

SOCIAL WORK IN DENMARK 1790-2003

A BRIEF HISTORY

European Modules, SW 1

by

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SOCIAL WORK IN DENMARK 1790-2003 - A BRIEF HISTORY

Introduction - Welfare functions and social work.

This brief history of *Social Work* in Denmark throughout more than 200 years is a bit *anachronistic*: activities today being called *Social Work* will be traced back in time - whereby the activities of that time will be described and understood in the context of today.

This brief history of *Social Work* has a *functional* approach: it will describe how *social work* has been done with the purpose of influencing *individuals' relations to society*. *Social Work* is normally initiated in order to improve the *welfare* of a person or group of persons, who lives in poor conditions - which conditions should be improved by the social work.

The *welfare* of a person can be analysed under four aspects or four welfare functions. If the person's needs are not being met on one or more of these aspects, we often say: he or she is *poor*:

These four *welfare functions* are:

1. **provision** (maintenance) of persons, who a) cannot themselves sell (or should not sell) their work-power, and b) are not by law provided for by wife/husband or children/parents,
2. **care** in case of disease, and **compensation** in case of disablement, and **shelter/asylum** for those in need thereof
3. **education - socialisation** for all (children), including childcare, and including socialisation of adolescents and rehabilitation of criminal offenders.
4. **housing**. Mostly people buy/rent houses, but in Denmark some state intervention takes place with regards to quality and price of housing.

Social work broadly can be said to relieve shortage for the individual on one or more of these functions. *Social work* is only one of several types of activity influencing the individual's relations.

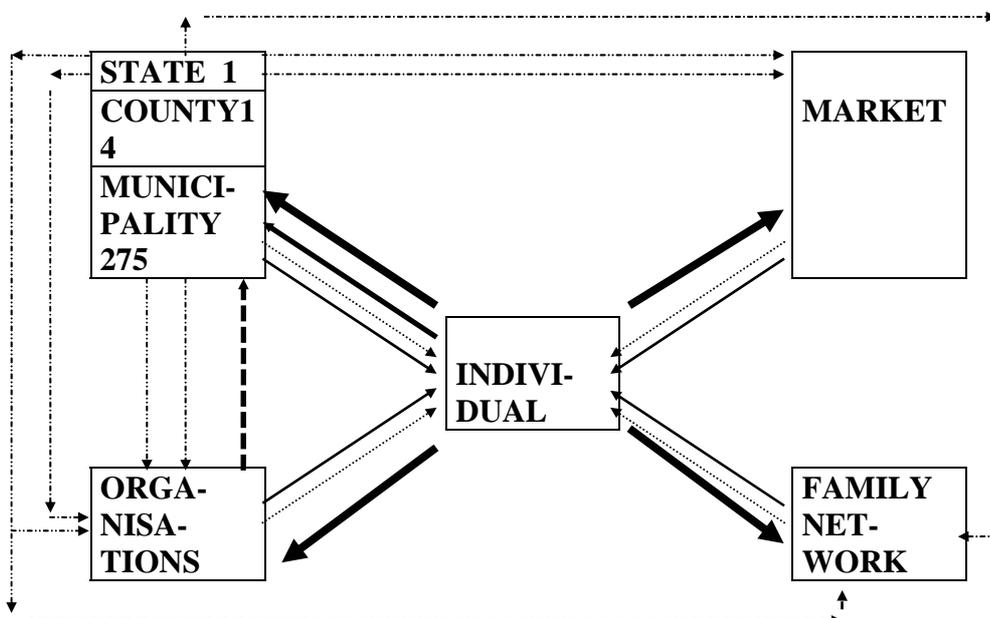
The following presentation of *social work* is built on a view that the individual's position in society can be analysed by her relations to four sectors: state, market, organisations, family (mod. I).

A glance at the history of Danish *economic development*, *social policy* and *social work* shows a large and varied interplay between public and private actors about different types of production and distribution of goods and services, including transfers, care and education:

- ordinary **consumer goods** are produced and distributed largely in and by the private sector and on market conditions. Since 1857 Danish industrial policy has been ultra liberal (except for war periods). Yet, the state in many ways regulates the functioning of the market: on-the-job safety, work conditions, 'proper marketing behaviour', Road Traffic Act, building construction law, etc.
- **income transfer** have been carried out by STATE institutions: poor relief, old age pensions (state/municipality); by ORGANISATIONS: unemployment insurance (unemployment benefits), health insurance (sickness benefits, medicine cost subsidy); and in FAMILY: mutual support duty between spouses, and between parents and children <18, support of youngsters in education. The organisations' income transfer activity has been regulated by STATE, by contributions and control, and in the 1970s social reform sickness benefit and (part of) medicine cost subsidies have been reorganised from an ORGANISATION-function to a STATE-function. An exception is a set of

formerly 'private' old age insurance (saving) schemes, formally organised as private saving (MARKET) but regulated by law and with tax reduction as a main source of finance (STATE).

- **care** in case of disease during the 19th and 20th centuries has been **produced** and **delivered** partly by general practitioners and pharmacists, and to a very limited extent by private hospitals (MARKET), partly by municipal- and county-run hospitals (STATE). **Financing** has been mixed private/ organisation/state organised, with a growing part being financed from tax.
- **care** also includes handicap compensating services, which in the same period have been **produced** and **delivered** by MARKET, ORGANISATIONS, FAMILY (especially women), and STATE. These services have been **financed** by STATE, ORGANISATIONS, and to a very small extent by the individual client.
- during the 1800s and 1900s **basic education** and **professional training** in Denmark has mainly been **provided** by local authorities, organisations and state, and **financed** mainly through tax. **Socialisation** is mainly carried out in the family but also since World War II to a growing extent in public institutions (kindergartens), and in financially tax-supported leisure organisations, with limited local authority control.



The multiplicity of the roles of the states is illustrated by the 'arrows' from the STATE to the individual and from the STATE to the other three sectors of the model:

- provision, care —————→
- socialisation, education→
- regulation, control→
- contributions→
- political claims - - - - -→
- tax payment ————→
- work, effort —————→

The concept **welfare mix** is often used in discussions about how to organize the efforts in the 'WELFARE SQUARE':

1. from which of the 4 sectors should **provision** be delivered? What level of sustenance should be provided, to which groups? And: who should be responsible and pay?

