Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Education as a concept is a universe by itself and vast in focus. It is important to briefly examine how it has been understood over the years in order to be able to draw out one’s own view of how learning should take place. Such an approach is necessary in the study of a particular field within a discipline such as Social Work which is practice based. While it has a theoretical base and a body of knowledge supporting it, field engagement and practice pose questions that need to be answered and at the same time contribute to knowledge building.

An occupation emerges in response to a societal reality at that point in time; especially an exploration that is able to create an identity that is separate and unique from others because of its application aspect. This action element of locating oneself in practice, where there is actual engagement with people, processes and problems is what gives social work its distinct identity. A profession matures because of the simultaneous focus and growth on different aspects like practice (what is required in the field as a response), education, training and what particular skills are necessary to be inculcated. Perhaps what also gets particularly attached to a profession is a code of ethics guiding practice, research and theories emerging both at the practice space and from education, thus contributing to each other. While a profession is linked to the practice component, a discipline is linked to the educational and curriculum component (Dressel and Mathew 1997, cited in Donald 2002). Social work today, both education and practice, reflects a long and varied trajectory of growth across different parts of the world. Its status thus as a profession and discipline differs from country to country and the challenges before it are also emergent from the local, regional and now, global context.
Evolution of Social Work as a Profession

The journey of social work itself can be traced back in history to what were responses to social conditions in America and Britain largely addressing issues of the poor. Originating in volunteer efforts for social betterment in the late 19th century in Europe and North America, social work became an occupation by the turn of the 20th century and achieved ‘professional’ status by the 1920s. This was as a result of the growth of professional organizations, educational programs, and publications (Walker 1933, cited in Hopps et al, 2008).

By 1930s, the American Association for Schools of Social Work looked at curriculum requirements and by 1932 a minimum curriculum was evolved. In 1944 a new policy called basic eight comprising of case work, group work, community organisation, public welfare, social work administration, research, medical and psychiatric social work was introduced in the concept of core courses (Kendall 1953).

A study was undertaken by Kendall, (1950) to look at what social work means and to understand what its training requirements would be. There emerged three definitions; of individual charity, organized activity of government and of non-government organisations, to address problems related to economic development and professional service to every member of the community, irrespective of his means, to assist him in achieving his full potentialities for productive and satisfying living. The study concluded that no international definition of social work itself was possible because of the variety of practice that existed, thus indicating how organically different types of practice emerged depending on the context of society and its needs. This diversity was also reflected in the education and training aspect. There was no one similarity; with regard to duration of the course, where should social work be located; at the undergraduate or postgraduate level, what type of jobs, also the curriculum, and inclusion of practice within it. The practice component was in the form of guided observation on one end and intensive involvement at the other. While the United Kingdom and Belgium adopted a way of specialized training in a sector, the United States of America had a methods training focus. In 1952, a total curriculum was developed in the USA that indicated the inclusion of social services, human growth and behaviour, and social work practice to ensure a beginning competence for the performance of social work.
functions. Therefore this period is significant in terms of evolution of the content of the curriculum.

Most professional social work was practiced in voluntary agencies. Social workers were found in hospitals, public schools, child welfare agencies, family agencies and settlement houses. Social workers also practiced in some correctional agencies, particularly in juvenile corrections and in law enforcement as early as the 1920s (Hopps et al., 2008). It was around the 50s that corrections as a specialisation of study emerged. Specialisations that emerged in the USA before this were child welfare, family welfare, medical social work, psychiatric social work and school social work (Kendall 1955). In 1958, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Commission on Social Work Practice developed a working definition to provide a generic definition of social work practice (Bartlett 1958, cited in Hopps et al., 2008)

Subsequently, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) commissioned a comprehensive study of the social work curriculum. Published in 1959, the thirteen volume curriculum study included volumes on undergraduate education; specialized practice methods; administration, community organization, group work, and casework; fields of practice; corrections, [italics mine], public social services, and rehabilitation, and curriculum areas; human growth and behaviour, research, social welfare policy, services, values and ethics (Boehm 1959, cited in Hopps et al., 2008).

