explanatory memoranda and Committee reports, no plenary debate and only the minimum number of readings), the long list of missed attempts at doing something for the Social Pedagogy profession (thereby generating much more voluminous archives) speaks a clear language. It would, however, be going too far to claim that contempt for the Social Pedagogy profession can be found in these documents. Having examined all the documents listed, except when indicated otherwise in the list, it can be said that contempt never appeared to emerge, be it from drafts or from debates, which marks a difference compared to the British Social Work profession in the 1980s,⁶⁰ yet it becomes clear that Social Pedagogy seldom stood a fair chance of achieving what had been achieved for Social Work in 1945.

⁶⁰ Whereas a systematic comparison of UK Parliament debates related to SW and professional education in the 1980s (when the UK was governed by the Thatcher administration and SW came into a permanently defensive role) lies outside of the scope of this thesis, the mass of material available can be easily gauged by a *Hansard* search limited to the 1980s decade and the search term “social work”: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/search/social%20work?decade=1980s>.

The Social Pedagogy profession never found it easy to organise in unionised structures – even in 2000 only an estimated 20–25% of professionals were unionised (based on union fee payment statistics) (Davagle, 2000, p. 326) – yet attempts were made in this direction. After the International Association of Social Educators (*Association Internationale des Educateurs de Jeunes Inadaptés*) (AIEJI) had been established at worldwide level in 1951, a Belgian section was set up in the very same year under the name ABEJI (*Association Belge des Educateurs de Jeunes Inadaptés*), which in turn was renamed EPES (*Union Professionnelle des Educateurs Sociaux*) in 1970. ABEJI, however, was not to remain the only Social Pedagogy professional association, for in 1976 APDES (*Association Professionnelle des Educateurs Sociaux*) was set up in parallel to it (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000).

Although these associations do not seem to have functioned truly as trade unions, they are significant because they mark attempts to establish the profession on its own, and because they had an involvement in education policy: before Mr Nossent submitted his bill to parliament, he had consulted ABEJI on it, both in 1952 and again in 1953 (Gaspar, 1986, pp. 108–109), which suggests that ABEJI was perceived then as politically relevant in relation to labour education policy and/or market regulation. That the AIEJI connection could and can be useful in terms of positioning a profession between Social Work and education, could be seen 57 years later, in January 2010, when the Danish Social Pedagogy association (a structure with strong trade union rights at national level) decided to leave the IFSW (with its strong Social Work bias) and join AIEJI instead (Engberg, 2010).

The 1953 bill followed the 1945 law closely (article 1) by prescribing how access was to be granted to the profession, in this case by offering legal protection to the title *régent éducateur*. Using the title would be illegal for anyone not having had the relevant qualification “conferred according to the rules contained herein” (article 1)⁶¹ [transl. JK]. This title is in itself interesting from a Social Pedagogy point of view, because *régent* is a Belgian teacher, so that the new title could be translated as “educating teacher” or “educator-teacher”. The practice field concerned is defined as work with “maladjusted children and young people” (*éducateur spécialisé pour*

⁶¹ “Nul ne peut porter le titre de régent-éducateur (*éducateur spécialisé pour l'enfance et l'adolescence inadaptée*) s'il ne possède le diplôme de régent-éducateur délivré conformément aux dispositions des arrêtés qui en règlent l'octroi.” (article 1)

l'enfance et l'adolescence inadaptée), a wording which shows clear affinity with AIEJI. This general statement is made explicit via a long list of practice settings (article 2) which clearly go beyond the “maladjusted” (French: *inadapté*) perspective: children and young people placed in care outside of the home, young offenders, persons with reduced physical or mental abilities (learning difficulties, etc.), work in different residential settings, day centres as well as counselling services in local administrations (article 2) (transl. JK).

The list is long and points clearly towards the diversity of today’s Belgian Social Pedagogy field (Leroy, et al., 2002), thereby surprisingly mirroring the Danish Social Pedagogy profession; it is the diversity of Social Pedagogy as services for all age groups which can still be found today: an array of support services which are by no means reserved for children and young people alone, and certainly not solely concerned with “maladjusted” individuals, “antisocial” behaviour or neglect by parents or guardians. The 1953 plans further resemble the Danish Social Pedagogy programmes by being placed outside of the universities and thus without an obligation to do research.

The bills further foresaw that the competent Ministry would define an appropriate curriculum (article 3). This was a slightly contradictory arrangement compared with that of 1945, for how could conflicts of interest be avoided if the Ministry was effectively to protect its own curriculum as well as rule on the validation of non-Belgian qualifications (article 3)? Although non-graduates were not excluded from working in the Social Pedagogy sector, the draft specifically banned employers from using the Social Pedagogy title for non-graduate employees (article 4), with penal and civil sanctions foreseen (article 5). Finally, rules on credits for work experience were included as well as a transitional scheme for existing non-graduate professionals, who were granted six years to earn the degree (article 6).

It may be claimed that timing was perfect for the 1953 proposal.

- First, it was only eight years earlier that the Social Work profession had been granted recognition with a law very similar to the one which was now being proposed.

- Second, Belgium was still a unitary state where both education, social services, health and labour market regulation were national prerogatives: no regional or community bodies had yet any legislative powers, so the national parliament was free to adopt any law it might wish (in comparison with the later, federal system, where different layers of government would regularly dispute each other's competence to take specific measures).
- Third, it was the beginning of the 1950s, the economic and political climate was good and the later Belgian economic and budgetary crisis had not yet struck; Brussels was an opulent city where office towers, road and metro tunnels were being built at break-neck speed; the 1958 world fair was under preparation; Congo was still a colony, Ruanda and Burundi were still UN mandate territories. In 1953 probably no one could have foreseen that the Nossent bill would not be adopted, and had it been adopted, it might have become a long-lived and largely undisputed law, like the 1945 Social Work law or the 1993 law on access to the psychologist profession.

It has not been possible to detect from the archive material why the Nossent draft did not become law. Its defeat appears to have been less spectacular than the parliamentary success, followed by judicial defeat of the Charlier law: Social Pedagogy may have missed its golden opportunity, yet it seems to have missed it in a surprisingly unspectacular way.

6.2.4. From the Nossent draft to the Charlier law, 1953–1994

No less than nine bills were to be presented in the national parliament of Belgium, during the years 1975–1992, while a great many proposals were to be made in the emerging legislative assemblies of the language communities. Not all of these have been inspected personally, but the relevant references and quoted passages are taken from documents which were inspected in the original; also, the analytical presentation offered in a very practical labour law handbook intended for Social Pedagogy professionals (Davagle, 1999) helped further structure the rich material. To cut a long story short (taking into account the mass of material available), the following approaches to the problem can be identified:

- P.1. Only graduates may practice:
 - P.1.1. “*Nul ne peut exercer la profession d’éducateur...*” (G. Ryckmans-Corin, 1975, 1978, 1981).⁶²
- P.2. Only graduates may use the title:
 - P.2.1. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre de régent-éducateur (éducateur spécialisé pour l’enfance et l’adolescence inadaptée)...*” (Nossent, 1953)
 - P.2.2. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre d’éducateur-accompagnateur spécialisé...*” (Ph. Charlier, 1994, 1997)
- P.3. Only graduates may use the title *and* practice
 - P.3.1. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre et exercer la profession d’éducateur social spécialisé...*” (G. Ryckmans-Corin, 1980)
 - P.3.2. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre d’éducateur professionnel, ni en exercer la profession...*” (T. Declerq, 1980)
 - P.3.3. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre, ni exercer la profession d’éducateur social...*” (Y. Ylieff, 1983)
 - P.3.4. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre, ni exercer la fonction d’éducateur social spécialisé...*” (A. Léonard, 1983).
- P.4. Only graduates may use the title *and* get access to the profession
 - P.4.1. “*Nul ne peut porter le titre ni accéder à la profession d’éducateur spécialisé...*” (Ph. Charlier, 1989, 1992)

This comparison allows four main positions to be identified, of which two (P.1, P.2) have been expressed differently, not with regard to the position itself, but rather because the content proposed was at variance.

For comparison, the 1945 Social Work law and the 1993 psychologist law both represent position P.2 and merely protects the title. The 1945 Social Work law makes this right contingent upon holding a qualification granted under a specific legal framework (*Nul ne peut porter le titre d’Assistant (ou Auxiliaire) Social, s’il ne possède le diplôme, délivré conformément aux dispositions des Arrêtés Royaux qui en règlent l’octroi*), while the 1993 psychologist law foresees eligibility for holders of one of the qualifications included in a very long list (*Nul ne peut porter le titre de psychologue s’il ne remplit les conditions suivantes*) (article 1), but as it also forms the legal basis for a professional registry, the law offers a very high level of recognition and protection to the profession.

In relation to the degree and job titles proposed, another interesting development can be observed, as titles very close to the Social Pedagogy notion have been aired:

- *éducateur* (G. Ryckmans-Corin, 1975, 1978, 1981)⁶³

⁶² Names and years refer to MPs (as sponsors of draft laws) and years of bills, as listed in “Sources”, section 3.2.

- *éducateur spécialisé* (Ph. Charlier, 1989, 1992)
- *éducateur social* (Y. Ylieff, 1983)
- *éducateur social spécialisé* (G. Ryckmans-Corin, 1980; A. Léonard, 1986)
- *éducateur professionnel* (T. Declerq, 1980)
- *éducateur-accompagnateur spécialisé* (Ph. Charlier, 1994, 1997).

During the next 22 years, no new attempts appear to have been made to relaunch the 1953 project, but by the mid-1970s things were beginning to move again. Mrs Ryckmans-Corin introduced her consecutive proposal to the House (1975–1976 session), to the Senate (1978–1979 session), again to the House (1979–1980 session) and finally to the Council of the French Community.⁶⁴ The tenor of these four proposals continued to be that only graduates with the appropriate Social Pedagogy degree should be allowed to practise Social Pedagogy (*Nul ne peut exercer la profession d'éducateur*).

In contrast to the solution preferred by Mrs Ryckmans-Corin, the bill introduced by Mr Declerq in 1980 and submitted to the House (1980–1981 session) aimed solely at protecting the title (*Nul ne peut porter le titre et exercer la profession d'éducateur social spécialisé*). It will be seen that Mrs Ryckmans-Corin changed her terminology from *éducateur* (1975, 1978, 1981) to *éducateur social spécialisé* (1980), an approach she was to share with her colleague, Mr Léonard (1986). The adjective was also used by Mr Ylieff (the last francophone Minister of Education before this policy field was devolved), who nevertheless did not favour using the other adjective, *spécialisé*. This development is important because it suggests at least a semantic convergence with countries where the Social Pedagogy paradigm explicitly includes the adjective “social” – thereby perhaps underscoring the locus of Social Pedagogy within the larger system of the social professions, in opposition to a traditional Belgian view where Social Pedagogy would essentially be pedagogical (Brocal, Gillet & Kornbeck, 2007, pp. 23–29) – yet this semantic convergence was not to last long. For it will be seen, also, that Declerq (1980) and Charlier (1989, 1992, 1994, 1997) did not include the adjective *social*. This appears to have been the result of a joint consultation with the francophone and Flemish professional associations, APDES (see above) and VBO (*Vlaamse beroepsvereniging voor opvoeders*) who, in a joint proposal dated

⁶³ Names and years refer to MPs (as sponsors of draft laws) and years of bills, as listed in “Sources”, section 3.2.

⁶⁴ Today the Parliament of the French Community (*Parlement de la Communauté française*).

02.10.1984, suggested replacing *éducateur social spécialisé* by *éducateur spécialisé* (Davagle, 1999, section 09.01).

Mr Declerq also submitted a similar proposal to the Council of the Flemish Community in 1981.⁶⁵ The Declerq proposal now sought to regulate the use of the title as well as access to the profession, and the title had now changed into *éducateur professionnel*, which resembles today's Belgian title (as well as the one used in Italy). Mr Lernoux made a submission to the Council of the French Community in 1982 as well as two proposals which were submitted to the House (1982–1983 session). Also Yvan Ylieff proposed a law, in 1983, which would have regulated the use of the title as well as access to the profession, this time defined as *éducateur social*.

In 1986, the MPs Léonard, Gehlen, Hanquet, Jérôme and Lestienne jointly submitted a bill for protection of the title *éducateur social spécialisé*, which aimed at regulating both the title and the workforce. Meanwhile, however, the constitutional and practical situation in Belgium had changed profoundly and, unlike the 1970s, the national authorities (before the 1994 Constitution, the adjective “federal” was not yet introduced) were no longer in a position to legislate about any given subject matter. Therefore, the supreme administrative tribunal (*Conseil d'Etat, Raad van State*) had been asked for a prejudicial ruling on the compatibility between the proposed law, on the one hand, and the new constitutional framework regarding the distribution of powers between national, regional and community authorities, on the other. According to the sponsors, the Court's assessment had been positive, and Mr Léonard drew his fellow-MPs' attention to the fact that the Social Pedagogy profession's situation was precarious, its grievances having recently translated into strikes, and that it had been hard hit by the government's austerity measures.

The 1986 text was much shorter than the 1953 bill had been, containing as little as two articles, one on protection of the title (article 1), the other including the now well-known transitional measures (article 2). There was no list of practice fields or settings, no rules on validation of non-Belgian qualifications and no sanctions. The sponsors recognised the need for recognition (“*cette tâche doit être valorisée et reconnue*”), and in the definition of Social Pedagogy there were references to milieus and settings which had not been included in the previous drafts (“*dans une action continue et*

⁶⁵ Today the Flemish Parliament (*Vlaams Parlement*).

conjointe sur la personne et sur le milieu”). All of this is stimulating reading, showing that Social Pedagogy thinking had changed over the years and MPs supporting Social Pedagogy’s strive for recognition had taken cognisance of this change, yet as a political project this seems rather thin, and predictably enough, this bill did not lead to adoption either. Yet, the attempt was to be made again, as little as three years later: this attempt was going to be the last, the most spectacular and the only one crowned with the success of adoption and entry into force as a Belgian law.

6.2.5. The Charlier law, 1994

Philippe Charlier is a Catholic with roots in the scouts and youth movement and with a close relationship with Social Pedagogy organisations and networks, and he felt a strong desire to solve the problem which had remained unresolved since 1953. As a freshly elected MP, in 1989, Mr Charlier made a submission for a law which, quite surprisingly, was adopted as the first in a long row of bills. The scope of the law was to limit the use of the title, this time *éducateur social spécialisé*, and access to the profession:

“Nobody may use the title or practise the profession of specialised social educator within the meaning of Article 1 without being the holder of the diploma defined by the King and conferred to this effect after completion of a course [...]”⁶⁶[transl. JK]

As in some other constitutions of constitutional monarchies, such as that of Denmark, “the King” is a conventional shorthand for the cabinet, but otherwise the text seems very clear. During its first reading, great efforts were made to ensure that the law would not have the unintended effect of regulating the labour market. At the same time, the title was changed from *éducateur social spécialisé*, to *éducateur accompagnateur* (Dutch: *opvoeder-begeleider*) in order to accommodate the Flemish wish to integrate the *opvoeder* concept which was now increasingly being used in the North of the country (Davagle, 1999, section 09.02).

⁶⁶ “Nul ne peut porter le titre ni exercer la fonction d’éducateur social spécialisé dans l’emploi défini à l’article 1 s’il n’est titulaire du diplôme fixé par le Roi et délivré à cet effet à l’issue d’un enseignement supérieur de plein exercice ou de promotion sociale et de type court, organisé, subventionné ou reconnu par l’Etat.”

The debates and reports from the House and Senate committees record a keen interest in all these matters and provide an impression of a difficult, yet constructive process: one where the outcome could not be taken for granted, yet a fruitful outcome was hoped for. The law was finally adopted and received Royal assent, countersigned by as many as three federal ministers (Science, Vice-Premier, Justice) (the absence of the signature of the minister for Social Affairs suggests that the law was not meant as a social welfare, but rather as a general regulation measure, a bit like weights and measures) and published in the Belgian law gazette (*Moniteur Belge*) on 20.04.1994.

With its five articles, the 1994 law largely reproduces the 1945 law and the 1953 bill, be it with regard to structure or content. It defines professionals as “specialised accompanying educators” (*éducateurs-accompagnateurs spécialisés*) (article 1) as being graduates from a specific higher education programme (article 2(1)) and makes the point that these persons have, via their studies, acquired not only a certain knowledge, but also methods, personal development and maturation (article 1) – in short, Social Pedagogy professionalism.

“Under the terms of this law, “specialised accompanying educators” are to be understood as a person, with the degree foreseen in Article 2, who, by implementing specific methods and techniques, furthers the personal development, social maturation and autonomy of the person he⁶⁷ educates. He practises his profession either within an institutional setting or within the framework of the everyday life of the persons concerned.” (Article 1)⁶⁸ [transl. JK]

Already the drafts presented by Mr Charlier in 1989 and 1992 had in fact drawn inspiration from a seminar organised, in Strasbourg on 18.05.1989, by AIEJI and a European umbrella of Social Pedagogy schools and trainings centres named CECFES (*Congrès européen des écoles et des centres de formation d'éducateurs spécialisés*)⁶⁹ (cit.: Davagle, 1999, section 09.03) [transl. JK].

⁶⁷ Note that the French text uses the masculine *il*, although it refers to *la personne*, which is feminine. At the time of drafting the proposal, attention was not paid to the use of gender-neutral language.

⁶⁸ “*Par éducateur-accompagnateur spécialisé, au sens de la présente loi, on entend la personne qui, titulaire du diplôme prévu à l'article 2, favorise, par la mise en oeuvre de méthodes et de techniques spécifiques, le développement personnel, la maturation sociale et l'autonomie des personnes qu'il accompagne ou qu'il éduque. Il exerce sa profession soit au sein d'un établissement ou d'un service soit dans le cadre de vie habituel des personnes concernées.*” (article 1)

⁶⁹ “*Par éducateur spécialisé [...], on entend celui qui, titulaire du diplôme prévu [...], favorise, en collaboration avec d'autres par la mise en œuvre de méthodes et de techniques pédagogiques, psychologiques et sociales, le développement personnel, la maturation sociale et l'autonomie des personnes – jeunes ou adultes – en difficulté, handicapées, inadaptées ou en voie de l'être. Il partage avec elles diverses situations spontanées ou suscitées de la vie quotidienne, soit au sein d'un*

In line with the proposals made in 1984 by the two Belgian professional associations, even the European-level umbrella organisation did not favour the inclusion of the adjective “social” to flag up Social Pedagogy as a social profession. This is analogous to the concept coined by Otto & Lorenz (1998) (although no reference was made to this contribution), a preference confirmed in the most recent AIEJI definitions, such as the following statement from the European Bureau of AIEJI:

“Social educational work has its historical roots in work with children and young people. The profession comprises education and conditions of childhood and adolescence in a broad sense, and in some particular contexts it includes treatment. Today, social educational aid targets disabled children, adolescents and adults as well as adults at particular risk: the mentally disordered, alcohol or drug abusers, homeless people etc. Social educational work is constantly developing with regard to the various forms of measures, target groups, methods etc.” (AIEJI, 2005, p. 5)

The use of the title “specialised accompanying educators” was reserved for holders of the relevant degree, regulated at federal level (*fixé par le Roi*) and conferred by a higher education institution of one of the language communities, or a school accredited and funded by one of them. The law included part-time courses offered to people in employment (*cours de promotion sociale*) and it specifically established equality between the standard Social Pedagogy programmes offered by the French and Flemish communities alike (*enseignement supérieur pédagogique ou social de plein exercice et de type court, section éducateur*). An “orthopedagogy” specialisation was also offered by some Flemish schools and universities (*section orthopédagogie*).