2. from which of the 4 sectors should **care** be delivered? What level of care should be provided, to which groups? And: who should be responsible and pay?
3. from which of the 4 sectors should **education** and **socialisation** be provided? What level of **education** and **socialisation** should be provided, to which groups? And: who should be responsible and pay?

The history of *Social Work* in Denmark is a history of men and women acting in organised ways to improve the *welfare situation* of this or that group of persons whose situation is/was considered *poor*. During the following pages I hope to justify the viewpoint that their *social work* can be analysed with the above abstraction, even though the analysis covers more than 200 years. However, other activities such as industrial policy, educational policy, housing policy, health policy and other fields of policy aim at influencing the *welfare situation* of the citizens as well. Persons engaged in *social work* often have taken lively part in discussions about those fields of policy as well.

The history of *Social Work* can roughly be divided into five chapters, with five periods, under the headings : 1790-1850 Philanthropy and public poor-relief, 1850-1900 Philanthropy, public poor-relief, and Help to Self-help, 1900-1950 Organisations and public social work, 1950-1990 The highlight of public social work, 1990- Resurrection of organisations, public "workfare". The period demarcations are, of course, rough: developments in different branches of social work are different, and so a period demarcation appropriate for one development fits less well for another. This will also be illustrated below. At the end of the chapter a two-page chart of the history of Denmark and especially of Danish Social History is depicted, so as to facilitate an understanding of economic and political context for the development of *Social Policy* and *Social Work*.

1790-1850 Philanthropy and public poor-relief

Towards 1800 Danish production and trade flourished, partly because of Danish neutrality in the Napoleonic wars. Grain export and international trade facilitated reforms in agriculture and economic growth especially in Copenhagen, capital of the Danish-Norwegian-Schleswig-Holstein kingdom. In this environment of growth, relative economic wealth, and high employment, the monarchic government initiated a series of reforms, inspired by liberal theories of economic growth: in agriculture tenancy was replaced by free-holding, a public school system for all children was established in 1814. And the poor laws established a system of public poor relief 1799-1803.

The 1799 Copenhagen Poor Law was inspired by the 1788 Hamburg Poor Law: twelve districts with 130 sub-districts with each approximately fifteen households. The 130 overseers-of-the-poor were expected not only to distribute relief to the sick and poor their district (*provision*), but also to keep themselves informed so as to prevent the rise of poverty for each of "their" fifteen households, especially as far as possible to keep the members of the household in work (*control*). The task as overseer was unpaid, it was considered a civic duty to King and God. The Poores' Directorate had difficulties finding enough volunteers! The expenditures of the Copenhagen Poores' Directorate were to be financed partly by voluntary gifts, partly by the revenue of the Port of Copenhagen

The 1803 Poor Laws for respectively Towns and Land Parishes established a Poores' Board in each parish, chaired by the vicar and with the two biggest landowners plus two or three parish members. The board would register any poor person in the parish and decide what relief was to be given, including also jobs as part of the relief. They also decided on the sending away poor persons who belonged to other parishes. In towns the Board also had a member from the municipal council.

The board's expenditures were to be financed by voluntary contributions and - when these did not cover the bill - by poor-tax, also decided by the board. Thus the members of the board were to do the social work - deliver the relief - as well as the taxation, collecting the contributions by their fellow parishioners. The laws prescribed that being a member of the Poors' Board was a duty! In some parishes the vicar - who was the king's representative - had some trouble trying to mobilise the parishioners to join the Poors' Board.

The 1799-1803 laws underlined the duty of the overseer-of-the-poor to induce the poor to work as much as - but not more than - their capacity allowed (*Control, socialisation*). This was both to limit expenses and to keep up the work-morale of the individual. As for orphans, the laws prescribed that the Board should put them into foster-homes and should ensure that they were properly taken to school, and when they had grown up be taught a craft. The public social work of that time had a strong element of indoctrination.

The 1803 Poors' Boards, together with the 1814 Schools Committees, with their dual function of delivering service and taxing their fellow parishioners, became the origin of the present Danish municipal self-government. They became political battlefields between conservative-patriarchal values on one side and growing the liberal Malthusianism of the ever more selfconscious freeholding farmers, advocating low grants to the poor and humiliating conditions for the poor in order to keep down the tax burden for the producers (i.e. themselves). This conflict between generosity and tight fistedness towards the poor still prevails - now under the label of "the incentive-problem".

An economic depression followed the British assault on Copenhagen in 1807 and the successive Danish war participation on France's side in Napoleons defeat - the Danish merchant fleet was by and large captured by the British, and so trade and grain prices went down, and the port's revenue likewise. During the depression unemployment and poverty grew, and the taxpayers had less surplus to be taxed. In that setting the Poors' Boards administered the law ever more rigorously, with a stigmatising effect on the Poors' situation. So - when in 1849 the Danish Constitution came into being, it was considered "natural" that poor-relief recipients, together with women and servants, got no voting rights, not to mention eligibility, to parliament.

During the same period a number of private initiatives were taken to organise social work towards specific groups of people. One of the authors (Jørgensen, 1921) wrote: *Philanthropy is the work to reach out for and help the individual persons in need* - which to modern people sounds much like *social work*. However his text deals almost exclusively with initiatives motivated by Christianity. It should be mentioned that such initiatives were normally taken, inspired by similar initiatives in other European countries - there was a swift exchange of ideas, literature and impressions throughout Europe.

In 1807 and 1811 Royal Institutes for the deaf-and-dumb and for the blind were established by philanthropic men (and a few women) in Copenhagen. The initiators duly asked for royal permission and economic support, and achieved both. With this support as a basis they collected money, built institutions, and appealed to volunteers for support. In the Royal Institute for the Blind famous musicians taught young blind men to play music, to enable them to earn a living as musicians. And citizens taught crafts of brush-binding and basketwork. A recurring problem for the institutions was to get volunteers to work in the institutions. It should be noted that basis for the social work with the deaf-and-dumb was a relatively newly developed professional method of teaching, which could be described as social work on scientific grounds.