During the next few years, the Masters of Social Work became the standard professional degree. Highlighting the early beginnings of social work and the fact that social work education started from the master’s level, Chang-Li, (1978) states that, ‘Historically social work education began with the training schools, flourished at the master’s level and then developed upward and downward. For half a century, the master’s degree program has constituted the backbone of social work education.’ While on the one side the master’s level was an important starting point, literature also indicates how the growth of the profession of social work itself was influenced by its ability to respond to societal realities of poverty and social betterment. Thus, it is both academics and field practice that contributed to the evolution of the discipline. What we now know as social work in the Indian context is largely drawn from those experiences. The Indian social work curriculum draws on the British idea of using social science as a base to locate the discipline and the American emphasis on professional courses and social work practice.
Parker (2006) describes it succinctly when he says that social workers walk that tightrope between individuals excluded from taking a place within society and the social and political environment that may have contributed to their marginalisation. The two domains are of individuals excluded from taking a place within society and the social and political environment that may have contributed to their marginalisation. This can be well applied to work with offenders, where on the one hand society and systems have made a decision against people, added to it the element of stigma either of being associated with crime or being with the CJS brings.

**Learning through Field Work in Social Work**

Field work is an important aspect of social work education. This is the placement of students with a range of organisations (agencies) so that they learn how to work with people on specific issues, have a connection with the field, and can make linkages with the theories being taught in the classroom. Since field work has a focus on the learner, theories of learning need to be understood, which brings us to the two components of, theory and learning.

Akers (2004) states that a theory if developed properly, is about real situations, feelings, experience and human behaviour. An effective theory helps us make sense of facts that we already know and can be tested against new facts. Theories are tentative answers to the commonly asked questions about events and behaviour.

Gamble and Weil (2010) explain how theories are a part of our lives and the process of theory construction or theorising occurs whenever one is analysing practice situations, explaining behaviour, organizing assumptions or interpreting a situation. Theories range from the more abstract explanatory to the more concrete practice theories. Thus it is important to be able to understand the theoretical framework of the concepts being studied and theories help make sense of practice situations and determine strategies of action.

Learning is defined as relatively permanent change in behaviour that occurs as a result of practice. Over a period of time various theories of learning emerged, Ebbinghaus (1885) talked of memorizing, Thondike (1914) about the effect of practice, Shannon and Weaver (1949) about Information Theory and Barlett (1932) about Individual Cognition. The
Cognitive theory talks of humans as being explorers who actively select and organise their own knowledge (Donald 2002). Social cognitive theory explains ways in which people make sense of themselves, others and the world around them. This allows for a deeper interpretation of how learning takes place and is especially relevant in the case of adult learners.

The learning theories of Jean Piaget (1973), Jerome Bruner (1973), Lev Vygotsky (1978) and John Dewey (1938) serve as the foundation of constructivist learning theory. Constructivism views learning as a process in which the learner actively constructs or builds new ideas or concepts based upon current and past knowledge or experience. Constructivist learning, therefore, is a very personal endeavor, whereby internalised concepts, rules and general principles may consequently be applied in a practical real-world context. This is also known as social constructivism. Thus according to the theory of constructivism, a learner builds new ideas or concepts (Drive et al., 1994 cited in Flick 2009). John Dewey’s notion of learning by doing, established a methodology promoted by adult learning scholars suggesting that social and intellectual skills come to the learner through situations characterised by interactivity not isolation (Carr 1992, cited in Soma Sundaram 2014, pp11).

Lawrence (1993) further states that a first requirement for effective learning is that the learner must have a stake in the outcome and that real learning requires the active creation of knowledge by the learner using all the resources available. This then goes on to reiterate the dynamic role the learner needs to play in the learning process, thus implying that learning is enhanced when the learner is able to engage with the learning environment as a doer rather than a receiver of information and knowledge. In the social work education course, it is in field work where this learning by doing can be linked with.

The radical and immensely influential Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire believed that education ought to be based on an awareness of everyday reality experienced by the people and should never be reduced merely to knowledge of letters, words and sentences. His philosophy of education proposed within the theory of knowledge in the sixties, stated that education must start from the reality that surrounds the learner. This has implications for adult learners and professional programs that have an inherent practice dimension in them, like that of a field practicum or field work. Giroux (1997) with his contribution to critical pedagogy sums this up well when he states that learning is not about processing received
knowledge but actually transforming it as part of a more expansive struggle for individual rights and social justice.

Field work and a focus on the student learner can be well explained by the theories mentioned above like Dewey’s theory of learning by doing or Freire’s theory of knowledge and the social constructivist theories. Each of these, links to different dimensions of the interaction between the learner and the environment, aspects of an individual starting point, and building on the individual learner’s past experience and knowledge.