To avoid the new framework encroaching on the prerogatives of the language communities, a consultation mechanism was set up, to be used between the federal authorities, the language communities and all interested parties (article 2(2)). All graduates would automatically qualify for Social Pedagogy careers (article 3), while a scheme for accrediting the work experience of non-graduate colleagues was provided (article 4). Finally, a committee was to assess and validate non-Belgian qualifications (article 5); it would be chaired by a judge (by definition always a federal appointment) and would include representatives of the language communities. It will be seen that great care had been taken to “sweeten the pill” for the language communities and the

établissement ou d'un service, soit dans le cadre du milieu naturel de vie, par une action continue et conjointe avec la personne et avec le milieu”. (Cited: Davagle, 1999, section 09.03)

regions, but the consultation mechanism was never going to be used, nor would the committee on non-Belgian qualifications hold one single meeting: the 1994 law truly remained a “dead letter” (*lettre morte*). Nevertheless, it was greeted wholeheartedly by the francophone Social Pedagogy profession, who saw it as a step forward for the profession, although they were aware that the new law would not solve all their problems⁷⁰ (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000, p. 21).

Not all stakeholders reacted optimistically, seeing this attempt to achieve recognition as an ambition to “defend one’s territory” and “eliminate” competition from other social professions, qualifying this attitude as “corporatist” (Davagle, 1999, section 09.18).

Maybe attacking the Social Pedagogy profession for excluding others from their portion of the job market was a bit premature and a bit over the top, however, for they were not going to enjoy their new-found prestige for very long. Already on 18.10.1996 – eighteen months after the adoption of the 1994 law – the Flemish Government (joint executive of the Flemish Region and the Flemish Community) filed a lawsuit with Belgium’s Court of Arbitration (*Cour d’Arbitrage, Arbitragehof*) with the intention of having the law annulled (*recours en annulation*). The Court of Arbitration was set up to rule in litigation concerning the constitutional powers of the federal, community and regional authorities of Belgium. Similarly, the UK Supreme Court (since 2009) has jurisdiction to determine “devolution disputes” between UK and devolved authorities. Arbitration had previously been provided via the Privy Council (Gibb, 2009), however, so the reform essentially adds visibility to this field of litigation; maybe a necessary arrangement, but also one which could lead to some political friction in the future (Johnston, 2004). This being the case, British lawyers might discover some similarities between the Belgian and British experiences: is Belgium simply four decades further down the road taken by the UK in 1997? Originally a pure devolution dispute court, Belgium’s Court of Arbitration has

⁷⁰ “La nouvelle loi permettra d’être plus à l’aise dans une profession enfin valorisée, même si elle ne résoud pas d’autres problèmes inhérents à son existence. Aujourd’hui, la pratique et le langage du champ social et éducatif évoluent. Le travail en équipes pluridisciplinaires se développe, les termes « travailleurs sociaux », « intervenants sociaux » se répandent. D’aucuns se plaisent à imaginer que la formation de ces travailleurs pourrait comporter un tronc commun et des spécialisations... Ce sera peut-être la prochaine étape de la profession.” (Gaspar & Wéry, 2000, p. 21)

become more similar to its German counterpart, and so, changed its name in 2007 to become the Constitutional Court (*Cour constitutionnelle, Grondwettelijk Hof*).

6.2.6. Solomonic adjudication or Belgian surrealism? The amputated 1994 law

The Social Pedagogy law trial came to involve a considerable amount of written material, all archived on the Court's website (see "Sources"). Memoranda were submitted by the House, the federal government, the government of the Walloon Region and the government of the French Community. The plaintiff claimed the 1994 law was anti-constitutional, being incompatible with the distribution of powers between federal, regional and community authorities as defined by consecutive constitutional reforms since 1980, and the lack of mandate for the federal authorities to regulate education matters. The requirement of a specific higher education qualification (articles 1–2) to practice a particular profession amounted to a usurpation of the power to regulate the education system. The plaintiff also thought the law encroached on the power to regulate the social welfare sector, vested in the language communities (articles 1–5). The government of the Walloon Region and the government of the French Community were sensible to some of these arguments, whereas in Belgium, such matters often lead to confrontation along the Flemish/French fault line; however, a "natural enmity" may also occasionally be found between national and devolved authorities (although francophone Belgians and francophone political parties clearly identify more strongly with Belgian institutions than Flemings and Flemish political parties tend to do).

Unsurprisingly, the House (attacked indirectly) declared the complaint unfounded, stressing that its action, in adopting the law, was motivated by a sincere wish to provide protection and legal certainty to Social Pedagogy professionals. The House wondered how the Court would be able to accommodate the arguments put forward by the plaintiff, as long as the 1993 law on access to the psychologist profession remained in force and was respected by national and devolved authorities alike. This argument is important for two reasons: first, because the profession is protected by a federal law and the self-regulatory professional body (*Commission des Psychologues, Belgische Federatie van Psychologen*) is a federal, bilingual entity managing a registry for all of Belgium; second, because the profession obtained this status much

later than the Social Work profession. Having enacted the law on the title of psychologist as late as 1993 (the year before the 1994 Constitution came into being), why could not the Belgian parliament regulate the Social Pedagogy profession similarly?

The federal government largely supported the argument of the House, but not so the Walloon Region and the French Community: the resulting impression must be that the federal legislative and executive authorities were the main target.

The ruling supported the plaintiff widely, by annulling the most central (and all substantial) prescriptions of the law, including its scope and definition of the profession (article 1) and the federal/community consultation mechanism (article 2(2)). In what might be interpreted variably as judiciary wisdom or Solomonic adjudication (did not Solomon present a solution which would have been workable but totally contrary to the spirit of the subject matter?), the Court *did not* annul the remaining sections, including the requirement of a specific higher education qualification (articles 1–2); the rule that graduates would automatically qualify for relevant posts (articles 3); the scheme for accrediting the work experience of non-graduate colleagues (article 4); or the rules on validation of non-Belgian qualifications (article 5); neither did the Court repeal the law as such, which it could have done. By not annulling the said sections, the Court did not confirm the plaintiff's arguments regarding the communities' power to regulate the education and social welfare sectors, thereby implying that the federal authorities were in a good position to regulate such subject matters. By annulling the prescriptions of scope and definition (article 1), and of the consultation mechanism (article 2(2)) which would have made the implementation of the law bearable to the language communities, however, the Court operated a surgical amputation – Solomonicly or not – and left the law categorically inoperational.

Whether the judges took their decision with the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in mind, seems dubious, and the Court may well have become part of a drama which had very little to do with Social Work and Social Pedagogy and very much with other matters, such as devolution. When the Court was set up in 1983, it had a very limited mandate, essentially linked to “devolution disputes”: unlike Germany's Federal Constitutional Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*), it could hear

cases from citizens and does not decide about fundamental rights, being limited to litigation between state organs (in German: *Organstreitverfahren*). However, this changed over the years, when the Court's jurisdiction was extended to such matters as gender equality, racism or the typically Belgian, constitutionally guaranteed free school choice (*liberté de l'enseignement*). While the Court had to take on new functions, however, it became increasingly involved in political decisions and conflicts (Panier, 2004, p. 301): ironically, this would seem to go directly against the general trend toward ever more decentralised government, as the increasingly solicited Court is federal.

While the plaintiff's argument is clearly devolution-driven, whereby an amputated and unworkable federal law would not seem an unattractive scenario ("washing their hands"), the underlying motifs cannot be known, but may be guessed at. In all parts of the country, failure to grant legal recognition to the Social Pedagogy profession meant that the existing Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy could continue, including discrimination against Social Pedagogy professionals (Davagle, 2000). As an outflow of the judgment, it had become technically and practically impossible to offer the Social Pedagogy profession the same type of recognition and protection which the Social Work profession has been enjoying since 1945 (apparently undisputed by the regions and communities). In what emerges as a "double" or even "triple catch", Social Pedagogy professionalism cannot be protected by law, because:

- those layers of government who hold powers to regulate the labour market (federal *and* regional) may not take measures affecting the education sector (where future professionals obtain their qualification) or the health or social welfare sectors (where graduates would seek to find employment);
- conversely, the authorities in whom powers are constitutionally vested to regulate the health or social welfare sectors (the language communities) may not take measures affecting the labour market; and finally,
- owing to these combined "double catches", only a mechanism regulating the passage from higher education towards the labour market (within the health or social welfare sectors) would be workable, whereas such a mechanism is henceforth anti-constitutional for the reasons set out in the judgment.

The already identified character trait of Solomonic adjudication may be further characterised by adding the dimension of surrealism; it is a commonplace to explain the complexities of Belgian institutions (including life in Belgium and sometimes the functioning of the EU institutions) as an outflow of the well-known Belgian surrealism; the judgment spoken by the Court of Arbitration amputating the 1994 law may be termed both Solomonic and surreal, since it has left no solution open.

The striking agreement between the positions of the Flemish Government, the government of the Walloon Region and the government of the French Community may be explained, as has been attempted above, with reference to a conflict between national and devolved institutions. The same public authorities, who either organise and finance services in the health and social welfare sector, or pay voluntary organisations for doing so, objectively benefit from a situation which allows them to continue recruiting Social Pedagogy graduates, whose competences they know and appreciate. They can offer the Social Pedagogy graduates other employment conditions than their level of education would otherwise warrant (e.g., a *Niveau 2A* post, rather than a *Niveau 1* post), possibly followed by other discriminations (working time, night work pay, etc., recurrent examples in residential care (Davagle, 2000)). All of this in contrasts with the uniform treatment of Social Work professionals. The case study must thus conclude without being able to establish causalities with any positivistic degree of objectivity; yet by asking the Ciceronic *Cui bono?* question (*Pro Milone*, 12.32) (who profits from the crime?), we may at least establish the objective pattern of vested interests in this conflict, with implications that are both relevant and edifying in view of understanding and assessing the case. Social Pedagogy manpower has thereby remained a relatively cheap resource, taking into account the level of education needed to enter such careers; in connection with the empirically recorded Social Work/Social Pedagogy manpower situation (Leroy, et al., 2002, vol. 3, pp. 27, 81–82) this cannot avoid leading to net savings on the staff costs' side of the balance sheet. Maintaining the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in its unequal form is therefore not uninteresting in terms of budgetary implications.

6.3. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in Belgian professional education

6.3.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy perpetuated, and the implications

The Belgian case study has confirmed the relevance of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, as the Social Work profession is clearly treated more favourably than the Social Pedagogy profession. Unlike the British Social Work profession, however, the Belgian one does not seem overtly discontented. For in spite of blatant discriminations in employment, pay and working conditions (Davagle, 2000, pp. 301–320), notwithstanding reliable reports of high incidences of work-related stress with associated symptoms (ibid., pp. 312–313), the Belgian Social Pedagogy profession is not haunted by high drop-out rates. In fact, the average age of professionals has even risen since 1970 (in 2000, 39% were more than 33 years old), either because the job was felt as rewarding or, more cynically, due to lack of alternatives for Social Pedagogy graduates in other sectors (ibid., p. 323). As a French author has remarked in a very similar context, however, retention of older professionals is also an indication that employers are prepared to keep them, which may be seen as generous, given that they are paid higher salaries than their younger colleagues (Dieu, 1994, p. 102; cited: Davagle, 2000, p. 321). On the other hand, in a profession where personality is sometimes more important than professionalism, the “pre-training” (*préformation*) of future professionals may be assumed to lie prior to their entry into higher education (Brichaux, 2001): according to this model, the competences needed to practice as a Social Pedagogy professional would already (largely) have been acquired via life experience before formal Social Pedagogy education could start. As such, Social Pedagogy higher education is an important step, but only a step, in the continuous process of competence acquisition (Brichaux, 2004) and high retention rates (low drop-out rates) would thus be a natural thing, due to the unity of personality and professionalism.

6.3.2. Convergence excluded?

While the material collected for this case study does not show any signs of convergence, it would not be reasonable to exclude some converging trends during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004). From a methodological perspective, it

seems safest to insist that trends running counter to those identified in this case study are a distinct possibility that needs to be considered. Yet in terms of showing the continued relevance of Social Work and Social Pedagogy as discrete paradigms with their own respective systems and structures, the case study has provided a most convincing demonstration.

Would lack of alternatives explain the high retention rates in Belgian Social Pedagogy professionals? This bitter-sweet remark by Davagle should not remain unchallenged, as a European, intra-Social Work comparison with the UK shows. If it is true that the Social Work profession has long had a bad name (Harlow, 2004), then the high drop-out rates are thought-provoking: could it really be that all these professionals end up as supermarket cashiers? One study found that “the expected working life” of a British Social Work professional to be just eight years, compared with 25 for doctors, 15 for nurses, 28 years for pharmacists and – highly intriguingly – 13 years for social care workers (Curtis, Moriarty & Netten, 2010), who are placed on lower rungs of the ladder, within the same services as their Social Work colleagues. In other words, Belgian Social Work and Social Pedagogy professions, as well as British medical, nursing and pharmaceutical professionals felt happy enough to stay in their professions, and even British social care workers seemed to be reasonably content. Compared with all these other groups (two Belgian, four British), British Social Work professionals were markedly prone to leaving their profession.

While the multiple and diverse objectives and formulations of the different bills and laws discussed in this chapter may handicap a synoptic comparison – for this reason, they were deliberately *not* compared and analysed article by article: instead, the main points were extracted and compared with each other – a distinction may be made between *recognition* (taking a measure simply to recognise the profession but without further measures connected to it), *registration* (in the style of the British Social Work Registration scheme set up under the Care Standards Act 2000, or the Belgian 1993 psychologist law) and *restriction* (amounting to systematically excluding other professions from specific positions. With regard to this trio, the Belgian case study offers numerous examples of attempts to grant recognition, but few examples where recognition actually became reality (the 1945 Social Work law, the defeated 1994 Social Pedagogy law and the successful 1993 psychologist law). In comparison herewith, registration or restriction have become reality for the two other professions

(Social Work, psychologists) but never was an option for the Social Pedagogy profession, not even when the 1994 law seemed safely achieved, whereby the automatic recognition mechanism implied in the case of the Social Work profession does not need a registration system. In the case of Social Pedagogy, recognition could still be an objective, but under the current constitutional framework it is not an option; and given the general trend in Belgium's recurrent constitutional reforms, it is difficult to imagine that the next version of the Belgian Constitution would change this in favour of the Social Pedagogy profession, except if such regulation were to become the sole prerogative of the regions and/or the language communities.

6.4. Interim conclusions: recognition, registration or restriction?

Fifteen legislative proposals ranging from the 1950s to the 1990s (a period where European welfare states underwent enormous changes), with only one bill adopted and then annulled by court order: such is the improbable history of the francophone Social Pedagogy profession's fight for recognition of Social Pedagogy professionalism in Belgium. Having a law on paper only is frustrating, as Philippe Charlier rightly pointed out in a speech to the Parliament of the French Community in 2001, for "it is not good for a federal law to remain unenforceable or unenforced" (transl. JK). Apart from this frustrating anomaly, however, the case study allows us to draw a number of conclusions, leading to some reflections on the use of recognition, registration and restriction.

First, with regards to the relevance of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy: The material presented from Belgium supports the assumption that the dichotomy is constitutive for the European social professions (Kornbeck, 2008, 2009a). The material may not provide proof in any positivistic sense, yet the parallels between countries are interesting, not least as far as labour market realities are concerned. The material provides another example of a national context where the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has not lost its relevance: quite the contrary. As such, the Belgian case study contrasts with Germany and supports the idea that a scholarly interest in the dichotomy is justified. That the Danish social pedagogues should recently have decided to work politically for a separate Social Pedagogy BA

programme again (in opposition to staying within the framework of the merged pedagogy programme of 1992) (Sonne, 2008a, 2008b), is as significant as the fact that they opted out of IFSW and into AIEJI (Engberg 2010).

Second, as regards the relevance of the project of achieving recognition of Social Pedagogy professionalism via a law supporting the relevant higher education qualification and/or restricting access to practice: The case study shows the relevance of this approach, which must have been realised by many Flemish MPs in the federal parliament: indeed, one of the more surprising things about the case study is the fact that the bill was not jeopardised there, which it could quite easily have been. As such, the bill must have convinced many Flemish MPs. The reasons for the Flemish Government challenging the law with legal means needs to be understood better, as it can be assumed that the decision to take legal action is always based on some sort of a cost–benefit analysis. It may be argued that the absence of legal recognition does not prevent Social Pedagogy from taking up a whole range of jobs, just as a quasi-monopoly on psychology posts seems to have emerged even before the 1993 law granted exclusivity to psychology graduates (Davagle, 1999, section 09.18); yet this does not change the fact that those aspects of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy which discriminate against Social Pedagogy professionals may continue due to the annulment of the 1994 law.

Third, with reference to the benefits of a recognition, registration or restriction scheme: That recognition of professionalism is more than mere vanity, is a hypothesis which will deserves further examination. The case of the British Social Work profession (which experienced bad, even hostile news coverage for a very long period following the Thatcher reforms) had only recently started to recover. It was in the 2000s that change came about, and this change seems to be linked to the introduction of a three-year honours degree, as well as a “registration” system effectively amounting to restricted access to the profession. The introduction of a registry system seems to have boosted interest in joining the profession.