Orphans attracted several philanthropic initiatives. Whether one should call them pedagogic or social initiatives does not seem very important. In the 1820s and 1830s children's homes were established, inspired by Rousseau pedagogy as it was practised by Pestalozzi and Fellenberg in Switzerland. These children's homes were populated by children, not least from towns and especially from Copenhagen. The Danish towns had not yet become industrialised, but some urbanisation was developing. The 1837 Association for Salvage of Neglected Children sent children - not necessarily orphans - to these institutions, sometimes with full or part payment from the Poores' Board. The institutions intended to bring up the children in healthy surroundings, learning agriculture and horticulture and other useful crafts. In towns, especially in Copenhagen, Childrens' Asylums were established to care for single parent children who were without care during their mothers' working hours.

Around 1811 the first Sickness Insurance Associations were established, a movement which has since spread. During the same period saving banks were established. The SIA were mutual insurance organisations, often initiated by well-to-do upper class men, with a dual purpose: to prevent poverty (and need of poor relief) in case of disease by supplying day-money and by paying for doctors and medicines to have the sick cured, and educating the members to be well-organised, insured individuals. This development happened in a setting where an increasing number of skilled and unskilled workers became dependent on wage-earning, when capitalistic worker/employer relations replaced the feudalistic relations between master and journeyman.

1850-1900 Philanthropy, public poor-relief, and Help to Self-help

As mentioned above in 1849, when the Danish Constitution came into being, it was considered "natural" that poor-relief recipients, together with women and servants, received no voting rights, not to mention eligibility, to parliament. But the other side of the coin (a compromise often has two sides) was that the constitution granted the poor the right to public poor-relief. Thus the Malthusian liberals who advocated a "no-poor-relief - only teaching" policy were overruled by the conservative-patriarchy.

The liberals and religious philanthropists both argued that an enforced, tax-financed poor-relief was oppressive to the tax-payers and was cold-hearted to the poor, creating dependency and ill-functioning as a device to raise self-esteem, initiative and industriousness. They initiated and Parliament passed in 1854 a law of The Cashery of the Poor, establishing a parallel poor relief system. It was intended to rely on voluntary contributions, and its relief was to be given warm-heartedly and with no loss of civil rights. It was hoped that a minor grant of relief from The Cashery of the Poor might prevent a poor person from applying for poor relief from the Board of the Poores. The central person in The Cashery of the Poor was the Vicar - who was also chairman of the Board of the Poor. An explanation of this dual responsibility may be that the peasants whose influence in municipal affairs had grown during the first half of the 1800 years were leaving ever less influence to the religious leadership and so the vicars were searching to protect a field of influence. In the end The Cashery of the Poor never received enough with voluntary contributions. So many municipal councils decided to pay tax-money to it, hoping to save expenditure on the Poores' Board's budget.

During the second half of the 1800s urbanisation and industrialisation gained momentum in Denmark. It was accompanied by over-population in housing in towns, by loss of family-support, and by capitalistic relations becoming more dominant: the link between employer and worker become a mere "cash-nexus". Such development had taken place years ago in England and France. So the social

problems connected to the development were known in advance in Denmark. Conservative / patriarchal and religious philanthropists were worried by such development. From 1870 the growing labour movement also challenged the poverty which was a consequence of rising capitalism, and one may say that a competition arose between philanthropists and socialists to offer solutions to the undesired consequences of industrial capitalism.

Philanthropic considerations were behind the establishment of several "Workers Associations" in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, often initiated by industrialists, with an enlightenment purpose, and with the idea of offering leisure and newspaper reading facilities for workers.

More directly connected to *Social Work* in a modern sense is the establishment *Diakonissestiftelsen* - a *Foundation of Nursing Sisters*, in 1863, to provide healthcare services to sick members of parishes. Inspiration came from Germany. A School of Deaconry still exists in Aarhus. Finance was provided by religious organisations and by members of the royal family.

The Society for Disabled and Mutilated Children was founded in 1872 with the purpose of supplying such children with artificial limbs and educating. This *Society* expanded its activity in 1884 to include disabled adults, and in the following 100 years developed a widespread field of activity, including orthopaedic surgery hospitals - which in the 1970's were included in a general hospital reform in the public hospital system. The *Society* still exists, running the production of orthopaedic materials and training young people as craftsmen in related crafts.

The above mentioned organisation-run institutions for the deaf-and-dumb and the blind, and the institutions for orphans and neglected children continued their existence and activities, with a growing share of finance being delivered from municipal funds. From the deaf-and-dumb institute a new branch grew: an institute for the mentally handicapped (the *Keller institutions*, 1865). In 1898 it was taken over financially by the State.

During the 1850's and 1860's the number of Sickness Insurance Associations grew. In 1863 Parliament urged counties and towns - who were legally obliged to be run hospitals - to give sickness treatment *at reduced rate* to members of the SIAs. It was considered a tax-financed *help to selfhelp*. In 1892 a law was passed, giving regular support to the SIA's for the less-well-off, depending on public control of the associations' organisation and accountancy. However, the insurance was not accessible to those already sick, so persons born with a disability or disease relied on family support or the *Board of the Poor* or support from philanthropic organisations.

During the 1880s and 1890s the Labour Movement was consolidating itself. It consisted of three branches: party - trade unions - and the co-operative consumers' and producers' movement. Also connected were the Young Workers movement, the Child Leisure movement, and many more. Connected to the Trade Unions were *Unemployment Insurance Associations*, which were private mutual insurance organisations, with member-elected functionaries, fees and insurance-payment on unemployment. In 1907 the Unemployment Insurance Associations were granted state support, largely on same basis and with same state control as the SIAs. The Young Workers and the Child Leisure movements are normally counted as cultural organisations, rather than as *social work* organisations though the recruitment of the workers' children to sports rather than vagrancy in the streets is considered socially preventive. The religious movements also organised Youth movements, competing openly with the labour movement to influence the youth.

The poor elderly remained a political issue of growing importance. Developments in agriculture and in town industries changed relations so that ever more workers became dependent on poor relief in their old age. And average lifetime grew. The Labour Party campaigned to have a public old age pension, free of poor-relief loss of civic rights. In 1890 the Labour Party gained its first parliament seat in a land-constituency. This motivated the conservatives and the liberals to find a compromise: revision of the Poor Laws, exempting some categories of poor relief recipients from loss of civil rights, and passing a new 1892 law about *Support to Worthy Elderly outside the Poores' Authority*. The same social reform included the law of support to SIAs.

The Kindergarten movement came to Denmark in 1889, when a Froebel Association was founded. It was a middle class pedagogic movement, inspired by a German pedagogue, claiming that small children would develop better playing with other children under professional surveillance for approximately half the day. The first kindergartens in Copenhagen were such half-day institutions. But within short time members of the labour movement allied with the Froebel association and established the first "People's Kindergarten" in Copenhagen, starting a movement which replaced the "asylums" which mostly just looked after the children with development-oriented kindergartens. Some of the Asylums adopted the new pedagogy and still function as kindergartens.

Single women were an interesting field for philanthropic efforts: 1877 a Christian home for women who were released from prison, 1881 a Christian organisation "to help women who had lost their way", i.e. young women whose sexuality took place out of marriage. These offered education (*socialisation*) in useful competencies for becoming housewives: cooking, sewing etc. Also homes for temporary stay, e.g. during study, and permanent homes for the elderly. This was done in Copenhagen. Similar initiatives were taken later in other towns.

In different quarters in Copenhagen "Relief Associations" were established during the 1860's and 1870's. In 1874 they were merged into "Copenhagen Relief Association", which gave economic support to poor people, each person having his/her "book of relief". It functioned as a parallel to the public Poores' Committee system and the "Cashiers of the Poores" in the rest of the country.

During the 1890s discussions took place about criminal law with special regards to children and youngsters. 1895 saw the founding of a Christian Association for Children and Youngsters, the role of which became dual: arguing strongly for a more humane penal law - and establishing institutions for young persons who would otherwise be sent to jail for crime, mostly petty theft. The political discussion (*political claims*) resulted in a *Child-law* in 1905, establishing a new bodies for the public control of the lives of children, the *child welfare committees*. The conditions in prison also gave rise to organisations supporting ex-prisoners in trying to stay away from crime when released from prison.

As a by-product of the preparation for war nurses working for the Danish Red Cross were allowed to carry out the nursing of poor people in the 1890s, during which activity they found it impossible to find a clean sheet in the home of the poor. That led to some collecting and distribution to the poor.

1900-1950 Organisations and public social work

Modern Danish society can be said to have been established around 1900 ie: Trade Unions, Employers' Associations, the Industrial Relations Court, the political parties, cabinet responsibility, a comprehensive school system (7-18 years), municipal and county government, and in addition a large

share of the later welfare delivery functions such as hospital systems, a general practitioners' system, kindergarten systems, institutions for bringing up orphans and neglected children.

Social work in the period 1900-1950 can thus be said to have been less focused on the utterly destitute. It is a period of consolidation and innovation, often in state-organisation co-operation. Many already established organisation run institutions received increasing state and municipality money. But new initiatives deserve to be mentioned.

New types of organisations were established: the *umbrella organisation*, e.g. *The Joint Council of Child Welfare* 1903: a forum at that time twelve organisations for Child Welfare. *The National Associations of Day-care-institutions* (also a member of the above TJCCW). These organisations have the role of negotiating with the Ministry of the Interior (later: Ministry of Social Affairs) about legislation and funding.

The 1914-1918 war brought about a new role for the state. Danish neutrality resulted in good conditions for export of agricultural products and difficulties regarding supply. In that situation the government was given extraordinary powers to regulate the economy, supply and distribution. Regulation of prices on housing, food, rationing coal, gas, clothes, etc., was instituted in order to prevent extreme poverty and dissatisfaction. Is that social work? Hardly!. But it does reduce the amount of poverty! In the same period municipal tax paid support for different types of social work was expanded.

In the 1920'es a new type of social worker appeared, the *Hospital Helper* in Copenhagen. A middleclass well educated woman, supporting patients during and immediately after hospital care. The context is: disease as short or especially long term hospitalisation may raise economic problems for the patient. And if the prognosis is death or disability, the uncertainty about the future may by itself hinder recovery. A councillor who can give advice in that situation may ease the burden of uncertainty and help in recovery. The initiative seems to have come from hospital doctors and ministerial professionals. The first paid job as *Hospital Helper* came in 1934, and a systematised education for *Hospital Helpers* was introduced in 1936.

Another new type of organisations came into being in the period: the *Danish Association of the Blind*, and the *Danish Association of the Handicapped* in 1925. They claimed public initiatives to secure employment, as a way to equality. Typically they were organisations *of*, not *for*, the handicapped. And typically they came into being in some kind of protest or opposition to older, established philanthropic and perhaps paternalistic associations. They also organised counselling and support for members.

A third new type of organisations was seen: organisations against disease: e.g. the *Danish Cancer Society* 1928, with three purposes: support research in cancer, inform about cancer and therapy against it, and give support to cancer-patients. The third activity can be seen *social work*, providing both psychological support in crisis, group sessions, and patient-to-patient support.

From circa 1911 the Syndicalist wing of the Labour movement stressed a certain aspect of the liberation of (wo)man: "The freedom of the working class is not achieved, before the working woman can decide whether or not she will give birth ..." Syndicalists stressed two aspects of that right to decide: wanted children have better chance to become happy children and men - and as they called themselves "neo-Malthusians": if the working class reduces fertility, shortage of labour will raise wage

levels. Social work? There is not much doubt that the enlightenment effort concerning contraception and sexual hygiene reduced the number of unwanted pregnancies and thus reduced social problems. The topic was highly controversial: Christian-conservatives feared that enlightenment in this field might increase licentiousness and reduce morality, and many petty-bourgeois labour party members found the campaign assertive - woman's right to decide might undermine man's position.

1933 brought a third Social Reform. The preceding development of legislation since the 1891 reform and of institutions for children, handicapped, sick, homeless etc. had resulted in a rather complex set of laws, and the minister had single-handedly written a law book in order to systematise the legislation. Details will not be referred here. The basic system of tax- paid old-age support was maintained, the system of sickness insurance and unemployment insurance based on membership contribution plus state contribution was maintained, and the system of widespread public support to organisation- owned, state controlled institutions was maintained. Three important changes immediately relating to social work must, however, be mentioned: 1) The old practise of having poor-relief recipients lose civic rights was done away with. Only exceptionally were "anti-social" recipients hereafter stigmatised. 2) Municipalities of more than 3000 inhabitants were obliged to have a *Social Office* with daily office hours - which promoted professionalism in social administration. 3) Membership of a Sickness Insurance Association was made compulsory for Danish Citizens in Denmark - so the Danish system was indirectly made universal.