As late as 2004, a rather convincing academic paper was published which demonstrated how the decline of job satisfaction and prestige had led to steadily sinking admissions and recruitments: even women, the traditional backbone of the Social Work profession, were no longer interested (Harlow, 2004). Academic papers are known to have a rather long production cycle and may thus become overtaken by

reality even before they are printed; yet even so, the contrast was stark when, two months after this, new General Social Care Council (GSCC) figures were published which painted a picture of the profession which seemed diametrically opposed to that presented by Harlow. Admissions to the Social Work higher education programme were booming, indeed they were up 33% compared with 2003 and showed a 12% increase throughout 2004 (GSCC, 2004).

That this system was later exposed to criticism, as some GSCC proceedings led to the exclusion of some professionals from the registry (Barnes, 2009), is understandable; that frustrations unleashed as GSCC found it fit to dismiss its own chief executive (Lombard, 2009), the top censor having thus been censured, is all too human. These developments sparked highly critical assessments by journalists (McGregor, 2010a, 2010b) and academics (McLaughlin, 2007, 2010); yet these occurrences should not obscure the basic fact that the new system managed to increase recruitment.

Part C

Chapter 7. Findings

7.1. Introduction

As the first and most substantial chapter within Part C, Chapter 7 draws together the findings of the investigation and revisits them critically, including as part of a reassessment of RQ1 *and* RQ2. This will allow inferences to be made regarding the “Europeanisation” question contained in the thesis title. This exercise will lay the ground for Chapter 8, the aim of which is to inform current British and English debates on Social Pedagogy, its relationship with Social Work and the desirability and feasibility of establishing Social Pedagogy programmes in higher education and/or a Social Pedagogy profession by drawing on models from other European countries.

Thus, before the more specific (and more analytical) questions can be answered, the factual contributions of the thesis will be summarised. Which new knowledge has the thesis unearthed and how does it relate to existing knowledge? How does this new knowledge answer the research questions (RQs)? Specifically, the conclusions from the literature review and implications for the investigation [§2.7] ask whether the picture of Social Work and Social Pedagogy found in the reviewed literature can be said to re-emerge in the material examined as part of the investigation; for while the relevance of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy (RQ1) and the plausibility of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence is equally undeniable (RQ2), there may be alternatives to the way they have been presented hitherto. The investigation also set out to ask whether rivalling theories could be identified as compared to the six German theorems. Finally, it was the aim to show whether the material assessed can fill knowledge gaps in general. To answer these questions, however, it will be necessary to revert to the original research questions and thence to answer the question of Europeanisation.

7.2. Main findings from each case study

7.2.1. Germany

The Germany case study introduced the concepts of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence, as announced earlier [§1.1.4]. It identified these concepts as essentially German, being a reflection of

previous German realities (dichotomy) as well as those of the last four decades [§4.2; Table 4.1].

A double dichotomy (university/*Fachhochschule*) soon became a defining trait of German professional education, with the result that issues of relative status and power in the two sectors of higher education came to occupy Social Work/Social Pedagogy authors to a very high extent. The five or six different theorems competing over the right to explain the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation, introduced earlier [§1.2.3], emerged in this context. From its nineteenth century philosophical origins, university-based Social Pedagogy developed in a more empirical direction, as part of the “realistic turn” of the 1960s [§4.3.2]. From its initially more inferior position within the higher education hierarchy, a branch of Social Work launched its *Sozialarbeitswissenschaft* movement, calling for a “Social Work science” to be constituted with direct linkages to professional practice, a claim for expertise while at the same time taking sides in favour of the convergence theorem [§4.3.2].

Having known a period with strong imports of US models, in the aftermath of World War II [§4.2.1], Social Work was naturally more ready to embrace the IFSW-sponsored model of Social Work (and, hence, of professional education). (Frustrations arising from double dichotomy may be assumed to have done the rest.) Professional education policy making only gradually absorbed the ideas carried by these academic debates, for in 1974 and 1989, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy was still a manifest fact of life, yet by 1996 the trend was clear, and in 2004 it had been confirmed and largely completed: the same trend can be observed, in principle, in the university [Table 4.2] and FH sectors [Table 4.3]. The convergence paradigm finally won the battle, at least at the discursive level, with the adoption of the RPO in 2001 [§4.3.5], and stakeholder reactions submitted in 1999 confirm that it remained, to the very last, an issue that reproduced existing splits, including the one between states within and without Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy [Table 4.3].

After the adoption of the RPO, ironically enough, this victory of the SAW movement was somehow overshadowed by developments at EU level, in the shape of the Bologna Process [§4.3.6]. Thus, while the developments described cannot be attributed to Europeanisation, what replaced them was partly part of a Europeanising trend (although Germany’s way of implementing the Bologna measures differed in

various ways from what the other three countries did). In the end, Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy was not entirely defeated but did retain some limited validity [§4.4], which prompted me to call upon German colleagues to examine evidence of dichotomy from other EU countries, as a basis for a reassessment of German convergence (Kornbeck, 2009a).

There were few or no signs that such a process had started, yet it seemed obvious to me that a European perspective would allow for a more unbiased assessment than had hitherto been made, when domestic or Anglo-American examples and evidence had been the sole sources of inspiration. The developments shown in the case study were not due to Europeanisation, but, to a certain extent, the trends replacing them were (even though the Bologna measures have been implemented rather differently in Germany).

7.2.2. Denmark

The Germany case study introduced, at the outset, a similar model of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, where professional education started earlier for Social Pedagogy than for Social Work, but without the university links shown in Germany, and where Social Work courses had a high level of formal recognition from the beginning. Although a small profession, Social Work was able to maintain its own higher education programme, which Social Pedagogy was not, having had to accept a merger with programmes for two other, rather different, professions [§5.2.1].

In Denmark, unlike in Germany, labour market recognition was achieved quite easily, while academic recognition followed late or not at all. Both Social Work and Social Pedagogy were close to other professions, and talks of mergers emerged, but were avoided [§5.2.2]. Talks of a HE merger between Social Pedagogy and teacher training could also be avoided, but Social Pedagogy came under some media pressure towards the end of 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) [§5.2.4]. The invisibility of Social Pedagogy in academic discourses contrasts with the high Social Pedagogy visibility in German publications. (While Social Work could live very well without it, due to its high status, it would have been helpful to Social Pedagogy.) This deficit, however,

reflects a lack of interest in Social Pedagogy at the level of Danish theoretical pedagogy, and thus influencing it was outside the reach of Social Pedagogy [§5.2.5].

As a result, official documents of various sorts kept referring to very narrowly defined professional roles, right until the 1992 merger when, suddenly, the generic pedagogue became the lead concept [§5.2.6]. Similarly, the few theoretical models to be found in Danish academic literature provide a rather diffuse picture: they do not allow the identification of a universally accepted Social Pedagogy doctrine.

From these findings, it will be seen that Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy remained exceptionally stable in Denmark over decades, and certainly throughout the Reference Period. The proverbial exception to confirm the rule was the unsuccessful attempt to achieve a Social Work/Social Pedagogy trade union merger, made by SFU mainly in the 1980s [§5.3.1]. Seen in retrospect, the SFU experiment remained insignificant, and the relevance of dichotomy was further underscored in 2010 (after the Reference Period), when the Social Pedagogy trade union, SL, decided to leave IFSW and join AIEJI [§5.3.3]. Consequently, in 2004 the dichotomy was at least as relevant as it had been in 1989 [§5.4.2]: neither convergence, nor Europeanisation can be confirmed on the basis of this material.

7.2.3. Belgium

The Belgium case study shows another example of enduring Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, although Belgian federalism can distract attention from this aspect of the material examined. As in Denmark, a small, exclusive Social Work profession has largely had its expert role acknowledged by society, while a big, heterogeneous Social Pedagogy profession has not [§6.2.1]. The Social Work professional title was recognised by law as early as 1945 [§6.2.2], but similar results could not be achieved for the Social Pedagogy profession.

A long range of bills was introduced into the legislatures of Belgium and its linguistic communities, during the years 1953–1994, yet they remained unsuccessful [§6.2.3–4]. Surprisingly, the Charlier law of 1994 was finally adopted, after great care had been taken to reconcile diverging points of view north and south of the linguistic border.

The draft had also been discussed with the profession and was designed to match AIEJI guidance [§6.2.5]. However, legal action was taken to have the law repealed as violating the constitutionally defined division of labour between the federal, regional and community levels of government [§6.2.5].

Two Flemish authors have pointed to a more relaxed relationship between the professions in the French, as opposed to the Flemish Community (Coussée & Verschelden, 2011, p. 114), yet no direct influence of competing academic or professional paradigmatic orientations were found in the material examined. Nevertheless, apart from motivations situated outside the Social Work/Social Pedagogy theme (over-arching political priorities related to Belgium's federal structure), the continued absence of formal recognition for the Social Pedagogy profession meant that there was no imperative for them to be remunerated on a specific pay scale. Nevertheless, staff retention was *not* a serious problem [§6.3.1–2].

Significantly, the Belgium case study pointed to the need for HE and labour market regulation to match each other [§6.4]. Having one without the other does not seem to make much sense, yet this was precisely the result of the judgment pronounced regarding the challenged Charlier law. The Belgium case study thus suggests the relevance of whether or not labour market access is restricted or not, an issue that was to become crucial in English professional education and professional politics. It shows no signs of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence or Europeanisation.

Having summarised the main factual points of the three case studies, the purpose of the subsequent section is to establish the extent to which the two research questions stated at the beginning of the thesis [§1] may be said to have been answered.

7.3. RQ1: Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in the three case studies?

7.3.1. Germany: confirmed Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence

Affirming that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence was successful in Germany is not a matter of adhering or not to this school of thought. Despite the continued existence of Social Pedagogy, in some form, within university degree programmes

(and even there, the effects of the Bologna Process have led to a watering down of Social Pedagogy), the year 2001 marks a crucial victory, within professional education, for the “Science of Social Work” (*Sozialarbeitswissenschaft*) movement, and hence for those who had believed (some of them for decades) in Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence as something near to a historical necessity.

In Germany, Social Pedagogy gradually merged with Social Work at Fachhochschule level to the extent that most students ended up studying on combined programmes and that the majority of states (*Länder*) would give a degree transcript with the “slash notion” of *Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik* printed on it. By 2001, the process was completed when the new Federal Framework Regulation – a rather non-committal document adopted by the Rectors’ Conference for higher education institutions – referred only to *Soziale Arbeit* and not to *Sozialarbeit* and *Sozialpädagogik*, respectively, as distinct disciplines or professions (KMK, 2001).

Around 2005, discussions were going on at some universities about the survival chances of Social Pedagogy within the university degree programmes, where chairs and departmental sub-units specialising in Social Pedagogy existed, but these risked completely losing visibility within the new, post-Bologna bachelor and masters’ degrees, possibly with EZ as the sole common denominator. At the time of writing (early 2012), it was still premature to gauge the nature or direction of this possible new trend, but the descent of Social Pedagogy was a fact of life, accompanied by a certain academic discourse of “doom and gloom” (Reyer, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). While by 2004–2005, England presented the prospect of Social Work and Social Pedagogy coexisting, the German accomplished scenario was one of a relatively friendly merger, with signs of a hostile takeover. The voluminous literature on the nature and scholarliness of Social Work testifies to permanent rivalries about leadership and prestige in the academia – bizarrely matched by a lack of interest among recruiting agencies in the Social Work/Social Pedagogy distinction. In any case, the future of Social Pedagogy as an autonomous discipline was not bright. “Education as help in addressing the problems of life” (*Erziehung als Lebenshilfe*), as formulated by the Austrian Social Pedagogy theoretician Wolfgang Brezinka (1957), had begun to achieve validity and command respect as a paradigm, not only within a narrowly limited academic community, but indeed among policy makers. Whether the

developments described in this chapter will lead to the establishment of a profession as substantial as that of Social Work, could not be judged by the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) (nor at the time of finishing the thesis), yet an “emerging paradigm” (Coussée, et al., 2010; Higham, 2001) had become a reality, and the British appreciation shown to Social Pedagogy contrasted with the relative decline of Social Pedagogy in Germany, the decline and slow but only partial renewal in Denmark and the continued existence as a less favoured discipline and profession (as opposed to that of Social Work) in French-speaking Belgium.

While in today’s Germany it is not uncommon to claim that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is near to dead – as Social Pedagogy “seems no longer a firmly established academic discipline and as a profession it has no strong identity” (Coussée & Verschelden, 2011, p. 104) and should not guide *professional education* design or delivery – only three decades ago it was a fact of life. As late as in 1977, a chapter in an authoritative textbook and “study guide” (Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977), indicated that official labour market statistics distinguished between professionals employed within a “social care segment” (*sozialpflegerischer Bereich*) and those employed within a “social pedagogical segment” (*sozialpädagogischer Bereich*) (Stooss & Otto, 1977). The data collected in 1961, 1970 and 1973 clearly corresponded with the two main types Social Work and Social Pedagogy as defined in this investigation, and much like the current (2008) situation in Scandinavia and in Belgium, three-quarters of the Social Work professionals (defined by the type of their higher education qualification) were in public or parastatal employment, while a similar proportion of their Social Pedagogy colleagues were also in public or semi-public employment but spread over a much larger field of practice (ibid., p. 185). The authors found the Social Pedagogy profession to be too diverse for one qualification profile and wondered whether a stronger link between HE and professional profiles could not be established, which they thought would contribute to the professionalisation of Social Pedagogy (ibid., p. 191). When their textbook was published, the dichotomy was already being questioned by some academic authors [§4.3.3], but Pfaffenberger’s “slash notion” (*Sozialarbeit/Sozialpädagogik*) could still be regarded as covering the main consensus. The parallel existence of two traditions was still reflected in the realities of the labour market and the existence of two types of higher education programmes (with no specific study routes like those introduced in the 1990s and

onwards) was probably still widely accepted, yet the generic umbrella term *Sozialwesen* was already being used as a reference to the wider field of professional practice (Kreutz & Landwehr, 1977). Both the suppression of references to Social Pedagogy, and the recommendation to abolish the two-phase system (which was still reality in NRW when I visited Bielefeld in 2004), have been regretted by some FH-based academics (Gerspach, 2002).

Those who might see Social Pedagogy as a thing of the past are wrong. *Internationally*, German Social Pedagogy has been successfully exported to a number of other countries, and the purported cultural determinism (Smith, 1999) has not prevented it from being adopted in countries with such diverse cultural, social, political and intellectual traditions as Denmark (Erlandsen & Kornbeck, 2004), Finland (Gustavsson, et al., 2003; Hämäläinen, 2003), Poland (Marynowicz-Hetka, 2007) or Spain (Quintana Cabanas, 1998; Úcar, 2011). While French books on *education spécialisée* only seem to quote francophone and anglophone literature (e.g., Capul & Lemay, 2008), it is quite interesting to find that just one chapter of a major Spanish textbook, with a bibliography of merely two pages, refers to Diesterweg, Kerschensteiner, Kronen, Natorp (two publications) and Pestalozzi (Quintana Cabanas, 1998). England has discovered Social Pedagogy (Kornbeck, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c) and provides evidence of the continued attractiveness of this concept which is over 160 years old.

Domestically, Social Pedagogy does not seem to be dead either. Social Work roles are in Germany increasingly specialised and hopes of increased professional recognition and prestige are connected with the “specialist Social Work” (*Fachsozialarbeit*) status (Gödecker-Geenen, 2003). Schools are increasingly using members of the social professions and finding it impossible to separate their roles of instruction and (social) education (Greesen, 2005), but while “school social work” may be interpreted in a Social Work perspective (following an Anglo-American tradition) as a Social Work role, it may also (in line with a Continental tradition) be interpreted as a Social Pedagogy role. If this closes the circle back to Karl Mager, then Social Pedagogy has once more proven its *raison d’être*. This is in fact largely what happened, first in Bavaria and later (although to a lesser extent) in other German states. It is also similar to what happened in the UK (see QAA, 2000) and Denmark with the creation of new,

more task-centred Social Work curricula, while the Belgian curriculum, on the contrary, remained rooted in segments of knowledge from numerous mother disciplines. The lamentations of German academic authors over their teaching conditions do in fact obscure the fact that the development there has not been particularly unfavourable and in the early years of the new millennium, academic job advertisements regularly required candidates to demonstrate professional qualifications and years of practice experience, in addition to a PhD and a list of academic publications.

In sum, the situation may not have been worse in Germany than in Belgium or Denmark, and in some ways it may even have been rather better. The domination of German FH courses has been discussed earlier, while the role of law in the Danish Social Work curriculum has been identified [§4.3.2].

7.3.2. Denmark and Belgium: Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy largely unaltered

Belgium and Denmark provide scenarios of another type, almost the opposite of Germany. While the distinction between Social Work and Social Pedagogy had been maintained throughout and showed no signs of permeability, nor of a redefinition of identities or roles, it would be wrong to speak of mutual respect. Rather, a traditionally privileged position of Social Work and a lower status of Social Pedagogy (in stark contrast with the German situation, where Social Pedagogy had traditionally held the exclusive right to be represented at university level) was perpetuated and confirmed at regular intervals, as the repeated failure of the Belgian profession to achieve legal recognition demonstrates.

While Social Pedagogy in Belgium seemed largely to preserve its identities and roles, despite being close to teacher education (as in Denmark), this proximity became rather dangerous to the Danish discipline and profession, as the attempts in 2002–2004 to merge the professional bachelor programmes for teachers and pedagogues show (Kornbeck, 2004a). Thus, the trend in Belgium and Denmark was not one of ascent or descent, being a rather stable one, but indeed one of protracted inequalities.

Their policy making does not seem to have been informed by data collection from other European countries.

7.4. RQ2: Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in the three case studies?

7.4.1. Why did Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence happen in Germany?

One of the most striking findings of the thesis is the fact that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence became so largely accepted in Germany (with Switzerland, the other home of Social Pedagogy) and that the Anglo-American “Social Work-only” model should be so readily embraced. Given the critical appreciation of Social Work in Britain since the 1980s (a more or less permanent crisis of legitimacy?), the apparent German equation between professionalisation and alignment with Anglo-American model may come as a surprise. As we have seen [§4.2.1], Social Pedagogy had, however, during the post-war years, been identified as potentially problematic and conducive to fascist-like patterns of behaviour and policy.