In the 1930s in Denmark as well as in the rest of Europe there was a big debate about the declining birth rate. The background for the discussion was the development of contraceptive techniques and popular use thereof since the 1890s. The book *The crisis in the population question* (1934), A&G Myrdal, opened with the fanfare: "Reason has won in the question of childbirth". It proceeds by praising the rational family, considering its own chances to give a desired child a good home, a good schooling, a good education, and good and healthy surroundings. It proposes types of public intervention to promote the rational family's propensity to have more children. A number of the proposals since have been realised, and now constitute what we in Denmark connect with *The Welfare State*: Cash support for families with children. Free medical service for pregnant women. Free midwife service. Housing support for families with children in rented housing. Kindergartens. Free tax-paid education.

Also among the proposals was systematic public information about sexuality, prevention, and sexual diseases. That was only partially implemented. But a law in 1939 established a set of *Mother-help* institutions, which was to counsel pregnant women as to what support they would be entitled to in case of birth. The same institutions had the task of deciding about a pregnant woman's application for abortion, if she wanted one. Abortion was until 1973 only allowed under narrowly specified circumstances. In *Mother Help* institutions *hospital helpers* and persons with equivalent education were employed. This is the first authorised *Social Work* function in Denmark.

During the 1930's economic crisis many initiatives were taken to relieve economic misery. There was an upsurge of voluntary effort, *coffee-houses for the unemployed*, *people's kitchens* with cheap meals for the unemployed. Also municipal and trade-union initiatives such as work-projects for young unemployed: establishment of sports areas and walk-paths in municipal forests and parks, forest-work in marginal farmlands, combined with basic teaching and gymnastics. Some of the initiatives were continued during the 1940-1945 war, partly with the political purpose of keeping the young away from the "influence from authoritarian ideas".

The end of the 1939-1945 war saw the rise of emergency aid, delivered by "Pacifists' Aid" (Fredsvennernes hjaelparbejde) both to German refugees in Denmark and to Norwegian, Finnish, Polish and German war victims in Norway, Finland, Poland and Germany. A few years later the organisation changed its name to "Co-operation between Peoples", Mellemlfolkeligt Samvirke.

1950-1990 The highlight of public social work

During the 1950s and 1960s *Social Work* in Denmark was being developed especially in the public sector. The Directorate for Child and Youngster Care in the Ministry of Social Affairs took an active part, by employing highly qualified consultants (psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers etc.) to assist the municipal child and youngster committees in their decisions in complicated cases. The Directorate also initiated an expansion of the School of Social Work, which was the training place for *Social Workers* (formerly *Hospital Helpers*) – both in curriculum and capacity. The director himself chaired the board of the School of Social Work. A new type of social worker - the *family counsellor* - was developed, in order to make social work appear less stigmatising. The *family counsellor* did not *control* family behaviour but was intended to be *an offer* to families in difficulties, be it economic, psychological, or in childcare. Educated *Social Advisors* from the School of Social Work were employed in some municipalities, where hitherto clerks had done most of the social work.

In child institutions a more diagnostic culture became prevalent, especially in some newly established municipal and county round the clock institutions. The older institutions were seen as less dynamic and less "scientific" in their approach. The word of the 1950s and 1960s became *professionalism* - not *charity*. In the 1960s some attention was drawn to the fact that a relatively high percentage of prisoners had a child-institution background, which added to the opinion that the old philanthropic institutions were not good enough.

During the 1950s and 1960's some influence from ideas in American social work was brought to Denmark, by teachers in *Social Advising*. *Casework* and *Active Listening* became elements in teaching. Development-psychology, crisis theory, communications techniques were seen as topics necessary for the social advisor. Politically quite many Social Workers took a labour party attitude, emphasising the clients' rights.

Economic and urban and social development in the 1950's and 1960s led to a need for a fourth social reform, as part of a thorough reform of the whole public administration. The reform was prepared by a commission working from 1964 to 1971 - a very thorough and solid work. The Commissions' investigations led to a proposal in the field of *Social work*, abandoning a number of specialised agencies and concentrating upon a municipal based "one-string" system, including also the Sickness Insurance, which is hereafter tax financed. The spinal column of the municipal social administration was to be the broadly trained social worker, with knowledge of economy, psychology, psychiatry, labour relations, social policy, sociology, handicap institutions, child institutions work, and rehabilitation. The Social Worker was expected to view the client's situation as an *entirety*, including economy, family relations, work relations. The curriculum of the Schools of Social Work was adapted accordingly and four new schools were added to the already existing two.

The reform was centred around the concept of "temporary loss of income": if by unemployment, disease, divorce, accident, military service or other reasons a person was cut off from earning what was necessary to maintain his/her and the family's hitherto living standard, the municipality would yield a relief large enough to prevent essential decline in living standards. If, on the top of the cash relief it be

necessary, the *Social Advisor* was to assist the client in returning to normal earning capacity. The relief period might be short or long - the criterion was: temporary. A basic assumption was that of course the client wants to return to normality.

An important background fact to the reform was a historically high employment - women's job frequency skyrocketed during the 1960'es, supported by a rapid expansion of day care institutions and home-care arrangements for the elderly. Rehabilitation of the handicapped almost always led to job placement. And standard of living, especially housing standards, rose considerably.

In 1973 the unemployment crisis had begun, changing the setting, but for still some four years the economists and politicians regarded the crisis as something temporary.

From 1977 onwards economists and politicians changed the view on the economic crisis, and accordingly politicians changed laws and conditions for social work. During the 1980's Social Democratic and Conservative governments cut the level of economic compensation to unemployed and tightened the social control especially for younger people's willingness to work. When public and private employers demand for labour is reduced, suspiciousness of your willingness is greater. The high unemployment in the 1980s expelled a number of persons first from job, then from the labour market. For some this meant a loss of social status. Municipal social workers trying to find job or job training placements for clients experienced an uphill task. And the clients experienced lack of social workers' success.

During the 1980s methods in family work developed in municipal institutions. Social workers with therapeutic post-graduate training tried, instead of placing children in care, to train parents to improve their relations with children, in many cases relatively successfully. However, the number of cases of children having to be placed outside the home grew. Whether or not that is connected with growing unemployment for ill educated parents has not been investigated.

A new field of social work has been created, also during the 1980'es, by political decisions to do away with the large institutions for mentally handicapped, built around 1900. The mentally handicapped have been placed in smaller housing units in ordinary housing areas, with support from social workers/social pedagogues for some hours of day, and many of them were also found some sheltered employment. Similarly psychiatric patients have been discharged from psychiatric hospitals, to live in their own homes, with some hours of support from a district psychiatric institution (typically a specially trained nurse or social worker). Slogan: "As near to normality as possible".

Other new fields of employment for social workers in the 1970s and 1980s are: the trade union offices. Social workers have assisted especially in cases of industrial accident, by achieving higher compensation than employers insurance intended to pay. And: Housing Associations' housing area reorganisation and improvement.

In 1956 a new state financed umbrella organisation was established to support Hungarian refugees in Denmark: *Danish Refugee Aid*. In the 1970s small groups undertook aid to American soldiers who deserted from the Vietnam war, with absolutely no state support.

In the 1970's a new type of institutions and social work was initiated: camps for asylum seeking refugees, to keep them isolated from ordinary societal functions until their application for asylum had been decided upon. When after sometimes year-long socially disabling inactivity asylum had been

granted, the *Danish Refugee Aid* and municipal authorities could embark upon the task of rehabilitating and integrating the refugees into society. In the same period the Danish Centre for Rehabilitation of Torture Victims was established.

A short note on terminology: During the 1970s it became common among *Social Advisers* to call their work *Social Work* and themselves *Social Workers*. It is mirrored in the name of the schools: in English we say *Schools of Social Work*, though the direct translation of the Danish name is *Social Highschool*. If anyone would find it worth an argument, the work made by *Social Pedagogues* and *Home-Helpers* and clerks in municipal social offices and assistants in alcohol-abuse-treatment institutions could as well be named *Social Work* as well as that of the *Social Advisers*.

1990- Resurrection of organisations, public "workfare"

During the 1980s and even more the 1990s many disease-related organisations have been established, to function both as lobby-groups for public financial support and to improve treatment and to get better support for the patients, and as advisory agents at mutual selfhelp agents for members. Some of them employ professional social workers.

From early 1980s some politicians have stressed the importance of engaging voluntary organisations in social work, partly with the economic motive of having the work done without public expense, partly with the motive that private organisations have capacities which cannot be found in public organisation: "private good, public bad". In a 1998 remodelling of social laws municipalities have been obliged to co-operate with non- profit organisations. Most NPO's have said thank you for the financial support but have vigorously refused to take over the functions residing with the municipality. As can be seen from the above, the NPO's have existed for very many years, and quite few of them are dying!

Important for social work is the prevalent high unemployment combined with the politicians' stronger emphasis on "workfare": legislation has been remodelled so as to make the social worker convince the client, that he or she will see the job just-around-the-corner, if he or she mobilises her resources (*socialisation*). The Minister of Employment has launched a campaign: *Everybody can get into job*. It ought to be added: .. *but not all at the same time*, considering the maintenance of a "non-inflationary" unemployment of some 7-8% in total. Moreover, for cosmetic reasons the unemployment statistics have been modified, so as to show a lower figure of unemployment than the earlier method would have shown. The lowering of cash transfers (unemployment and sickness insurance, social security) often makes it unrealistic to maintain a principle of *entirety* in social counselling. Of course both client and social worker know that in very many cases there is no job just around the corner. 1998 legislation restricted the access to a disabled pension. Some thousands of disabled persons instead of pension are referred to a "flex-job", in sheltered conditions and backed by municipal payment to the employer. This whole set-up is not yet thoroughly developed, but municipal social workers report growing difficulties finding such flex-jobs.

Concluding remarks

This brief review of social work in Denmark in 200 years gives only a taste of the rich tapestry of social work. A reservation must be made: the category "social workers" of today tend to be identified with "social workers who have graduated from The School of Social Work". That would be misleading. Historically, in the field of social work, as here described, we find teachers, theologians,

farmers, merchants, craftsmen, medical doctors, psychiatrists, pedagogues, lawyers, administrators, and not the least: idealists with no formal education. From the 1930s onwards specialisation has prevailed.

In Denmark the hospital-helpers -> social advisers -> social workers now get a 3,5 year curriculum, a "profession-bachelor" degree, as do the pedagogues, physiotherapists and teachers. A university degree in Social Work is being developed. The basic curriculum contains: Theories about Social Work - Psychology & Psychiatry - Civil and Social Law - Social, Political and Administrative sciences.

Appendix: the Danish education system and (most of) the professions in *Social work*

The table below intends to give a picture of the larger parts of the setting in which the education of Social Advisers (Social Workers) is taking place. The majority of personnel teaching in the Schools of Social Work are academically trained.

		University						
age		dr.						
		PhD degree						
25								
24								
23		candidatus (Masters')				MpH		
22								
21		BA/BSc. degree	School of Social Work	College of Educator Training	Teachers' training college	School of Nursing	Deaconry High School	Soc.adm. school
20								
19								
18	IIIg							
17	IIg							
16	Ig	Public Office Administration 3 years on job training. Soc.adm.School 2 years add.						
15	9	Deaconry High School						
14	8	High School of Nursing. 3-3½ years *) recruiting from Gymnasium or SoSu school						
13	9	SoSu: Social- and health helpers. 2 years on the job training.						
12	6	Teachers Training School (Seminarion) 3-3½ years. +)						
11	5	College of Educator Training (Pedagogue Seminarion) Diff. lines. 3-3½ years. +)						
10	4	School of Social Work (Social High School). 3-3½ year +)						
9	3	University: ca. 3 years, bachelors' degree. Cons. 2 years Master degree. evt. cons. Phd.						
8	2	dr. is the traditional higher Danish doctoral degree (dr.phil., dr.scient., dr.med.)						
7	1	Gymnasium: 3 years, on the top of People's school. Qualifying for study.						