On the basis of this observation (which does not in any way imply acceptance of the verdict then made over Social Pedagogy), it may be postulated that Social Pedagogy was discredited in West Germany, while Social Work was associated with the Anglo-American world and therefore perceived as progressive. Significantly, however, this did *not* happen in the GDR where the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy remained intact until 1990 (Kornbeck, 2012b). In other words, German Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence was not merely a German *Sonderweg* (cf., Kocka, 1998), but indeed a West German *Sonderweg* (Kornbeck, 2012b); that it was successfully introduced in the East after 1990 is in itself insignificant, as this happened because of developments located outside of Social Work and Social Pedagogy education programmes. It is not possible to enter into a more detailed discussion of these issues in this context – not least because it would necessitate a comprehensive review of *Sonderweg* scholarship (whether or not the Nazi era confirms something peculiar about German culture in a wide historical perspective). For the purpose of this investigation, however, it seems sufficient to conclude that the German material does not in any way seem to confirm that Europeanisation has been

the driving force of the changes observed. The successful convergence of social work and social pedagogy appear to draw on a particularly (West) German understanding of professional ideals, drawing specifically on Anglo-Saxon models. The discovery of social pedagogy in the UK does not appear to have influenced German debates on professional education.

7.4.2. Why did Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence not occur in Denmark and Belgium?

The observer of these phenomena may rightly wonder why Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence did not occur in Denmark and Belgium while it did in Germany. The case studies have certainly demonstrated that no big enthusiasm can be found very easily in the material examined. Also, it may be assumed that labour market organisation (less effective in Germany) gave recognition and an identity to the Social Work and Social Pedagogy profession in parallel, so that even for a relatively marginalised Social Pedagogy profession, there was still no strong drive to seek a merger with Social Work. The Danish case study has let a relatively self-confident profession emerge, with enough own structures (and high membership) to be in no desperate need of boosting its profile by converging with Social Work. The Belgian case study has shown a somewhat less satisfactory situation, from the Social Pedagogy perspective, given the asymmetry of Social Work being recognised by law with Social Pedagogy being unable to achieve the same goal. Nevertheless, the case study has also shown that staff retention was not a major problem, so it may be assumed that Social Pedagogy was, after all, not an overwhelmingly unattractive profession.

The developments proper to Germany, as set out above [§7.4.1] are truly *sui generis* and do not have any parallels in Denmark or Belgium. Not only were the immediate post-war years less stressful and the 1950s less dynamic than in West Germany, but the 1960s did not see a youth movement as seriously marked by disillusionment with their parent generation as in West Germany, nor was there a parallel to the West German “Auschwitz trials”. Belgium in particular lacked an equivalent to the almost universal Western pattern of “make love not war” protests, with Flemish students engaging instead in mass demonstrations and intimidations aiming solely at achieving

(albeit without physical violence) the ethno-linguistic purge of the university and city of Leuven.

The *kind of discourse (genre)* which carried Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in West Germany and, after 1990, in reunified Germany, also lacked obvious equivalents in Denmark or Belgium. The German discourse was largely (if not essentially) carried by academic writers and, as such, depended on extensive publications channels (books, journals) which hardly existed in Denmark or Belgium. The German university and, *mutatis mutandis*, the German *Fachhochschule*, perpetuated its role as a driver of societal change, one which cannot be easily detected in either Denmark or Belgium.

Danish professional education (just like its equivalents in Belgium, or the Netherlands and France) had accepted an existence firmly outside of the research-led higher education sector of the universities. Only very recently (partly but not entirely linked to Bologna-driven processes) was this role reviewed, including new staffing policies. The very strong university/polytechnic split would appear not just to be the banal result of administrative arrangements. Indeed, the training of teachers, pedagogues and other semi-professions followed in the path of Denmark's old village teacher profession, traditionally trained in provincial colleges and following the older tradition of the Lutheran parish clerks (*degne*) (future teachers were in fact often trained by theology graduates) (Krejsler, et al., 2004), auxiliary clerics with very little formal education, who used to teach in village schools. By comparison, teachers of the three-year secondary schools, just like the Lutheran pastors, medical doctors and lawyers, had always been required to hold a university degree.

In the eighteenth century, however, the University of Copenhagen had almost exclusively churned out priests (Thomsen, 1975, vol. I, pp. 77–78), so that the advent of Humboldt's reform ideas in the early nineteenth century was not greeted very enthusiastically (Fibæk Laursen, 2004). Conversely, before Humboldt was allowed to unfold his reforms in Prussia, the "German universities, which had a bias for the humanities, were not regarded as the best places to encourage very technical matters," (Watson, 2010, p. 168) and the princes sought to establish technical colleges – precursors of today's FHs – instead. But – and this seems to constitute a potential challenge to English pragmatism – when Humboldt's reforms were implemented, "the

science began to assimilate the concepts of philological and historical scholarship” (ibid., p. 234), thereby profiting from the achievements of the humanities, and “younger scientists began to counterargue that the sciences, no less than the humanities, trained the intellect” (ibid., p. 235). Yet this did not prevent a flourishing higher education sector located outside of the universities to develop.

Far from being an imposed necessity, this anti-intellectual ethos was confirmed as a pedagogical and political position, an ideology, an attitude and a way of life, when, in the mid-nineteenth century, the pastor, psalmist, educationist and politician, N.F.S. Grundtvig, shaped the typically Danish mainstream conception of education. Grundtvig’s main opponent was the internationally respected philologist, Johan Nicolai Madvig, professor of classics, university rector and education minister. Far from being an ivory tower intellectual, Madvig believed in the practical relevance of higher learning, but also wanted the university to take a role in societal change similar to the one which it had (and continued to have) in Germany. “In the fight over Denmark’s soul, Madvig lost to Grundtvig in the long run” (Eckhardt Larsen, 2008, p. 40), and Grundtvig’s model became dominant for almost 150 years. The implications for the locus of professional education are obvious. Anti-intellectualism has, however, also been identified as inherent in British Social Work professional education (Jones, 1996); in the Danish context Social Work professional education provided outside of universities has been characterised as “ideological” (Rosendal Jensen, 2010) rather than academic.

7.4.3. Not all reforms are deliberate, rational or systematic

Efforts have been made to offer explanations as to why an otherwise stable Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, in Germany, came to be challenged so decisively by the convergence theorem. Possible explanations were offered as to why this did not (yet) happen in Denmark and Belgium. Plausible as they are, these rational explanations nevertheless fall short of recognising the often coincidental and haphazard nature of reforms. What may in retrospect appear as deliberate and systematic, may actually have emerged in a more improvised and unsystematic fashion. This applies equally to the global re-education of West Germany and to professional education reforms: *even* when natural or man-made disasters leave

unique opportunities to set up entirely different systems of social organisation, such opportunities are regularly ruled out in favour of conventional wisdom. While the Jeffersonian “grid” could be applied to the surveying of all US land west of the Ohio river (because surveyors preceded legal landowners), the application of the grid to inner-city street layouts (such as that of New York City) had been discredited by the time the 1906 earthquake hit San Francisco. After the earthquake and the blaze, the authorities had a unique opportunity to lay out streets in a way which would have been more in keeping with the hilly landscape: instead, the exact same grid was kept which had been laid out hastily at the time of the gold rush (Linklater, 2002, p. 281).

Similarly, in West Germany after World War II, the degree of destruction in the cities was overwhelming, and urban planners were contemplating the demolition of centuries-old cities and their transformation to greenfield settlements. That the plans were not carried out, owes much to the fact that the subterranean infrastructure (water pipes, gas pipes, electrical and telephone cables, underground railways) was nearly as intact as the overground infrastructure was non-existent and

“ran alongside the streets; this is why Munich is not situated at Lake Starnberg today, and why Hannover is still on the River Leine.”
(Leick, Schreiber & Stoldt, 2010, p. 158) (transl. JK)

It may be equally assumed that Social Work, Social Pedagogy and professional education have continued carrying much baggage along, notwithstanding various reforms.

Another parallel can be drawn with the aftermath of the Great Fire of London, where complex property issues prevented a more radical shift in street layout. While many streets were actually widened and new houses had to be built in more fire-proof materials (Gray [1978] 1989, pp. 187–188), considering the amount of destruction brought about by the fire, an opportunity was missed to carry out more radical schemes: reforms tend to be haphazard, not systematic, and tend to incorporate more of the pre-existing concepts than reformers would like to be aware of.

7.5. Europeanisation?

The “Europeanisation question” has been introduced earlier [§1.3], and it was emphasised that Europeanisation is not simply equal to convergence in the sense known from sociological convergence theories [§1.3.4]. In fact, the concept may cover various realities, depending on the context within which it is being used. Out of a very rich literature on Europeanisation,⁷¹ it is simply not possible to distil a single concept of universal acceptance. As a common denominator (Kornbeck, 2009c), it may be submitted that Europeanisation represents processes where countries involved in developments taking place, or at least initiated, at the European level experience change of some kind, this change being attributable to the said “European” developments, including certain “European” drivers, although these may not be easily identifiable, centralised actors. If Europeanisation can mean different things, however, for the purpose of verifying whether the material presented in the case studies indicates Europeanisation, the concept needs to be defined more narrowly.

Some researchers may wish to see signs of Europeanisation in advances made in “soft”⁷² policy areas.⁷³ The question remains, however, which are the drivers and who are the actors, and EU institutions are not always as powerful or pro-active as the press, national political (and academic) elites and the public generally assume. Due to

⁷¹ A simple search for “Europeanisation” in the European Commission’s on-line library catalogue, ECLAS, will illustrate this point (<http://ec.europa.eu/eclas/F>). “Europeanisation” has become so popular as a generic descriptor that it captures a large volume of otherwise heterogeneous literature. The diversity is so great, in terms of subject matter, disciplinary affiliation as well as theoretical orientation that the identification of specific clusters would necessitate a separate investigation.

⁷² For a discussion of the distinction between “hard law” (based on legally binding rules and formal mechanisms) and “soft law” (based on formal or informal texts and mechanisms, but never legally binding and essentially functioning thanks to a *bona fide* principle, see Kornbeck (2006b) (sport as a “soft law” competence). For a discussion of how a “hard law” competence in one field may be used to take initiative in another field, whereby the latter is only covered by a “soft law competence”, see Kornbeck (2010a) (possibility of banning trade in illicit doping substances under criminal law harmonisation competence, in order to further a sport-policy priority).

⁷³ The open method of co-ordination (OMC) represents a rather decentralised mechanism, where benchmarks are decided by Member States although a central secretariat function is essential. Although the OMC may be portrayed, empirically, as a mechanism of Europeanisation of domestic social policy (Armstrong, 2010), it is also a method with a limited clout. Mutual learning and financial incentives may take the place of legal obligations as normative drivers of change (Heidenreich & Bischoff, 2008). The peer review programme of the European Employment Strategy is another such example of mutual learning, but empirical research has pointed to sizeable inconsistencies between the purportedly universal character of the exercise and the diversity practised by the participating Member States (Lefresne, 2006). Yet soft policy-making needs to be approached with caution, as the diversity of outcomes challenges the assumption of Europeanisation. In relation to professional education, the Bologna process has produced some scholarship, including very critical contributions in the field of professional education (see Steinmetz, et al., 2004), yet the objective truth remains that the Bologna Declaration is not legally binding, and that the process is not as unifying as one might assume at first sight (Kornbeck, 2002).

the principle of conferral (see Article 2 TFEU), binding legal measures are only possible in areas specifically and explicitly designated as such in the Treaty, yet limitations are not only of a legal-dogmatic nature; very limited resources in the central bureaucracy greatly limit the real possibilities for action by “an exceptionally small bureaucracy” (Schendelen, 2006, p. 66).

Against the backdrop of these partly contradictory realities, it must be stressed that what appears as contradictory may only be partly so in reality; or at least we may be facing an antinomy rather than a paradox or a dilemma, whereby the antinomy denotes a situation consisting of opposite elements constituting a balanced entity (for an application of the concept of antinomies to pedagogy, see Oettingen, 2006). If the focus is placed on what could be called “social pedagogy borrowing”, thereby drawing on Saddler’s century-old concept of “educational borrowing” (Saddler, 1900; Winther-Jensen, 2011), the question of who holds regulatory powers diminishes in importance. With reference to Erlandsen & Kornbeck’s (2004) case study on how social pedagogy was borrowed, in around 1900, from Germany to Denmark, Winther-Jensen notes:

“Its origin in German thinking gradually faded away in the darkness of history. On the one hand export of the German concept to Denmark might be called a success. On the other hand it turned out – in the hand of the practitioners – as something different from German *Sozialpädagogik*. Even today where Germany and Denmark belong to a group of European countries in which *socialrådgivning* (social work) and *socialpædagogik* (social pedagogy) are contrasted, the difference between the two countries manifests itself in the fact that the two fields in Germany tend to integrate while in Denmark they apparently are separating.” (Winther-Jensen, 2011, p. 61)

If the heuristic interest lies, not with who ordered a rapprochement (although this may in itself be interesting, see England’s Social Pedagogy agenda, which displays European trends albeit based on a bilateral learning model), the fact that learning actually took place may reveal more than discussions of which entity of government (EU, national, subnational, etc.) held – and wielded – power to control the curriculum, including to open it up towards impulses coming from other Member States. Thus, it may be possible to choose an interpretation of Europeanisation which avoids the shortcomings of textbook legal analysis as well as blue-eyed “anything goes” interpretations of European regulatory powers.

7.6. Wider perspectives

7.6.1. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy: Social Pedagogy is dead, long live Social Pedagogy?

Although it seems difficult to assess in simple, unequivocal terms the main lessons of the three case studies (especially when lessons are to be drawn for the benefit of British debates), the single most important result may be described as an affirmation of the continued relevance of the Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. While the three case studies provide indications of rather dissimilar trends, as a common denominator, this continued relevance may be extrapolated, with implications for further examinations of the convergence theorem in German Social Work/Social Pedagogy literature. Although it may not be advisable to make too-triumphant statements vindicating the Social Pedagogy paradigm, it may nevertheless be permissible to paraphrase the English constitutional adage: “Social Pedagogy is dead, long live Social Pedagogy”. Although future developments in the four countries are difficult to gauge, it seems fair to assume that Social Pedagogy will continue to be around for quite some time, and a European comparison of the three case studies has brought new insights which purely domestic German debates, with occasional excursions into Anglo-American territory, did not provide (Kornbeck, 2009a).

In the minds of a majority of German academics and professionals, the traditional Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy lost relevance while Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence took on the air of an inevitable, quasi-Newtonian law of nature. In England (and partly in the UK) Social Pedagogy was gradually discovered, opening up (at least in principle) for what could become an English Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy: at least, convergence did not seem to be underway. To complete the picture, in Denmark and Belgium hardly any changes in the mutual relationship of Social Work and Social Pedagogy could be observed, during the Reference Period, from the material examined in the three case studies. This provides a powerful illustration of the anti-cyclical nature of many national (or regional) trends in decision-making. It does not, as such, however, provide proof of Europeanisation.

Following the announced method of the investigation [Chart 1.1, 1.2], the subsequent chapter will establish, in this sequence, (1) the occurrence of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in the four countries, in 1989 and 2004; (2) the occurrence of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in the four countries during the Reference Period; (3) any indications that Europeanisation may be inferred from observations made under the two preceding steps of investigation. While dichotomy and convergence are, by now, very well defined, however, some remarks will still need to be made to ensure that the discussion on Europeanisation maintains the necessary focus and does not risk pointing in all directions.

7.6.2. Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy inherent to the social professions

It is submitted that it is possible to define or at least circumscribe Social Pedagogy, in particular on the basis of the seven categories of evidence listed previously [§4.2.2]. This is indeed what much recent English Social Pedagogy scholarship has been about, and it is hereby submitted that the three case studies make this approach more plausible. Adopting this perspective means that Social Pedagogy must be seen as a naturally occurring potential dimension of the professional education, as well as the professional practice of the social professions. Rather than being an exotic, “Teutonic” (Brauns & Kramer, 1986, p. 5) specialism, Social Pedagogy should be seen as one of the main components. This has (at least) two major implications:

- Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is thus inherent to the social professions, latently or overtly. Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence is therefore not inherently unavoidable (Social Pedagogy being different from Social Work).
- European comparisons may provide further evidence supporting the preceding assumptions (Kornbeck, 2009a).

To frame Social Pedagogy on the basis of these realisations, Social Pedagogy cannot be limited to a simple label for describing the sector and tasks of a specific portion of the workforce: Social Pedagogy cannot be merely “what Social Pedagogy staff do”. Rather, it is necessary to embrace Reyer’s (2001) warning that German Social

Pedagogy made a mistake in turning its back on its philosophical, nineteenth-century roots, embracing a task-centred perspective. Social Pedagogy must rather be seen as an alternative perspective (Hämäläinen, 2003), not necessarily a set of methods. This is even echoed in a piece of empirical case study research. Writing from within a Swedish context (where there is no long Social Pedagogy tradition, Social Pedagogy having been introduced only within the last two decades), Eriksson (2010) has found Social Pedagogy to be a useful model for community development work, insisting that Social Pedagogy traits can be found within the Social Work model.

Although conventional wisdom will always affirm that the Anglo-Saxon world has no Social Pedagogy tradition, interesting attempts have nevertheless been made at identifying Social Pedagogy-like values and structures in the theoretical works of Jane Addams. Despite her iconic status within US Social Work, Addams was also a community leader and an activist who chose to live with and among the people for whom she cared: the philosophy of the Settlement Movement. Unlike Mary Richmond (1917), Addams did not seek the distance of the expert, but rather wished to be embedded in the everyday life realities of the target population; this has led one American (Eberhardt, [1995] 2009) and one German (Pinhard, 2009) scholar to analyse her work as Social Pedagogy-like, in line with Stephens's pragmatic statement: "if she looks like a social pedagogue, she probably is a social pedagogue" (Stephens, 2009, p. 350).

Although the word "she", in this case, did not refer to Jane Addams, a principle may thus be identified according to which it seems reasonable to treat Addams as a quasi-Social Pedagogy author (Kornbeck, 2010b); this principle could be called *implicit Social Pedagogy*.

Thus, Social Pedagogy may be situated "between everything and nothing" (Hegstrup, 1995), opening up for endless talk with purely semantic relevance (and maybe not even that) ("talking through one's hat", *rendyrket sort pædagogspog*, Hegstrup, 1995, p. 116). To avoid this, as well as to make an alternative contribution (compared with the increasingly task-centred approach of Social Work), Social Pedagogy needs to have a strong theory base (Petrie & Cameron, 2009). In agreement with Kornbeck (2002c), Úcar (2011, p. 145) notes that "one source of confusion and misunderstanding in relation to social pedagogy has been its identification with

specific professions, occupations, sectors, areas, skills, and methods.” Drawing on Pascal, he adds that:

“[a]lthough there may be different social conditions, there is only one human condition. I think we should separate social pedagogy from the ways in which it is embodied in each socio-cultural context. If this is not done, we can hardly find or build a common core that will serve as a reference for all researchers engaged in the socio-pedagogical enterprise.” (Úcar, 2011, p. 145)

While being based on education, Social Pedagogy thus becomes the antithesis of a fragmented Social Work approach. This scenario of fragmentation has become particularly prominent in English and British debates over the current condition of Social Work. The boundaries between sectors and subsectors are not the only boundaries which may be challenged by Social Pedagogy though. The post-Bäumer task-centred approach which, according to Reyer (2001), made Social Pedagogy increasingly inconsistent and meaningless was based on an understandable, yet arbitrary reduction of Social Pedagogy to work with a limited number of age groups. Yet education is not limited to the young, especially not in a life-long learning perspective (Milana, 2012). Given that the boundaries between age groups have, empirically, become more blurred and therefore less relevant, a “biographical” perspective becomes more natural and suggests a Social Pedagogy “for all age groups” (Böhnisch, [1997] 2008; Böhnisch & Schröer, 2011).