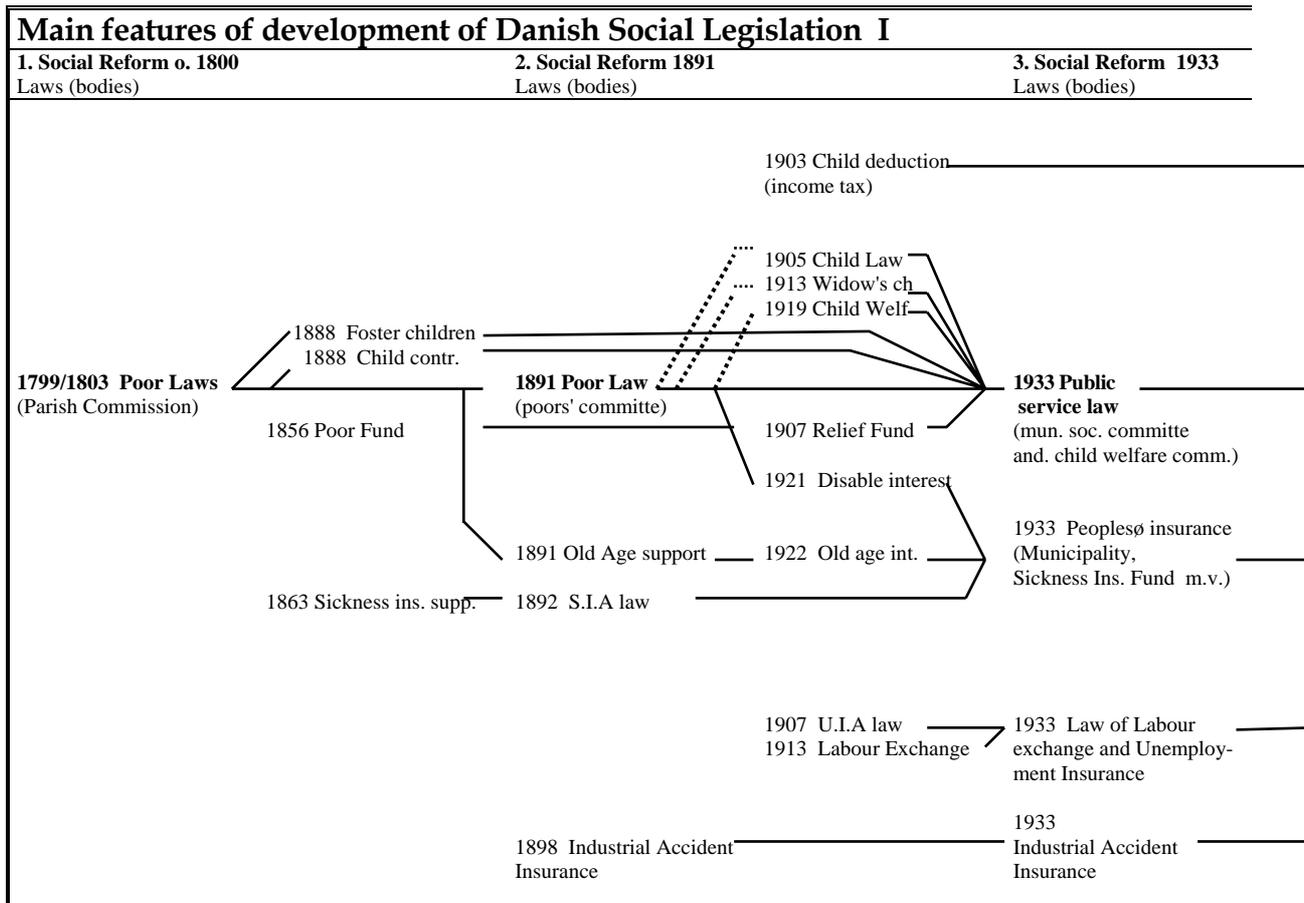
People's school (Primary School): 1-9 years (sometimes 10), from app. 6-7 years of age The +) equal a Bachelor's Degree.

The 6 columns to the right are functioning outside University. Master's Degree has been established in Public Health, as post graduate to Nursing. A Master's Degree course for Social workers has being started, in cooperation with University. Two professorates in Social Work has been established at Copenhagen and Aalborg Universities.

History and Social Policy - world and Denmark - by Viggo Jonasen																	
	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870							
OUTER WORLD	1776 Wealth of nations	1789 Revolution in France	Napole- onic wars Denmark remains neutral	1814 End of Napole- onic wars		1830 July-revolution in France	1848 February revolution in France	1859 Darwin: origin of species	1866 Prussian-Austrian War	1870 German-French war Paris-Com-mune							
DANISH POLITICS	1776 The Great Commission on Agriculture	1788 Law of Adscription abolished	1789 The Great Commission on Basic Schools	1807 English bombardment on Copenhagen. Denmark allies with France	1809 Law on the 'Learned Schools' - grammar schools	1813 State bankruptcy	1814 Law on Common Basic Schools (municipal)	1834 Assemblies of the States of the Realm	1834 'The Native Country' (Newspaper)	1837 Law of municipality of the towns	1848 'March-days' 1849 Constitution 1841 Law of municipality of rural parishes	1848-1851 first war of Slesvig	1848 Rødding højskole (highschool)	1857 Law of freedom of trade	1864 Second war of Slesvig	1866 Revision of Constitu-tion	1870 Parties: Venstre (lib.) 1870 Social Democ-rats
DANSK ECO-NOMY	.. Flourishing international trade	.. copyhold changes to freehold		1807-1826 Depression. Freehold-development retarded			ca 1828 - 1856 Grain esport period, Freehold growing	1835-1855 Handicraft and small industry growing			1860.. Railway-expansion Steamship expansion Sailship expansion				ca. 1845 ... considerable growth in domestic and international trade		
DANISH SOCIAL POLICY	1. Social Reform 1799, 1803 Poor laws		1809 'Poor stamp'		1824 Poor law: right to marriage denied to Poor relief recipients		1849 Consti-tution: Poor relief recipients have no voting right nor eligibility	1856 Law of 'The poor's fund' (volun-tary contri-butions)			Sicness Insurance Associations growing				1864 Law: cities and counties are urged to deliver hospital treatment on reduced fare to members of Sickness Insurance Associations		
Organi-sations			1810 Saving Bank	Sickness Insurance Associations est.	1827, 1830, 1833 Poor Childrens' Upbringing Homes		1828 Childrens' Asylums				1873Law of Factory Inspection				1865 institution for mentally handicapped 1867 Association of Fosterhomes in Island Langeland	1876 Danish Red Cross	