The logical reaction may thus focus on the individual biographical aspect, “to give preference to approaches based on socialisation theory which encompass all ages” (Böhnisch & Schröer, 2011, p. 24), while aiming at the “quest for agency” despite the process of “*biographization*” (ibid., p. 25), rather than on standardised concepts of age groups with specific needs, strengths and weaknesses. If Social Pedagogy is conceived as an education-based theory of help to human beings potentially in all sorts of non-somatic conditions, thereby disregarding the bureaucratic and historical boundaries between different sectors of service provision, Social Pedagogy also cannot afford to stick uncritically to concepts of specific age groups. These divisions may increasingly be(come) irrelevant in practice, given the diversity of individual biographical realities. This is recognised in academic literature drawing on the “life-world” perspective (Thiersch, [1992] 2005) in recognition of the subjective, yet

authentic perspectives of the people to whom professional services are offered (Thiersch, [1986] 2006).

Against this backdrop and in a deliberate effort to make a contribution that is distinctly different from that made by Social Work, Social Pedagogy is called upon to re-focus on its historical roots in education. In taking up this challenge, while trying to avoid both Social Work-like boundaries linked to service provisions, as well as the post-Bäumer boundaries in Social Pedagogy linked to age groups, Social Pedagogy may sooner or later come to realise that the Greek educational concept of *paideia* (in Greek: *παιδεία*) has the potential, if not for being the new concept, then at least for inspiring and/or informing it (Kornbeck, 2008). It is on this basis that the investigation will conclude by proposing, as an original new model, the C-U-E model (Care-Upbringing-Education) of Social Pedagogy theory.

7.6.3. Social Work/Social Pedagogy and professional education culturally constructed; Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence avoidable

Like all other products of the human mind, Social Pedagogy is (of course) culturally constructed. This poses a challenge to the vision of professionalism as scientific, neutral and hence entitling to expert status, free of embedded involvement (whereby the same insight may also be applied to Social Work). It suggests that the subdivisions of social work (in the larger sense) are not direct and objective representations of the substance of the profession or its knowledge base, but rather culturally determined, politically negotiated or otherwise linked to the national context. This provides arguments in favour of recent debates in international social work journals where scholars from other continents insist on the need to customise professional education locally. The universality of a core of social work values thus remains an open question.

The thesis may have challenged both some sociological theories (convergence) (see Kornbeck, 2005) and some social work theories (*Konvergenztheorem*). It may also have made a contribution to the identification of the nature of Social Work knowledge.

Due to its comparative design and the recurrent featuring of Social Pedagogy, the thesis will also have contributed to the understanding of this concept, which has until now been almost unknown in the UK but which is rapidly gaining popularity. Published as a book in the UK, the thesis might thus be a rather timely text.

The observation that some sort of Social Pedagogy seems to exist in most European countries (Gustavsson, et al., 2003; Hämäläinen, 2003; Higham, 2006; Kornbeck, 2001; Lauer mann, 2006; Petrie, et al., 2006) is not disturbed by occasional exceptions, such as that which England and the UK used to represent. Such cases rather seem like exceptions confirming the rule that a heterogeneous professional practice field can be identified where multiple functions may be exercised and the skills needed should come both from the social and the educational disciplines.

Despite the heterogeneity of job functions (and often also between the different members of the workforce), the commonalities are even stronger, being concerned with the qualification profile and a specific approach (often not in a methodological sense, but rather with regard to attitudes). The fact that Social Pedagogy continues to exist next to Social Work in many countries seems to be proof that the German convergence theorem was wrong. While it has been highly successful in shaping the new German curricula, especially after 2001, it does not necessarily do justice to the inherent qualities and dimensions of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, and it is highly conceivable that the binarism identified in all three case studies is a natural thing.

The type of convergence which this theory expresses is in fact only proven to be a reality in Germany and Austria, for while there may, in many countries, be a manifest trend toward more inter-professional practice, this usually involves more professions than just Social Work and Social Pedagogy. One Danish study showed a common field including teachers and nurses (Ejrnæs, 2004), and one Belgian textbook points to similar patterns (Gaspar, et al., 2000). Intriguingly, however, the term Social Pedagogy is seldom used in texts dealing with professional education or practice in a European perspective. One edited book about youth work in Europe did not use it (Volland & Porteous, 2002) and another such title focused on work with children and their families, still without using the term Social Pedagogy (Freitas, et al., 2005). It was, however, encouraging to see that the eleventh chapter in that second book (one

which summarised the preceding chapters) did characterise the content as concerned with Social Pedagogy (Friesenhahn & Kantowicz, 2005).

Although the British debate is usually limited to the applicability of Social Pedagogy to the “early years” and residential care sectors, one paper, dealing with the prospects for introducing Social Pedagogy into the “children’s workforce” (Boddy, et al., 2005b) did point to its broader implications. The authors greeted the Government’s strategy but also underlined that “pedagogy” could be extended well beyond the borders of the well-known sectors in service provision, considering that “there is nothing sacrosanct about the fragmented state of the current workforce, which has developed haphazardly as a result of a myriad of disconnected influences” (Boddy, et al. 2005a, p. 1).

Following this thinking would in fact mean breaking with the tradition of English and British Social Work where legally and bureaucratically defined categories have been of the utmost importance. For many years, “social work” was almost synonymous with work in local authorities and the public saw professionals “first and foremost as bureaucrats” (Payne, 1997, p. 168). Although employment in the voluntary and private sector has increased, English and British Social Work would still not appear to be a “relaxed” profession, but rather one with many mandatorily prescribed roles – an impression which the introduction of mandatory registration has only seemed to confirm.

In such a profession, “settings” become eminently important, and so it is innovative when researchers propose to follow the transversal nature of the “pedagogy” paradigm and let this new workforce work in a variety of functions.⁷⁴ Whether a state of relaxed universalism would be permanently tolerated is, however, questionable and the idea has not been discounted that a successful social pedagogue profession might one day find itself faced with an administration set to press it into a scheme not unlike that in force for Social Work.

By referring to the potential of Social Pedagogy to provide help within a range of services, the authors of Boddy, et al. (2005b), the study made a statement which would look banal in a Danish or German setting, although even there, the breadth and

⁷⁴ “Pedagogy adopts an approach to work with people in which learning, care, health, general well-being and development are viewed as totally inseparable” (Boddy, et al. 2005a, p. 3).

diversity of the profession may seem surprising. One German textbook introduces students to the diversity of job profiles via a fictitious advert praising the profession and asking: “Had you expected to find us in...” followed by a long list of settings and concluding: “You can’t get around us!” (Schilling, 1997, p. 2) In England, however, such statements may have come like a revelation of sorts, and it led naturally to proposals regarding the creation of two new job profiles (one professional, the other assistant level) and two qualifications to prepare for them.

Writing from a Swedish context, Eriksson (2010) has found Social Pedagogy to be a useful model for community development work, insisting that Social Pedagogy traits can be found within the Social Work model.

7.6.4. The potential coverage of Social Pedagogy

At this stage of the investigation, an attempt should be made, if not to define then at least to indicate the breadth of employment for Social Pedagogy professionals. This exercise is a logical continuation of the exploration made, in the thesis, aiming at identifying the mutual articulation of Social Work and Social Pedagogy; it is also a reflection of the author’s belief that Social Work in England and the UK should embrace the addition of Social Pedagogy as a complement and partner, rather than as a competitor or a substitute. Yet answers are not provided purely on a theoretical basis: they are drawn together, pragmatically, via real examples from across the EU.

The exercise is partly empirical (as it quotes published evidence), yet partly speculative (as it cannot claim to be anywhere close to exhaustive). In terms of “concept extension” (Sartori, 1970; cf., Goertz, 2006, p. 69), it may risk climbing too high on Sartori’s “ladder of abstraction”, where “concept stretching” (Goertz, 2006, p. 69) may make the exercise a little pointless (comparing apples and pears, as the popular saying goes). Yet for the limited purposes of this discussion, the slightly muddled approach makes good sense: the aim is to illustrate in which fields Social Pedagogy graduates or Social Pedagogy professionals actually have been able to find employment (rather than “proving” the congruence of their competence profile with specific work profiles). Illustration being the hallmark of the exercise, diversity can and should be accepted as a lesser evil. The same type of exercise need not be carried

out for Social Work, whose profile is always narrower, better known in a European and international context and backed by international NGOs such as the IFSW.

If we accept Social Pedagogy as a concept which is

potentially extendable to various helping activities with all age groups (Böhnisch, [1997] 2008), the question nevertheless remains, of where the limits of Social Pedagogy competences go. No-one would expect Social Pedagogy-trained people to take over the work of surgeons, yet many professional roles within the larger area of socio-educational and para-medical work may be relevant.

A membership brochure of the Danish Social Pedagogy trade union, SL, lists a range of practice fields (SL, 2006b). No empirical research is known which would illustrate the diversity, yet it is believed that it may be quite outspoken about the fact that the lack of clear trade union structures, in this field, may take the diversity even further. Danish figures reflect the high level of affiliation with a specialised trade union. As such, the figures do not distinguish between unionised and non-unionised workers, but nor do they distinguish between members with and without the relevant Social Pedagogy qualification (as some of the Belgian figures do): “34,000 professionals”, including “artisans” (sic).⁷⁵ This does not seem to fit the English concept of a profession, which presupposes studying at tertiary level. Also according to SL (2010a) (without figures), Social Pedagogy professionals found employment with the following target groups:

- children and young people in care (*Anbragte børn og unge*)
- infants in care (typically on care orders due to violence in the family) (*Anbragte småbørn*)
- children with brain damage (*Børn med hjerneskade*)
- children and young people with autism and ADHD (*Børn og unge med autisme og ADHD*)
- young people serving prison sentences or youth sanctions (*Unge bag lås og slå*)
- adults with intellectual disability living in their own homes (*Udviklingshæmmede i eget hjem*)

⁷⁵ “The National Federation of Social Educators is a trade union for about 34,000 professionals. They are social educators, foster carers, directors, assistants and artisans. They work with children, young people and adults who need special care due to physical or mental disabilities, or social problems.” <http://www.sl.dk/HeaderMenu/English.aspx>

- adults with intellectual disability living in sheltered units (*Udviklingshæmmede i bofællesskab*)
- adults with brain damage (*Voksne med hjerneskade*)
- adults with substance abuse (*Stofmisbrugere*)
- adults with mental health problems (*Sindslidende voksne*)
- homeless people (*Hjemløse*).

Examples from other EU countries show the breadth of the potential for Social Pedagogy graduate employment. Such examples may be listed practically from cradle to grave:

- Childhood:
 - work in (preschool and school-age) daycare centres in Denmark (Petersen, 2011), Norway (Stephens, 2011) and French-speaking Belgium (Vanhaverbeke, 2008);
- Childhood/Youth:
 - work with children, young people and families in social welfare departments, alongside Social Work staff, in Sweden (Bolin, 2010) and French-speaking Belgium (Wautier, 2008a);
 - school social work in French-speaking Belgium (Mulder & Van Hoye, 2008; Kornbeck & Rademaekers, 2011) and Sweden (Bolin, 2010; Johansson & Moss, 2010);
- Youth:
 - work with young people in open settings (after-school socio-cultural activities) as well as for special target groups, including in residential settings, in Dutch-speaking Belgium (Coussée & Verschelden, 2011); work with young people in drop-in centres in French-speaking Belgium, with the option of referring them to residential units (Gilles & Vanhaverbeke, 2008);
 - community-based, preventive socio-cultural work in youth clubs in Denmark (Langager, 2011); work using sporting activities in Germany (Naul, 2009); work in Denmark aiming to prevent delinquency (Langager, 2009); similar work in Germany (potential or realised delinquency) (Kreuzer, 2009) and French-speaking Belgium (Wautier, 2008b); street-level preventive work addressing young people attracted to, or already engaged in prostitution in Denmark (Hegstrup, et al., 2012);
 - work with young people serving prison sentences (Bryderup, 2009; Koudal, 2011) and French-speaking Belgium (Waquez & Vanhaverbeke, 2008);
- Adult Life:

- work with adults with a physical disability in Poland (Wilińska & Zdanowicz-Kucharczyk, 2011) or French-speaking Belgium (Davagle, 2008), or adults with a mental disability in Denmark (Højmark, 2011);
- work in the psychiatric sector (Van den Eynde, et al., 2008);
- work with seniors in France (Kern, 2012) and Spain (Rodríguez Izquierdo, 2012) and French-speaking Belgium (Gilles, 2008).

Against the backdrop of this information, it seems that a table devised to cross-tabulate Social Pedagogy skills with potential fields of employment would have to include no blanks. Knowing that these are, in principle, the utmost outer boundaries of Social Pedagogy; bearing in mind our considerations regarding the need for Social Pedagogy to embrace all age groups and to have its own well-developed theory; considering, finally, that such a theory, presented at the outset of an investigation based on a cross-European comparison of case studies, must necessarily prompt expectations that the resulting theory should be potentially applicable across Europe: what could such an all-embracing Social Pedagogy look like?

7.6.5. Social Pedagogy well advised to focus on its foundations in education

One of the recommendations resulting from this thesis will be to concentrate research on the foundations and roots of Social Pedagogy in education, as opposed to Social Work's canon of psychotherapy, sociology, law, etc. This seems to be the unifying element of the many different types of practice listed above [§7.6.4]: that they may deal with social problems, but that they do so on the basis of competences and values derived from education; put briefly, Social Pedagogy "is education" (*socialpædagogik er pædagogik*) (Rosendal Jensen, 2006, p. 228).

Until now, in England, Social Pedagogy has simply been an unusual, underutilised term which very few would understand. Few English authors would refer to work with various adult user groups (mental health, disability, probation, older people) as "pedagogical", and yet this is what is routinely done in Denmark and Germany. In these countries, the names of a range of specialisations end on "pedagogy", so that the pedagogical link is explicit. In France and Belgium it may not be explicit but it is still implicitly present as professionals tend to have a pedagogical profile – some sort of education seems to be a natural qualification for work which in England would be

perceived as pertaining to the “applied social sciences” consortium of academic disciplines. Critics may argue that this is only a *jeu de mots*: why attach any importance to labels which may be little more than labels?

Yet social science knows that the semantic level is in itself significant: due to the symbolic/systematic (Luhmann/Foucault) (see Borch, 2005) as well as the agenda-setting aspect of power (Lukes, 1974), but also because what people perceive is in itself a fact of social life. As the “Thomas theorem” goes, things which people perceive as “real” become “real in their consequences” (Thomas & Thomas, 1928; Merton, 1995). In this case, the fact that a range of social work practice roles are constructed as Social Pedagogy roles means that academics, employers, professionals, decision makers and the public perceive them as such. It may then be asked what is common to all these Social Pedagogy roles (see my proposal is for a C-U-E model of Social Pedagogy which maintains the unity of all three (Kornbeck, 2012)). That the choice of a semantic alternative can be more than merely semantic, is known from the British discourse on care,⁷⁶ where some authors feel that the mere choice of the “care” label makes a difference.

It seems ironic that Danish Social Pedagogy should be so appreciated in England (even by occasional visiting senior Government ministers?) precisely at a time when it is under pressure in its homeland and increasingly being put under pressure to justify its particular methods of functioning (Bunting, 2006). This is particularly spectacular, as empirical research in Denmark has shown that the sectors in which Social Pedagogy professionals work can boast an above-average, or even a very high level of support from the public (Bauditz & Haarder, 2003). It may be hoped, in this context, that the encouraging reactions from England may support and inspire the Danish colleagues in their dealings with Danish authorities.

Yet to be able to follow some of the lines of thought which have been developed in this context further, and to be able to test the validity of some of the ideas presented as part of the British debate, research is needed which would identify the profiles, tasks,

⁷⁶ “One of the advantages of badging care as social care is that ‘it transcends the conceptual dichotomies between the public and the private, the professional and the non-professional, the paid and the unpaid’ (Kröger, 2001, p. 4). It also links child and adult care. The transcendent perspective of social care means that carework is understood as a similar practice wherever it is done (in or out of the home) and whoever it is done by (unpaid or paid workers).” (Phillips, 2007, p. 24)

competences and powers of social professions in a range of European countries more specifically. Defining “the occupational space” (Littlechild & Lyons, 2003) (which labour market segment(s) is/are reserved for, or accessible to these professions?) should be a first step, but it should be followed up by mapping and analysing, analogically, “the educational space” (which place do they occupy in academia?) and “the intellectual space” (which part of our knowledge are they responsible for maintaining and further developing?).

7.6.6. Social Work and Social Pedagogy have strengths and weaknesses

The developments described and analysed in the case studies should be seen in a functionalistic perspective. The focus should be not so much on what a discipline or profession is called, as on what they actually perform. The import of a new paradigm from another EU country is a significant piece of evidence in this investigation, even if the actual name is not introduced at the same time. A certain “nostrification” (i.e., “making it ours”) (a term used in Germany and Austria to denote the validation of foreign higher education qualifications) is normal, as noted by Erlandsen & Kornbeck (2004) in relation to Denmark’s import and subsequent transformation of the German Social Pedagogy notion.

This is also the place to warn against uncritical optimism. Social Pedagogy must not be sold as the solution to all problems that are currently haunting Social Work. It cannot and will not, as many of these problems are reflections of unrealistic expectations in the political elites and general public. If the current malaise is the result of a denial of risk, Social Pedagogy will not solve the English and British problems: for while Social Pedagogy by itself is a more risk-accepting paradigm than Social Work, it might well be “nostrified” in an English and British context to accommodate a fear of risk and an expectation for results and accountability which might eventually lead to a scenario where Social Pedagogy would be maintained on the surface, yet Social Pedagogy value would have been thrown out with the bathwater. The value of Social Pedagogy might be even bigger in theory than in practice, but

“A major obstacle remains an English distrust for theory as opposed to a more pragmatic ‘theory-light’ approach, as typified especially by the NVQ system, with its inventory of prescribed competencies, as described above.” (Petrie & Cameron, 2009, p. 163)

It remains to be seen, however, whether the English and British elites and population are prepared for Social Pedagogy in this sense. Against this backdrop, it may be useful to conclude the thesis by listing the advantages and disadvantages of Social Pedagogy. These lists are not based on any systematic perusal of empirical evidence, but rather reflect the author’s general impression.

The advantages of Social Pedagogy include a normalising approach which avoids labelling some people, allowing a therapeutic or sociological image of Social Work to be avoided. It also means potentially linking up with the education system and its administration. These days, this seems a good strategy for political survival, rather than being associated with social affairs or health. It means working on citizens’ skills in the widest possible sense, and hence contributing to the creation of growth and wealth. The EU’s Lisbon, Bologna and Copenhagen processes all point in this direction.

Yet Social Pedagogy cannot be the miracle solution to societal problems, and in an English context, evidence of its added value is expected (cf. Berridge, et al., 2011, p. 260).⁷⁷ Social Pedagogy has served authoritarian regimes (Sünker & Otto, 1997) and there is evidence that a Social Pedagogy-based response to juvenile delinquency does not in itself promise a more humane or a more effective response. Evidence from survivors of the GDR’s Social Pedagogy institutions indicates that those who had tried both preferred serving in a prison (Gatzemann, 2008, 2009a), so that Social Pedagogy as such guarantees nothing (Kornbeck, 2011a, 2011b). Also, while Danish generic pedagogy training has attracted some attention in the UK, practice has started to attract a certain amount of bad press domestically, including in early 2012 when a PhD thesis based on video footage and 8,000 field observations claimed that children were exposed to neglect on an appalling scale which was causing many toddlers to develop dysfunctionally introverted behaviour (Ritzau, 2012). Surprisingly, the

⁷⁷ “Social pedagogy addresses some of the problems but it is unclear how much it would achieve in isolation, or if its introduction would be compatible given the other features of the English system that we have outlined. A higher status, graduate, residential workforce hypothetically could be developed in England unassociated with social pedagogy.” (cf. Berridge, et al., 2011, p. 260)

findings were confirmed by the vice president of the relevant trade union (Social Pedagogy), who went as far as claiming that higher academic levels in professional education had led to a lack of interest in children's happiness (Sørensen, 2012). While such contributions should be assessed critically, there is a need to remain mindful of such domestic debates in countries with an established pedagogy model. On the other hand, such debates do not allow Social Pedagogy as such to be discredited, just as Social Pedagogy cannot be said to have a predisposition for fascism or communism, despite documented abuse from Nazi Germany and the GDR.

At a more philosophical level, readers may also want to consider the following potential pitfalls of an education-based approach (including but not limited to that of Social Pedagogy):

- An expectation that individuals must focus on self-development, totalitarian trends, intrusive work with individuals, employers wanting "their souls" and not just compliance with formal rules of social organisation.
- The meaninglessness of following either vocational or professional courses and taking up education if society ends up rejecting you, as in the case with many second generation immigrants in Europe.
- A danger that by performing more repressive jobs for the state, Social Pedagogy might become as oppressive as social work has become in the eyes of some. It may be acceptable for Social Pedagogy staff to work in daycare or after-school services, it may also be unproblematic to work with disabled people, but if work includes activities with young offenders or even probation work, that would be a new reality for Social Pedagogy to tackle.

Turning again to the UK, the implementation of change might call for a model in different phases: first, to test Social Pedagogy within the Children's Workforce and, second, to evaluate the feasibility of a transfer towards other sectors of employment. For both phases it would be preferable if legislation were not too tight and would allow for flexibility, and if curricula did not focus too narrowly on specific tasks, thereby excluding others. The Danish generic professional bachelor degree in pedagogy could serve as inspiration.

In this sense, while *Europeanisation* has not been proven in the three case studies, they (in conjunction with the more cross-cutting discussion developed within other parts of the thesis) have certainly showed the relevance of European comparisons as a source of learning for launching new domestic developments.

Chapter 8. English and British perspectives

8.1. The Anglo-British context: from a unitary to a federal framework, and back again

Whereas the “Germano–German” divide and the “Belgo–Belgian” divide differ profoundly, as Germany integrated during the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) while Belgium partially disintegrated during the same period, the conceptual and methodological challenges encountered in England are not of a “Brito-British” or “Anglo-English”, but of an “Anglo-British” nature. While the Belgian sub-national entities existed in 1989, in the case of the UK, Scotland had certain sub-national competences and authorities in 1989 but England had none: the UK was a country with a certain amount of internal autonomy for only some of its sub-national territorial entities.

By 2004 (the end of the Reference Period), however, British devolution had changed this fundamentally. English professional education had become truly English, even though there was still no English parliament (England and Wales being still legislated for by the UK parliament in Westminster). In principle, therefore, the methodological challenges arising from these changes remain rather limited: to the extent that statutory provisions exist, they will still come from the same sources of regulation, except if (at agency level) old entities have been replaced by new ones, as has been the case with the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW), a British body replaced by four different Care Councils (again, the English one was also a British Care Council).

The biggest challenge offered by the British material seems to lie, rather, in the rapid and often surprising change in frameworks and responsibilities. As regards England, the General Social Care Council (GSCC) replaced the CCETSW and took over accreditation of relevant HE courses (Community Care, 2003). Then, under the 2011 Health and Social Care Bill, seven years after the Reference Period, it was decided to phase out the GSCC for the UK and to transfer its functions to the Health Professions Council (HPC) (Dunning, 2010; GSCC, 2011). Intriguingly, the HPC was a new, British, UK-wide regulatory body with far-reaching powers, including the power to prosecute alleged offenders who had abused their professional titles (HPC, 2011).

Thus, if the locus of regulation had shifted from the UK to the English level between 1989 and 2004, it has since then returned to the UK level. The recurrent challenge with the English case study, therefore, is to keep track of English and British developments, which to an outsider can seem far less predictable and often less comprehensible than those found in the other three national contexts.

Therefore, in spite of my possessing the requisite linguistic skills and knowledge to research developments in England, English/British developments often appeared to be more opaque, hard to document and even harder to interpret. If, however, we return to the basic premises of the thesis – that merely finding signs, in the three other national contexts, of alternatives to German Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence, signs that recent German developments need not be the “end of history” (Kornbeck, 2009a) – then the specific methodological challenges found in England should not constitute insurmountable barriers. Whenever signs of a nascent Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy can be found, this will in itself be sufficient in terms of contributing to answering RQ1 and RQ2.

8.2. RQ1: England: Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy or what?

8.2.1. What the three case studies have demonstrated and what it means for England

While the Germany case study has shown a country where an initially strong Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy has gradually lost importance, the Denmark and Belgium case studies both provide examples of perpetuated relevance of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy. While the Germany case study has clearly shown Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence emerging as a most powerful new lead paradigm, only very weak signs could be found in the material from Denmark and none in the material from Belgium. What, then, could an England case study reveal, should such a one be undertaken in the future? It seems probable that it would indicate variations on familiar themes – devolution comparable to federalism in Germany and Belgium, but also an emerging Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in a country where there was none in the past. At the same time, all such

assumptions must be appreciated critically, as the remarks made here are assumptions rather than confirmed findings.

To begin with, professional education changes observed in England, necessitated by further steps towards introducing Social Pedagogy, would have to be appreciated in the light of devolution, the British version of federalisation. As in the Belgium case study, this is another case of a country where professional education was affected by the gradual introduction of federalism in a hitherto almost completely unitary state (Payne & Shardlow, 2002b, 2002c, p. 211). No strong trade union influence (as in Denmark) can be detected, while political influences are marked (as in Belgium) and some influence from academia can be observed as having shaped (or at least conditioned) professional Social Work education. In the beginning there was no academic interest in the subject, whether in the form of research as an objective in its own right or of the establishment of university chairs. British professional education started as dedicated training, rather than academic, courses. First courses in Social Work were offered by the Charity Organisations Society (COS) in London in 1896, taken over in 1912 by the London School of Economics (LSE) (Lyons, 1999, p. 6), a clear sign of Social Work affinity. In other words, the Social Work concept of professional education should be examined, in a possible future English case study, as the predisposition for Social Work but against Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, and may be expected to be found in the texts of these early times, even if only in an embryonic form [Table 8.1].

British Social Work developed early, but until 1970 eight different (semi-)professions occupied the Social Work field of practice: the oldest of these dated from 1903 and the most recent from 1962 (Payne, 2005, pp. 190–192). Functions performed in the Social Pedagogy field (in the Continental and Nordic sense) were not labelled as Social Pedagogy, nor were they attributed to any specific, unifying (academic or professional) paradigm. With the 1970 emergence of the modern British Social Work profession, a particular understanding of Social Work (and social services) as generic, unitary depositories of certain, exclusive rights of professionalism and expertise became the established orthodoxy for the next three decades. While this paradigm owed its dominant role to certain developments of the 1970s, however, its “Social Work-only” character (reproducing the IFSW-sponsored, North American and Anglo-

	Richmond	Addams
Main organisation or movement	Charity Organisation Society (COS)	Settlement House Movement
Understanding of social work	A profession built on scientifically acquired knowledge and exercised via a set of recognised methods	An activity with people; a semi-profession; a form of active citizenship; partnerships sharing other people's lives
Values underpinning the academic and practical activities connected to the profession	Inductive knowledge generation; distance; value-free objectivity; methods-led interventions	Deductive knowledge generation; use of philosophy and theory of education in concrete cases; learning and culture as central concepts; learning via experiences with users; involvement in other people's everyday lives, authentic situations, freedom from specific methods
Philosophical position	Positivism	Hermeneutics
Affinities with specific professions (traditions) in Europe	<i>Sozialarbeit</i> (Germany, Austria), service social (France, Belgium), <i>socialrådgivning</i> (Denmark)	<i>Sozialpädagogik</i> (Germany, Austria), <i>éducation spécialisée</i> (France, Belgium), <i>socialpædagogik</i> (Denmark), but also: <i>animation socio-culturelle</i> (France, Belgium), <i>Heilpädagogik</i> (Germany)
Affinities with current trends in England	EBP	

Saxon Social Work model) did not need to be imposed: what happened in 1970 merely confirmed realities.

In obtaining this generic, exclusive role, however, British Social Work also achieved the defeat, in Scotland, of Kilbrandon's ([1964] 1995) ideas of specialist practice, which drew on models from education. This legacy was to become sustainable over three decades, as the regulator CCETSW (1973) made it established policy that "residential work is social work". This meant that, if trained staff were needed at all, Social Work training would be appropriate. No attempt was made, in the process, to define the training needs of other functions performed within the Social Pedagogy field (in the Continental and Nordic sense), and the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation remained based on the "Social Work-only" model where Social Pedagogy remained invisible, undiscovered.

Subsequent changes to professional education (CQSW, CSS, DipSW, Social Work degree) did nothing to redefine the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation. The “Social Work-only” model was further reaffirmed (albeit not explicitly) by arrangements made in laws governing local authorities (LASSA, 1970; HASSASSA, 1983; NHS and Community Care Act, 1990), as well as mandatory registration of the Social Work workforce (Care Standards Act, 2000). By assimilating HE-educated Social Work professionals with NVQ-trained (or untrained) social care workers, the 2000 registration arrangements even seemed to position Social Work further away from Social Pedagogy. With very few exceptions confirming the rule, alternatives to the handed-down Anglo-Saxon paradigm were never discussed, and by the end of the CCETSW era (1970–2003), the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation remained practically unaltered, the “Social Work-only” model unchallenged.

In 2003, with the full implementation of the new registration system, responsibility for professional education passed from CCETSW to the GSCC. During this era (2003–2010), there was a different emphasis, with far more attention being paid to workforce regulation; yet this did not alter the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation, as GSCC was not in charge of what could have become a Social Pedagogy profession. Some academics discussed Social Pedagogy as a solution to some of the problems of Social Work (e.g., Crimmens, 1998; Higham, 2001, 2006), yet these contributions were not policy-relevant. GSCC itself, however, gradually became the target of harsh criticism, culminating in 2009 with the dismissal of its chief executive. While this did not *per se* alter the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation, it allowed the vulnerability of Social Work to become more obvious.

Thirty-one years after Margaret Thatcher’s landslide election victory, the expert profession of the 1970s had become a handy scapegoat. And yet, by 2010, there were signs that a possibly emerging Social Pedagogy profession was seen, at least in some quarters, as a dangerous competitor to Social Work, as evidenced by the letter to the editor of *Community Care* by one London GP (Fitzpatrick, 2010), commenting on a government initiative aimed at recommending elements of Social Pedagogy in practice (NICE & SCIE, 2009, 2010), as well as the external evaluation report presented by a social policy professor (Berridge, et al., 2011). Somehow, a nascent Social Pedagogy profession had managed to emerge in the meantime, although its

status remained unclear. It could not be compared with the established Social Work profession, yet had somehow become a relevant factor.

As explained above, in the CCETSW era there was no perceived need for Social Pedagogy at the policy level, yet reports from investigations into child death and the like had consistently pointed to Social Work training as insufficient preparation for practice with children at risk, children and families and in residential settings. This did not mean that an assessment covering the workforce qualification needs of the entire Social Pedagogy field (in the Continental and Nordic sense) was being made, least of all at the political level; but the relevance of the Social Pedagogy paradigm model was increasingly being highlighted, including with references to realities observed in Continental and Nordic countries.

The discovery of Social Pedagogy in England started with commissioned research, thereby permitting a new research discipline (or at least a new research topic) to emerge, even though the published output was far from always labelled as Social Pedagogy research. The focus was on the workforce qualification needs of the “early years” (childcare, preschool, after-school care) and residential care (children and young people) sectors. Covering the rest of the Social Pedagogy field (in the Continental and Nordic sense) was not a part of the brief, although published output sometimes indicated that the Social Pedagogy paradigm was also potentially relevant to work with other age groups. Gradually, the idea of establishing a Social Pedagogy profession became the topic of some discussions, including more commissioned research, and recruitment of Social Pedagogy-trained staff from countries with a Social Pedagogy tradition became a reality.

These developments were accompanied by Social Pedagogy debates, conducted in English-language publications, at European level [§2.4.2]. In Scotland, they led to a rediscovery both of the educational heritage of the Scottish Enlightenment, and of the once-discarded recommendations of the Kilbrandon ([1964] 1995) report, prompting some to reclaim what they saw as a Scottish heritage having been denied Scotland within a British framework (Smith, 2009b; Smith & Whyte, 2008).

At and after the end of 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), Social Pedagogy had become a reality in England, although the exact nature, limits and effects of this novel

reality might still be difficult to ascertain. Significantly, this new Social Pedagogy paradigm was informed and inspired by the academic discipline of education and, as such, represented a substantial and substantive alternative to the traditional knowledge base (sociology, psychology, psychotherapy, law, public administration) of Social Work. Some sort of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy had thus become a reality in a country where it had been unknown until very recently.

Compared with Germany (Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence), Denmark and Belgium (continued Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy), England thus presented a scenario of a different sort, and indeed the least likely scenario. For while it must have been conceivable, at any time, that an established Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy might one day be successfully supplanted by another model (close to the “Social Work-only” model), and while the “business as usual” scenario of Denmark and Belgium is anything but surprising (“if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”), the emergence of a Social Pedagogy paradigm and, hence, of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in a country without a Social Pedagogy tradition must have seemed highly unlikely at the outset. Against this backdrop, the juxtaposition of the three case studies examined here provides truly unexpected, thought-provoking results, with the potential to open up new insights, both with regard to Social Work, Social Pedagogy and the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation.

The ideas presented in this section have shown that assumptions can be made, in view of a possible future England case study comparable to the three case studies put forward in this thesis, which could inform a discussion based upon the same themes and concepts as have been used here. While the section could not go into a detailed and systematic discussion of the English/British literature, it aims to have pointed to a potentially rewarding research topic. At the same time, however, the complexity of the English/British realities must not be underestimated, and the methodological challenges (not least those linked to the absence of a historical Social Pedagogy paradigm) would need to be assessed specifically.

8.2.2. England: emerging Social Pedagogy, emerging Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy (?): from anomaly to normality?

In the UK, the ascent of Social Pedagogy continued very slowly, unnoticed by the general public and, according to Higham (2006, p. 76), even “by stealth”. Indeed, it was not until after the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) that the trend – which had existed in a peripheral role within some academic and professional publications – became visible as a fact of political life. (To be fair, it was not until 2005 that the English Social Pedagogy agenda acquired an official character in the public arena, thus representing Y16.) This happened largely as a result of choices made under far-reaching central government policy agendas, with the commissioning of university research studies acting as a catalyst.

The Europeanising factor in this process may have been a remarkable openness on the part of the English authorities to collect evidence from other European countries and to accept advice on the value of non-British traditions in thinking and in professional practice, with a view to possible emulation in English policy making. Thus, around 2004–2005 (Y16–17), England presented an optimistic case for the discovery of Social Pedagogy and perspectives and a future with peaceful coexistence between Social Pedagogy and Social Work: one based on distinct identities, roles and competencies and, significantly, one placed under the authority of two different central government departments (DoH for Social Work and DfES for Social Pedagogy, later the DCFS). While the outcome of the tendencies described in this chapter could not be predicted at the time of writing, the trend was fairly distinct, especially when offset against the trends of the three other countries.

While this English dynamic confirms a tendency of Europeanisation, an almost diametrically opposite trend can be observed in Germany – starting much earlier, namely around the year 1970, so that it was largely already completed when the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004) commenced. This German trend speaks against the hypothesis of Europeanisation or convergence and the German debates – with sporadic exceptions provided by committed academics – have been largely uninformed by experiences from Germany’s European partners.

Kuhn’s (1970) theory of paradigms – including its cyclic sequences of marginal, emerging, dominant, challenged and marginalised positions – is concerned with

“scientific revolutions” and the particular cultures which can be found in academic communities, but it may also be applied to other sectors of life, including politics. In the case of higher-education policy-making, which is both an academic and a political matter, Kuhn’s theory seems like a very helpful model for conceptualising change, and it would appear to be a quite fair description of what actually goes on. Academic theories do seem to come in waves, forming as they do patterns of innovation, consolidation and new innovation and the same is true also of policy making and curriculum policies. Curricula appear to have life cycles which involve study, bargaining and preparation phases. These are followed by a main phase, when the curriculum is in force, followed by various adjustments, and ending in phases of contestation, combat and finally phasing-out. It seems as if, as a rule, intellectual changes need to precede structural ones, as proposed by feminist scholars with regards to the relevance of feminist scholarship to the political struggle of feminism: “Building a world in which women are not subordinated requires the development of a world view in which this is possible” (Aaron & Walby, 1991, p. 1).⁷⁸

Similarly, it could also be said that building an environment which would be able to profit from the potential benefit of Social Pedagogy needed the emergence of an environment which would recognise and understand pedagogy, and this would in turn necessitate the partial demolition of established orthodoxies which would prevent this from happening.