1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
	German navy armament and imperialism		1914-1918 World War 1918 Russian revolution	1929 Economic world crisis	1933 Hitlers election victory 1937 München agreement	1939-1945 World War 1947 Cold war 1949 NATO	1951-52 West European economic depression 1950-1952 Korean War 1958 EEC 1958 EFTA		1973 Oil crisis	1989 Berlin wall falling	1990 Germany united Iraq-war 1992 NAFTA treaty Edinburg agreement	2001 Saudis bomb New York in Afghanistan
ca. 1880.. Conflict about constitution 1883.. Copenhagen fortified 1885 Social Democrats in parliament Labour Movement growing slowly	1901 Parliamentarianism: Deuntzer (Radical liberals)	1910 Court of labour relations 1914 Radical liberal Government		1933 Kanslergade-political deal - devaluation, social reform	1940 German occupation 1945 Election. Venstre-govnm. 1947 Election. Strong communist representation S-govnm.	1950 Elect. V govnm. 1953 Constitution 1953 Elect. S-govnm. 1957 Elect. S+R+Rf Govn.	1971 Elect. S-govnm. 1972 EEC-vote 1973 Elect. V-govnm. div. crisis-deals 1976 S quits Keynes 1978 Elect. SV 1979 Elect. S	1990 Elect. VC 1992 EU-vote: No 1993 Tamil-gate ends. 1993 S govnm. 1993 EU-vote: Yes 1994, 1998 Elect. S-govnm. cont.				
	1890 S wins a MP in the countryside 1891 V-C deal, including constitution and 2. social reform 1899 September-agreement on labour relations		1920 North Slesvig incorporated into Denmark 1920 'Eater Crisis' 1920 V-govnm. 1924-26 S-govnm. 1926-29 V-govnm. 1929- SR-govnm.		1945 Election. Venstre-govnm. 1947 Election. Strong communist representation S-govnm.	1963 'Crisis-deal' 1964, 1966 Elect.. S-governments. 1968 Election. VCR government.	1981 Elect. S govnm. 1982 C-govnm. (Schlüter) 1984, 1987 Elect. C 1986 EEC vote Yes 1986 Crisis-deal: 'potato-cure'	2001 Elect. V-govnm.				
ca. 1875-1995 Depression, re-structuring of grain-export to butter-export production	ca. 1895 – strong industrial growth	1914-18 War economy Scarcity 'Gullasch-expansion'	1920- De-regulation Uneven growth. Deflation	1931- Crisis-economy Valuta-central. High unemployment	1940-45 War-economy Regulation, rationing Law of labour market peace	1950-57 Uneven growth. Weak butter and bacon export caused by protectionism 1954-55Crisis deals 1957-- Industrial growth, growth in house construction, growth in public sector (teaching, health)	1973.. Economic crisis. Employment in private sector declines. Growth in public sector	1985-87 Economic recovery 1988-93 Economic slump	ca 1994.. moderate economic boom. Moderate growth in employment	2000-02 Moderate growth cont. Unemployment stable 4-7%		
1888 Law of Child contribution. Law of Foster Children	1891 2. Social Reform Poor law 1892 Law of Sickness Insurance Associations 1892 Old Age support law 1894 Association of Foster Homes. 1899 Law of Industrial Accident Insurance	1913 Law of Labour Exchange 1919 Law of Preventive Child Welfare (allowing municipal grants to association managed Kindergardens)		1933 3 Social Reform Unemployment Insurance, 'People's Insurance law' (SIA, oldage, disabled) Industrial Accident Ins. Public Relief Law 1933 Young Unempl. 1938 Pregnancy health 1939 Mothercare	1950 Deaf 1954 Peoples' Old Age Pension, Disability Pension 1956 Blind 1956 Partially disabled 1959 Widows' Pension 1956 Danish Refugee Aid	1960 Rehabilitation 1961 rev. Public Relief Law 1961 Law of Child & Youngsters Welfare 1964 Social Reform Commission Grassroot organisations growing	1970 Municipal Organisation Reform Law of Social Adm. 1973 Law of Public Health Insurance 1973 Law of Public Sickness benefits 1976 Social Service Law 1979 Law of Early Retirement Wage	1990 'Youth un-employed package' 1992 'Aktivation Law' 1993-94 Labour Market Reform (YU daymoney reduced, Workfare) 1998 Social Service Law reorganised				
1884 'Society and home for disabled' 1889 Froebel-association	1890 Christian Childcare Organisations growing	1905 Child-law 1907 Law of Relief Funds 1907 Unemployment Assurance Funds law 1901 Association of Peoples' Kindergardens 1903 Joint Ccouncil for Child Welfare	1921 Disabled Insurance Law 1922 Law of Old Age Interest 1928 Danish Cancer Society 1934 DSI Cooperating Handicap Org.	1944 Pacifists' Aid 1948 Danish Youth Organisations' Common Council Disease-organisations growing		1960 Rehabilitation 1961 rev. Public Relief Law 1961 Law of Child & Youngsters Welfare 1964 Social Reform Commission Grassroot organisations growing	1980 Law: Care for Mentally and other handicapped is municipalised 1980, 1986 Changes / reductions in Social Relief grants Government support to 3 rd Sector in general	2002 Lower relief for unemployed immigrants grants				

Political parties: S: Socialdemokratiet (Labour) R: Radikale Venstre (Radical Liberal) V: Venstre (Liberal) C: Conservative Rf: Retsforbundet (Henry George'ist Party)



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The Danish Centre for Voluntary Social Work www.friv.soc.arb.dk with international references Ministry of Social Affairs. www.sm.dk

Main Features .. II

4. Social Reform 1970- Laws (bodies)