By the turn of the millennium, debates were going on in the UK which referred to Social Pedagogy, or in many cases just to “pedagogy” without any qualifying adjective before it. In German or Danish terms, it could be argued that the object of the discourse was not actually Social Pedagogy but rather kindergarten pedagogy, or just a particular pedagogical approach to social problems which had hitherto been absent in the UK. Yet many of the proposals (e.g., Boddy et al., 2005, b) in fact related to what were clearly Social Pedagogy roles by mainland European standards. Indeed, the very idea of tackling social problems on the basis of a knowledge base and competence profile derived from education, in its broadest sense, rather than the usual

⁷⁸ Quoted from: Welch, P. (2000): List of Quotations on Feminist Pedagogy compiled by Penny Welch, University of Wolverhampton, in January 2000. <http://pers-www.wlv.ac.uk/~le1810/fpq.htm>. Accessed 01.06.2006

Social Work mixture of social science, psychology, therapy and law, can be characterised as rather sensational by British standards.

8.3. RQ2: Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence in England?

While it is already difficult enough to affirm a Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy based solely on the most recent English developments, would the rather scanty introduction of higher education programmes alongside the existing Social Work programmes suffice to confirm a professional education dichotomy? The question of whether Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence might one day occur in England, too, is even more speculative. It is not even sure that a solid Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy will establish itself, yet with some Social Pedagogy courses having been set up at or after the end of the 15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004), it seems reasonable to assume that the Social Work/Social Pedagogy articulation will, at the very least, be defined by dichotomy, rather than by convergence. If Social Pedagogy courses prove to be successful (and sustainable over time), and if a Social Pedagogy (semi-)profession manages to establish itself alongside the Social Work profession, it would be surprising if it sought to converge or even merge with that of Social Work.

The fact that Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence did not occur in Denmark and Belgium does not in itself allow inferences to be extended to an English Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, nor indeed that one day a Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence might come about. The scenario of Social Pedagogy growing in strength and displaying its own strengths convincingly, leading to a strong Social Pedagogy profession alongside the Social Work profession, remains a possibility at least in principle. At the same time, the current backlash produced by the drastic budget cuts enacted by the Cameron administration, with repercussions for the Government's investments in Social Pedagogy (Cooper, J., 2011), do not point to this scenario as a very likely one. On the other hand, this does not mean that Social Pedagogy would need to wither away completely. Different scenarios, involving some degree of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy, are one possible scenario. The fact that one recent evaluation report did not provide strongly expressed support for

an expansion of the Social Pedagogy agenda (Berridge, et al. 2011), may lead some to believe that Social Work is unlikely to search for a partnership with Social Pedagogy and that some type of parallel existence will probably be the most likely outcome.

At the same time, such critical voices need to be respected and their concerns addressed if Social Pedagogy wants to establish itself as a credible profession in England and the UK. Some may wish to dismiss the piece by Fitzpatrick (2010) by demonstrating its author's sometimes radical positions on other issues (for an overview, see Battle of Ideas, 2012). Yet Fitzpatrick is also the father of an autistic son (Fitzpatrick, 2013), a contributor to *The Lancet* and involved in the The Royal Institution (2011). By contrast, concerns over alleged anthroposophic connections of the Social Pedagogy course at the University of Aberdeen, voiced in 2012, could do far more harm. Fuelled by revelations made by a blogger (Gray, 2012) they did not appear to be entirely unfounded and led, inter alia, to a deeply concerned letter from the father of a recent graduate addressed to the Vice Chancellor, subsequently published on another blog, dedicated to the "de-masking" of what was referred to as bogus science (Colquhoun, 2012). Whereas German colleagues may have been too narrowly focused, in their quest for a professionalisation which was scientific and academic, a higher education convergence with the anthroposophic movement, with its more philosophical and religious base may be unappealing for quite different reasons, as far as some sectors of the public and of politic life are concerned.

The Social Pedagogy agenda may have been beset with difficulties, not least due to the crisis in the second decade of the twenty-first century (Cooper, 2011). Yet Social Pedagogy somehow *had* "arrived" in England: with a Government vision (*not* discontinued by the "Coalition" of the Cameron administration (2001–) and Social Pedagogy degree courses in a handful of universities – Liverpool Hope, London (Institute of Education), Sussex, Winchester, according to Jacaranda Recruitment (2012) – it seemed that Social Pedagogy had come to stay. (Other courses have opened since then.) While Social Work confirmed itself as a "bureau-profession" (Parton, 1996, p. 7), increasingly concerned with procedures and management, Social Pedagogy offered an alternative vision of professionalism. While Social Work may finally have "arrived" within the field of health (para-)professions. In 2004, and still at the time of writing (2011), England may not have known exactly what to use Social

Pedagogy for – the Social Pedagogy agenda may have been more like “trying it on for size” (Petrie & Cameron, 2009, p. 145) – yet a Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy had become a fact of life. A partly supportive, partly critical external evaluation report (of the “social pedagogy pilot” programme) (Berridge, et al., 2011) could not conceal this basic state of play. In relation to the research questions of the thesis, the affirmation of a Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy is very significant.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the discussions on child deaths which, in the 1990s and early 2000s (see e.g., Social Education Trust, 2001; Davies Jones, 1994a, 1994b), led to an interest in Social Pedagogy, do not seem to have prompted Social Work academia to reflect further on the strengths of Social Pedagogy. While an alternative Social Work strategy could have consisted in adopting Social Pedagogy elements in the Social Work curriculum, this cannot be seen to have happened. A recent survey of child deaths and social policy and social work responses to them in the UK and abroad did not mention the education and training of staff, less even than in Social Pedagogy (Pritchard & Williams, 2010), and it is not this author’s impression that many Social Work textbooks have started revealing an awareness of Social Pedagogy knowledge or models (see however Payne, 2005; Higham, 2006). Thus, if a rapprochement was to emerge, the initiative would probably have to come from the Social Pedagogy camp.

8.4. RQ3: Europeanisation of professional education: which implications for English professional education?

8.4.1. Change and Europeanisation

Focusing on the theme of Europeanisation, this last section of the thesis will draw together some implications and point towards possible future directions which research in this area could take:

- When change is observed in English professional education, does it amount to Europeanisation [§8.4.1]?

- Does Europeanisation need to be of a “direct” (deliberate, visible, systematic) kind, or is it justified also to look for “indirect Europeanisation” [§8.4.2]?
- Do the German origins of Social Pedagogy pose a problem in relation to Anglo-Saxon traditions [§8.4.3]?
- Can Europeanisation in professional education be considered even if it is “inadvertent”, i.e., if no relevant actors are pursuing it “directly” (deliberately, visibly, systematically) [§8.4.4]?

In the England of the early 2000s there were interesting examples of the deliberate and systematic recruitment of Social Pedagogy-trained staff from other EU countries. This was different from the kind of largely Anglo-Saxon-trained recruitment found previously in Social Work (Kornbeck, 2004; Lyons, 2002) which had initially not offered such direct recruitment opportunities. Still in 1983, when a British person returned from West Germany with a Social Pedagogy degree hoping to work in a children and families team, she was

“[...] dismayed to learn that my German degree was not considered equal to the English CQSW and as a result was only able to apply for unqualified jobs in residential social work.

The only concession that was made was that I was advised I would only need to do a one-year post-graduate course in social work to gain the CQSW. I find it ironic that over 20 years later the positive values of my German degree are being hailed as a new discovery and perhaps a way forward for social workers in this country.” (Irena Lyczkowska, Senior social worker) (Community Care, 2005)

Something had changed compared with earlier, however, and compared with Social Work recruitment:

“[...] I used to run a drop-in centre for young people and we had a Danish social pedagogue student here on placement. It was interesting to see the way she approached the work and transcended some of the artificial boundaries we have in place in this country.

We should certainly look at the content of training of these students to see how they can aid the proposals for children’s workforce reform.” (Richard Taylor, Gateshead Children’s Fund) (Community Care, 2005)

By then, Social Pedagogy recruitment had already led to a sometimes quite heated debate (see Fitzpatrick, 2010). This might look like direct Europeanisation, as this process typically leads to various types of rejection before it is able to consolidate in a new field. If such rejection changed later, it may be because of the 1989 Directive, which regards Social Work in the UK as a registered profession. The English Social Pedagogy agenda is not, however, an example of direct Europeanisation, there has been no directive regarding social pedagogy. It is just happening, and the impetus and impulse appears always to have been national. Then the question remains whether an effect of indirect Europeanisation may not have been at work? That is, is it not conceivable that being part of the same EU, where countries cooperate and learn from each, makes scenarios like this one more likely?

8.4.2. Direct versus indirect Europeanisation

The process of verifying/falsifying the hypothesis of Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy in each of the three case studies, followed by verifying/falsifying the occurrence of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence should lead to a point where Europeanisation may be verified or falsified pragmatically [Chart 1.2]: if results from the three case studies are not too dissimilar, Europeanisation might at least be affirmed phenomenologically, i.e., without prejudice as to the possible drivers of the processes observed. As explained in the summaries of the case studies [§7], however, very few common traits could be found. Only the case studies concerning Belgium and Denmark showed marked similarities, and these could certainly not be attributed to developments at EU level. The enduring impression remains one of national curriculum policies continuing to reflect national concepts with regards to Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and the option of Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence. This is not to say that professional education in the three countries was not, during the Reference Period, influenced by developments at EU level. Such influence could be felt, including students and staff exchange activities between higher education institutions (Lorenz, Aluffi Pentini & Kniephoff, 1998) and EU-funded research projects (Cordeaux, 1999; Boddy, Cameron & Moss, 2005), etc. This suggests that the EU could provide added value, should a political willingness emerge to promote Social Pedagogy via EU policy-making (Moss & Cameron, 2011, p. 203).

In the case of English professional education, Europeanisation represents an especial intellectual challenge because influence from (often Anglophone) extra-European countries is obvious in Social Work (Khan & Dominelli, 2010), matched by patterns in graduate Social Work recruitment (Kornbeck, 2004b), and does not seem to be challenged. It would not be unreasonable to assume English professional education to have followed patterns roughly comparable to those in higher education decision making generally, where the Bologna Process is accused of attracting more interest in the US than in the UK (Scott, 2012); yet the Social Pedagogy agenda (unlike Social Work) is different in that it has grown out of an exchange which has been intra-European.

8.4.3. Is Social Pedagogy “too German” for England?

If Social Work/Social Pedagogy dichotomy and Social Work/Social Pedagogy convergence seem like the products of a “Teutonic taxonomy” (Brauns & Kramer, 1986, p. 5), it is equally true that Social Pedagogy may in itself appear “too German”, as highlighted in one polemic contribution published by *Community Care* (Fitzpatrick, 2010). But while it is true that there may be limits to “exportability” (Kornbeck, 2002c), especially when the product is highly typical of a particular culture, the possible obstacles should not be seen as insurmountable. Future research should investigate this question and might thereby take two facts into account: the successful exportation of Social Pedagogy from the German-speaking to the Spanish-speaking world [§8.4.3.1], as well as examples, from previous centuries, of English Social Pedagogy-like concepts as well as “educational borrowing” into England/the UK [§8.4.3.2].

Engaging with the critics of the current Social Pedagogy agenda involves acknowledging that the grass is not always greener on the other side. It also involves acknowledging that domestic debates current in the “sending” countries are more diversified than might be apparent from the writings of UK Social Pedagogy proponents, for while Danish preschool care and education (important parts of Social Pedagogy practice, though by no means its only or even major constituent elements) may have a good name abroad, domestically they have come under increased

criticism. In 2011–2012 early results from a PhD thesis on the welfare and happiness of crèche children (age 0–3) led to considerable controversy, both in specialised publications (e.g., Søbørg, 2012) and in mainstream newspapers (e.g., Gunge Hansen, et al., 2012). Blog comments published by pedagogues and lay people alike revealed readers of the posted texts as deeply split over the issue. Significantly, the results of this research and the reports of neglect were further disseminated by the French Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (see DREES, 2013).⁷⁹

Researchers and policy makers who look abroad for inspiration must retain their critical faculties. This was discussed in more detail above [§3.5] where the debate over British criminologists' observations from study visits to the Continent conducted, over a decade ago, (Crawford (2000); King (2000)), was summarised. It was against this backdrop that, in earlier work, I emphasised the need to address the “limits to exportability” (Kornbeck, 2002c) of Social Pedagogy. There are additional reasons why Berridge, et al. (2011) may be right. While they found that English colleagues were not so prepared for Social Pedagogy if it meant less hierarchical relations, there is no reason why this finding must be portrayed negatively: English culture and Nordic culture vary, so it may seem more advisable to adapt Social Pedagogy to English culture (or refrain from implementing it) rather than trying to change their English ways. Nordic flat hierarchies are not without critics in their own countries: in the 1990s a Norwegian researcher portrayed the increasingly soft-looking new structures of local authorities as the “tyranny of the unstructured” (*strukturløshetens tyranny*) (Moland, 1999) and it is known that more than one Norwegian anarchist network has taken up the idea in blog contributions, interpreting flat hierarchies as an instrument in the service of neoliberal power. In fact, though flat hierarchies are often seen as emancipated, they can also be the opposite, allowing management to maintain pressure on workers and passing decisions on to “the floor” which should rightly be taken by management itself. On the other hand, if Social Pedagogy is a source of inspiration rather than a model to be taken over “lock, stock and barrel”, it could enrich UK Social Work in the same way that it enriched US Social Work in the interwar years; and it “does privilege working directly with people

⁷⁹ On a personal note, as a Danish expatriate who is also a parent married to a teacher, the author of this thesis has been satisfied knowing that his children were being educated in the French preschool tradition, rather than in Danish daycare institutions with a proclaimed ideal termed “free play”.

much *as promised* by the core values of social work” (Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse, 2005, p. 23, sec. 5.26) (emphasis added: Kornbeck).

8.4.3.1. Social Pedagogy from the German-speaking to the Spanish speaking world

Those who consider Social Pedagogy “too German” (as a model for English professional education) will need to consider the fact that English language and culture have some Germanic as well as other French roots. That Social Pedagogy should have been successfully exported to Spain and Latin America would therefore, at first sight, seem even more implausible, yet this is precisely what happened. While Spanish Social Pedagogy has a “German stream”, an “Anglo-Saxon stream” and a “French stream” (Úcar, 2011, pp. 136–138), the surprising fact is that Natorp’s theoretical Social Pedagogy – in itself less easily exportable than any practice model – was introduced to Spain in the middle of World War I by José Ortega y Gasset (1916) in an article which still features on the reference lists of many academic books and papers (see Fermoso Estébanez, 2003, p. 14). The first translations of German textbooks were already available around that time and Social Pedagogy developed into a university discipline with a strong theoretical foundation (as opposed to a mere occupation). Later (partly as a result of Spanish intellectuals’ self-chosen exile during the Franco regime) Social Pedagogy was exported to Latin America where it seems well represented in academia today (Úcar, 2012).

The lesson from this material should be that it cannot be more difficult for an English-speaking culture to absorb theoretical Social Pedagogy than it has been for Spanish-speaking cultures. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the establishment, in early 2012, of the first US Social Pedagogy course at Arizona State University (Phoenix) (ASU, 2012a). The first course description referred with pride to traditions located outside of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to Karl Mager in Germany in the 1840’s (ASU, 2012b). That the lead academic, Professor Daniel Schugurensky, was Argentinian born, does not seem to be a coincidence, given the presence of a Social Pedagogy tradition in Argentina (see Úcar, 2012). The implications of this recent development need to be drawn up with regards to their relevance to English professional education debates: if US professional education can embrace German

Social Pedagogy, albeit facilitated by Latin America, then maybe English professional education can, too.

Intriguingly, in late 2012, an article published by a specialised Danish journalist revealed that another US programme, established 20 years earlier, had been drawing inspiration (and some concepts and tools) specifically from Danish Social Pedagogy. The title “Concentration in Human Services” did not lend visibility to this fact until the university of New Paltz (New York) had decided finally to take their students on a field visit to Denmark (Gundersen, 2012). This example may serve as an additional illustration of the relevance of “implicit Social Pedagogy” [§7.6.2].

Critical readers might ask, then, if the same can or will happen in an English context. Naturally the answer must be that nothing is certain, yet Social Pedagogy-like concepts are not totally alien to an English tradition. Besides, “educational borrowing” has happened before: indeed, the concept was coined by a British academic (Sadler, 1900; cit. Winther-Jensen, 2011).

8.4.3.2. English Social Pedagogy and “educational borrowing”

A rapprochement between Social Pedagogy and Social Pedagogy, or between British/English and Continental/Nordic traditions, would not in itself – *ceteris paribus* – mean a breach of continuity with Anglo-American traditions. Even a cursory examination reveals that certain elements of the Social Pedagogy concept were already present in Jane Addams’s version of US Social Work (Eberhardt, [1995] 2009; Kornbeck, 2010b) while in a purely British context, Thomas Coram (1668–1751) and Robert Owen (1771–1858) may be seen as precursors (Petrie & Cameron, 2009, pp. 150–152), even if they did not use the term Social Pedagogy (any more than Pestalozzi used it). Similarly, R.L. Edgeworth (1744–1817) and his daughter Maria (1768–1849), in writing their *Practical Education* (1789) and *Professional Education* (1809) were clearly indebted to Rousseau Barnard ([1947] 1969, pp. 40–41).

While these writers and reformers did not see their Englishness challenged by drawing upon ideas from the Continent, they very much belonged to the eighteenth century, whose “easier-going spirit” contrasted with the nineteenth century as epitomised by the strict religiosity of Gladstone, for example (Jenkins, 1995, p. 212). The age of “Whiggery” has been reassessed negatively (Butterfield, 1965), yet it may

still have been more cosmopolitan than the Victorian age which followed. And yet the Victorian age had its reformers, including Oxford don Mark Pattison whose observations of a more scholarly culture in German universities were to inform university reforms at Oxford and Cambridge (Sparrow, 1967, pp. 110–111).

8.4.4. Social Pedagogy borrowing as inadvertent Europeanisation?

It might also be assumed that some trends, such as increased English/British recruitment of Social Work/Social Pedagogy (especially Social Pedagogy) trained professionals from other EU countries, would at least partially reflect Europeanisation. Yet Social Work recruitment into the UK and Ireland has been largely from Anglo-Saxon countries (Kornbeck, 2004); and, while the more recent recruitment of Social Pedagogy professionals has been (precisely) from non-Anglo-Saxon countries, evidence from England revealed no influence from processes or actors at EU level.

The English agenda seems to have been rather domestically-driven, although EU membership may have furthered the activities indirectly, since the countries involved in Social Pedagogy diffusion activities already know each other well through their EU membership. And yet, the outcome of a basically domestically-driven agenda without any formal (or even real) EU attachment could be some sort of rapprochement with the UK's European partners, thereby (even if inadvertently) confirming the baseline assumption of the 1950 Schuman Declaration with which European integration started:

“Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.” (Schuman, 1950)

Granted that a master plan is not always needed to come close together; that the absence of a (visible) master plan may even sometimes facilitate exchange and mutual learning; and that learning outcomes are often unintended by those who launched the formal learning exercises (the English Social Pedagogy government agenda was launched in an instrumental spirit of “what works” but might in the end have led to the emergence of hard-to-control academic discourses more akin of that of

Hämäläinen (2003)), it may be assumed that the experience of discovering Social Pedagogy might, in the English context, amount to more than “trying it on for size” (Petrie & Cameron, 2009, p. 145). Such inadvertent Europeanisation would indeed be good news in today’s climate of increased Euroscepticism, where the repercussions of the euro crisis seem set to undermine faith even with all those achievements of European integration which have already been in place for years or decades, and which have stood the test of time. Inadvertent Europeanisation might thus prove to be more attractive than suggested by the potentially embarrassing adjective “inadvertent”. Yet for Social Pedagogy – this old, often rejected yet surprisingly resistant concept (Rosendal Jensen, 2006, p. 232) which seems determined to refuse the kind of leadership role for which Social Work has been struggling on its “bumpy path to professionalization” (Guzzetta, 2006) – inadvertent success might perhaps be a very Social Pedagogy-like way to success.

* * * * *

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Glossary and List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Defined in section
§	[Chapter/section of thesis]	1.1
15 Year Reference Period	15 Year Reference Period (1989–2004)	3.2.2
AIEJI	Association Internationale des Educateurs Sociaux/International Association of Social Educators)	5.3.3.
BASW	British Association of Social Workers (UK Social Work association)	
CCETSW	Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work [UK]	8.1.
cit.	Cited [thus quoted in] [reference follows]	
“convergence theorem”	(One of the six German “theorems” explaining the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy)	2.4.1.2.
CQSW	Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (1975 and 1991)	4.2.2
CSS	Certificate in Social Services (1975–1995)	4.2.2.
DBSH	Deutscher Berufsverband für Soziale Arbeit (DBSH) e.V. (German Social Work association)	
DipSW	Diploma in Social Work (1991–2003)	4.2.2.
“divergence theorem”	(One of the six German “theorems” explaining the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy)	2.4.1.1.
DS	<i>Dansk Socialrådgiverforening</i> [Denmark]	
EC	European Community, European Communities	
EU	European Union	
FH	<i>Fachhochschule</i> (official English translation: “university of applied sciences): higher education institution in Germany without university status	
GSCC	General Social Care Council [UK]	
HE	Higher education	
HRK	<i>Hochschulrektorenkonferenz</i> (previously: WRK) (Conference of rectors/presidents of the German universities, after 1990)	
“identity theorem”	(One of the six German “theorems” explaining the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy)	2.4.1.5
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers	
JK	Jacob Kornbeck (used after the translation of a citation)	
KMK	<i>Kultusministerkonferenz</i>	

	(Conference of education ministers of the German <i>Länder</i>)	
Member State(s)	Member State(s) of the European Union (EU)	
professional education	Professional education for the social professions	
RQ	Research question	
<i>Sozialarbeitswissenschaft</i>	(a theory and a movement)	
SL	<i>Socialpædagogernes Landsforbund</i> [Denmark]	
SP	Social Pedagogy	1.1
“subordination theorem”	(One of the six German “theorems” explaining the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy)	2.4.1.3.
“substitution theorem”	(One of the six German “theorems” explaining the relationship between Social Work and Social Pedagogy)	2.4.1.6.
SW	Social Work	1.1
transl.:	Translation [of a citation]	
UK	United Kingdom	
WRK	Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz (today: HRK) (Conference of rectors/presidents of the West German universities, before 1990)	

References

Sources⁸⁰

Note: To facilitate cross-referencing throughout the thesis, most sources are to be found in the reference list; such sources are marked with a hash: #.

Given that sources are listed for the three case studies of the investigation (Germany, Denmark, Belgium) in addition to British/English, European and international sources, the system familiar to historians whereby a structured index of sources consulted precedes the reference list (limited to edited sources and scholarly literature) did not seem to be workable in this case; readers might need to search in many different sections and subsections of the Sources section (after having sought in vain the list of References) before they would find the relevant source(s) as quoted in the main text of the thesis. On the other hand, it seemed necessary and relevant to maintain the index of Sources since, from a methodological perspective, it serves a purpose in that it provides the rationale for the choice of sources used as well as the hierarchy subsumed between them, by the researcher: a fundamental principle of a hermeneutic investigation based on a literary criticism of original sources collected and analysed as part of the investigation. The solution chosen was, therefore, to list as many sources as possible under References, while including all relevant references to these sources, in the Sources section (#). On the other hand, certain list of archive material clearly did not fit into the References section, so that they were maintained in extensor in the Sources section.

Also, legislation and case-law were not included into the References section, as it was judged to be self-evident that they were to be sought in the respective subsections of the Sources section.

1. German sources

1.1. Governmental sources: ministerial sources and QUANGO sources

1.1.1. Education Ministers of the Länder (KMK)

- KMK (2001) #
- KMK & HRK (2000) #
- KMK & HRK (2001) #

1.1.2. Higher education QUANGO's

- FTSA (2006) #
- HRK (undated) #
- HRK [Hochschulrektorenkonferenz]: File entitled: „Gemeinsame Kommission Prüfungsordnung Soziale Arbeit“. Conserved in the HRK archive in Bonn, consulted with written permission from the HRK Secretary General.
- HRK (1996) #
- HRK (1999) #
- HRK (2001) #
- HRK (2004) #
- WRK (1976) #
- WRK (1989) #

⁸⁰ Not all sources have been quoted and/or interpreted systematically in the text, but all sources have contributed to informing the investigation. In the tradition of historiographic heuristics, relevant sources are listed and categorised separately. As the border between sources and literature is sometimes fluid, the full bibliographic references pertaining to sources are included in the normal reference list, alongside literature.

2. Danish sources

2.1. Documents pertaining to professional education for the Social Pedagogy profession

2.1.1. Laws and Ministerial Regulations

- Bek. 202 (1976) #
- Bek. 207 (1976) #
- DPB (2000) #
- Lbk. 614 (1987) #
- Lbk. 980 (2000) #
- L 370 (1991) #
- L 315 (2006) #
- L 562 (2007) #

2.1.2. Legislation: parliamentary files

- 2005–2006 – L 114 (oversigt): Forslag til lov om uddannelsen til professionsbachelor som pædagog.
<http://www.folketinget.dk/doc.aspx/?samling/20072/MENU/00000002.htm>
 - L 114 – Forslag til lov om uddannelsen til professionsbachelor som pædagog.
 - Fremsat skr 15/12 05 Tillæg A 3342
 - Lovf som fremsat 15/12 05 Tillæg A 3322
 - 1.beh 17/1 06 FF 2797
 - Betænkning 28/3 06 Tillæg B 825
 - 2.beh 4/4 06 FF 5317
 - 3.beh 6/4 06 FF 5474
 - Lovf som vedt 6/4 06 Tillæg C 438
 - Dokumenter
 - Afstemningsresultater
- 2006–2007 – L 188 (oversigt): Forslag til lov om professionshøjskoler for videregående uddannelser.
<http://www.folketinget.dk/doc.aspx/?samling/20061/lovforslag/1188/index.htm>
 - Fremsat skr 14/3 07 Tillæg A 6753
 - Lovf som fremsat 14/3 07 Tillæg A 6693
 - 1.beh 30/3 07 FF 5263
 - Betænkning 22/5 07 Tillæg B 1363
 - 2.beh 29/5 07 FF 7583
 - Lovf optrykt efter 2.beh 29/5 07
 - 3.beh 1/6 07 FF 7842
 - Lovf som vedt 1/6 07 Tillæg C 915
 - Dokumenter
 - Afstemningsresultater

2.1.3. Reports from Ministerially nominated committees (*betænkninger*)

- Bet. 653 (1973) #
- Bet. 1213 (1990) #

2.1.4. Ministerial reports submitted to Parliament

- Undervisningsministeriet (2004) #

2.1.5. Ministerial Guidance Notes [issued to colleges]

- Uddannelsesvejledning (1980) #
- Uddannelsesvejledning (1984) #
- Uddannelsesvejledning (1989) #

2.1.6. Trade union sources

- ABA (2001) #
- SL (2003) #
- SL (2006a) #
- SL (2006b) #
- SL (2010a) #
- SL (2010b) #
- SFU [Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg] (1989a) #
- SFU [Socialarbejdernes Fællesudvalg] (1989b) #

2.2. Documents pertaining to professional education for the SR profession

2.2.1. Laws and Ministerial Regulations

- Bek. 113 (2001) #
- Bek. 684 (2008) #
- L 481 (2000) #
- L 207 (2008) #

2.2. Reports from Ministerially nominated committees

- Bet. nr. 818 (1977) #

2.3. Other sources

- Den Sociale Højskole i København (2005) #
- DS (undated) #
- DS (2002) #

3. Belgian sources

3.1. Legislation

- 12.06.1945. Loi sur la protection du titre d'auxiliaire ou d'assistant social. In: *Moniteur Belge*, 21.07.1945
- 8 novembre 1993. Loi protégeant le titre de psychologue. http://www.juridat.be/cgi_loi/loi_F.pl?cn=1993110835
- Décret du 27 février 2003 établissant les grades académiques délivrés par les hautes écoles organisées ou subventionnées par la Communauté française et fixant les grilles horaires minimales. http://www.galilex.cfwb.be/document/pdf/31095_000.pdf

3.2. Parliamentary documents in chronological order

3.2.1. Chambre des Représentants/Kamer van Volksvertegenwoordigers

- 23 mai 1945 : Projet de loi sur la protection du titre d'auxiliaire ou d'assistant social. Rapport fait au nom de la Commission par M. Devèze (Michel) (Chambre des Représentants, 1944–1945, 126, pp. 1–2)
- Loi sur la protection du titre de régent-éducateur, 9 juin 1953
- Loi sur la protection du titre de régent-éducateur, 11 mai 1954
- [Unidentified title]. Déposée par Mme Ryckmans-Corin, Doc. Chambre n° 671 (1975–1976)
- Chambre des Représentants: [Unidentified title] Déposée par M. T. Declerq, Doc. Chambre n° 645 (1980–1981)
- Chambre des Représentants: [Unidentified title] Déposée par M. Lernoux, Doc. Chambre n° 412 (1982–1983)
- Chambre des Représentants: Proposition de loi relative au statut des éducateurs sociaux spécialisés. Déposée par M. Léonard et cs. 280 (1985–1986) N° 1. 6 février 1986
- Chambre des Représentants. Session 1985–1986. Proposition de loi relative au statut des éducateurs sociaux spécialisés. Déposé par M. Léoard et cs. Doc. 280 (1985–1986) N° 1.

- Idem, amendements : doc. 280/4 (session 1985–1986) du 31 juillet 1986
- Chambre des Représentants: [Unidentified title] Déposée par Mme Ryckmans-Corin, Doc. Chambre n° 490 (1979–1980)
- Session spéciale 1991–1992. Chambre des représentants. Documents parlementaires . – Proposition de loi, n° 107/1. – Amendements, n°s 107/2, 107/3, 107/4, 107/5, 107/6. – Rapport, n°s 107/7, 107/10. – Texte adopté par la Commission, n° 107/8. – Projet amendé par le Sénat, n° 107/9. – Articles modifiés en séance plénière, n° 107/11. Annales parlementaires. – Discussion – séance du 19 juillet 1993. Adoption. – Séance du 29 mars 1994. Session 1992–1993. Sénat. Documents parlementaires . – Projet transmis par la Chambre des représentants, n° 825/1. – Rapport, n° 825/2. Annales parlementaires – Séance du 3 mars 1994.

http://www.juridat.be/cgi_loi/loi_a.pl

3.2.2. Sénat/Senaat

- Sénat: [Unidentified title] Déposée par Mme Ryckmans-Corin, Doc. Sénat n° 465 (1978–1979)
- Conseil de la Communauté Française: [Unidentified title] Déposée par M. Lernoux, Doc. CFF n° 40 (1982)
- Sénat: [Unidentified title] Déposée par M. Smits et cs., Doc. Sénat n° 286/1 (session 1985–1986)

3.2.3. Conseil de la Communauté Française; Parlement de la Communauté Française

- Conseil de la Communauté Française: [Unidentified title] Déposée par Mme Ryckmans-Corin, Doc. CFF n° 108 (1981)
- Charlier (2001): Philippe Charlier [debate in:] Parlement de la Communauté Française, 28.10.2001, <http://archive.pcf.be/imageStore/02107CCF1214437>

3.2.4. Vlaamse Raad

- Vlaamse Raad: [Unidentified title] T. Declerq, Doc. VR n° 125 (1981)

3.3. Case-law

3.3.1. Conseil d’Etat/Raad van State

- Avis du Conseil d’Etat, 12 mai 1982, réf. L. 1468/2

3.3.2. Cour d’Arbitrage/Arbitragehof

- Cour d’Arbitrage: Arrêt n° 74/97 du 17 décembre 1997. Numéro du rôle : 992. En cause : le recours en annulation de la loi du 29 avril 1994 relative au statut d’éducateur-accompagnateur spécialisé, introduit par le Gouvernement flamand. Publié le : 1998–01–28. <http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be>

3.3. Miscellaneous sources

- Photocopied documentation from an undated conference about the 1994 law.

4. English and British sources

4.1. Legislation

- Health Visiting and Social Work (Training) Act (1962) #
- LASSA (1970) #
- HASSASSAA (1983) #
- NHS and Community Care Act (1990) #
- Further and Higher Education Act (1992) #
- Care Standards Act (2000) #

4.2. Governmental policy papers and reports (including QUANGO's)

4.2.1. White Papers and other Government policy documents

- Cabinet Office (1999) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2007) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2008) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2008a) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2008b) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2009) #
- H.M. Government, DCSF (2010) #
- H.M. Government, DfEE (1998) #
- H.M. Government, DfEE (1998) #
- H.M. Government, DfEE (2004) #
- H.M. Government, DfES (2004) #
- H.M. Government: DH (1998) #
- H.M. Government: DH (2010) #
- Scottish Executive (2006a) #
- Scottish Executive (2006b) #

4.2.2. "Command" Reports and official inquiry reports

- Beveridge (1942) #
- Kent (1997) #
- Kilbrandon [1964] (1995) #
- Laming (2003) #
- Laming (2009) #
- Lane (1994) #
- Seeböhm (1968) #
- Warner (1992) #
- 4.2.3. QUANGO policy papers and reports, press releases, etc.
- CCETSW (1973) #
- CCETSW (1983) #
- CCETSW (1986) #
- CCETSW (1987) #
- CCETSW (1989) #
- CCETSW (1992) #
- CWDC (undated) #
- GSCC (2004) #
- GSCC (2011) #
- Madge (1994) #
- NICE & SCIE (2009) #
- NICE & SCIE (2010) #
- QAA (2000) #

4.3. Non- Governmental policy papers and reports

- Social Education Trust (2001) #
- Social Work Task Force (2009) #

5. European and international sources

5.1. Governmental sources

5.1.1. Legislation

- Directive 89/48/EEC (1989): Council Directive 89/48/EEC of 21 December 1988 on a general system for the recognition of higher-education diplomas awarded on completion of professional education and training of at least three years' duration. In: Official Journal of the EC, L 19 , 24/01/1989, pp. 16–23
- Directive 92/51/EEC (1992): Council Directive 92/51/EEC of 18 June 1992 on a second general system for the recognition of professional education and training to supplement Directive 89/48/EEC. In: Official Journal of the EC, L 209 , 24/07/1992, pp. 25–45
- Directive 2005/36/EC: of the European Parliament and of the Council on the recognition of professional qualifications. In: Official Journal of the EU, L 255, 30/9/2005, pp. 22–142

5.1.2. Other governmental sources

- Commission of the European Communities (1997) #
- Commission of the European Communities (2000) #
- Council of Europe (1977) #
- Council of Europe (1996) #
- European Commission (undated b) #
- United Nations (1958) #

5.2. Non-governmental sources

- AIEJI (2005) #
- AIEJI (2008) #
- DBSH, NVMW & ÖBDS (1997) #
- IFSW (2001a) #
- IFSW (2001b) #
- IFSW (2004) #

6. Journalistic sources (including readers' 'letters to the editor', comments, blogs, etc.)

- Aarøe-Pedersen (2010) #
- Barnes (2009) #
- Barthold (2002) #
- Bengtsen Blem (2006) #
- Bunting (2006) #
- Cooper (2011) #
- Dunning (2010) #
- Ellegaard (2004) #
- Enoksen (2007) #
- Fitzpatrick (2010) #
- Gerspach (2002) #
- Gibb (2009) #
- Gray (2012) #
- Grønningsæter (1999) #
- Gundersen (2012) #

- Juul Rasmussen (2001) #
- Juul Rasmussen (2002) #
- Kornbeck (2002b) #
- Ladefoged & Gad Johansen (1985) #
- Ladefoged & Nissen (1985) #
- Larsen & Larsen (1983a) #
- Larsen & Larsen (1983b) #
- Leick, Schreiber & Stoldt (2010) #
- Lihme (2006) #
- Lombard (2009) #
- Lønbæk Pedersen (2006) #
- McGregor (2010a) #
- McGregor (2010b) #
- Mickel (2008) #
- N.N. (1979) #
- N.N. (1983) #
- Paulsen (2006) #
- Politiken (2003) #
- Ritzau (2012) #
- Schall Holberg (2007) #
- Scott (2012) #
- Sønderris (1989) #
- Sonne (2008a) #
- Sonne (2008b) #
- Sørensen (2012) #
- Sterll & Bengtsen Blem (2006) #
- Svane & Gram (2004) #

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