**Understanding Field Work and its Elements**

In the realm of social work education, field experience is frequently the first step in the transition from student to professional social worker (Berkun 1984: 5-19). Berkun further adds that it is in the field that students develop skills, integrate theory and practice, witness and test a variety of approaches. Schools of social work across the world have an emphasis on providing field education through various pedagogies. The word ‘field education’ is also documented as field practicum, field instruction, field work in various academic writings (Bogo 2005, cited in Shulman 2008 and Kumar, K. 1985:324, cited in Singh 1985). For the purpose of this study the term field work is used. Field education is about the education of individual students, one-by-one. The very essence of field education involves the individual student’s goals, learning style, history, aspirations, fears, worries, intelligence and energy. Each student will approach field education experiences in different ways, process experiences differently, see different things and ask diverse questions (Mallick 2007). As early as 1953, Moorthy discussed the need to have a scientific approach to field work. The educational objectives of field work and the need for an integrated approach towards social work practice was also highlighted by Desai (1975) and Mehta (1975). The integrated approach was based on two positions: one; of not having a special methods focus, and two; of having a general applicability and having the skills to move from one situation to another. Hence, it was about a role and skill that can be generally applied.

Social work education started in the form of apprenticeship by the Charity Organisation Society of America. It was initiated to impart training in social work as a profession in the year 1898 and it aimed at providing training to newly recruited employees. The nature of training was only practical and not theoretical. Thus, social work education itself emerged out of practical field training (Subhedar 2001).
Field work in social work education refers to training and education. It consists of accumulating knowledge in different situations. It is a dynamic process of observing, amassing and implementing creative and innovative ideas. Moreover it fosters the development of intellectual and emotional processes and attitudes. The ideas of Dewey, that is, learning through doing have had a primary influence in the conceptualisation of field work as bridging and integrating the two companions of social work, viz., theory with practice, thereby combining philosophy with methods. Mallick (2007:573) reinforces this point very clearly when he states how a unique feature of field work training is that training and practice occur in the same place. Hence, students are not learning about practice, as is the case in classroom instruction but learning in practice. Field education or the field placement is the opportunity for students to ‘try out’ or ‘practice’ the practice of social work. Of all the sites of learning; classroom, placement, tutorials and self-directed, it is evident from the literature that it is placement which currently holds most responsibility for learning being enhanced (Clapton et al. 2006:6). This, then reinforces the importance of field work.

Although field education is one of the core components of professional social work training programs worldwide (Raskin et al. 1989, Cox et al.1997, Spencer and Mcdonald 1998, cited in Pawar, Hanne and Sheridan 2004), a review of available literature appears to suggest that research and publications in field education are very few. Also the ‘voice of student’ is missing from the literature (ibid 2004). Much research in field education with a focus on field work is about a relationship between knowledge and practice, on supervision and on practice and learning outcomes. Kadushin (1992) in his writings about supervision also relates it to the concept of the students being adult learners and how that influences both the learning process and the student supervisor dynamics. Very little scholarly analysis of the learning of students in social work field education has been done (Noble 1999 cited in Lam, Wong and Leung, 2007). Thus, the available research on field work is largely about the organizing of it, nature of the agencies, the supervisory interaction and much less on the student learner and that too, especially the students’ own experiences.

The significance of reflection or reflective learning in the field work of social work students has always been underestimated. Reflective learning is a process of interpretive discovery embedded in experiences. When students engaged in fieldwork encounter a disturbing event, it acts as a challenge, the resolution of which provides them with alternative ways to interpret their experience and critically examine their values, ways of acting, and assumptions. The
experience of the students fits within the framework of reflective learning (Gould and Tayler, 1996; Sheppard and Ryan, 2003 cited in ibid.), a central premise of which is the idea that knowledge is founded on experience. The modern father of experiential learning, Dewey’s (1938) contributions into progressive education is well known. It is here that the concept of experiential continuum, that is, of a continuity of learning was introduced. To this Dewey also emphasized as critical the two way interaction between the internal and the external, where the internal is the individual and the external is the surrounding world. The challenge in progressive education was to be able to focus and build on the internal, which is the self. ‘Search for self was the major premise of the students’ reflection’. The legacy of individualism, Bleakley (1999 cited in ibid) and the learning and teaching goal of social work field education do account for this phenomenon. Influenced by the notion of experiential learning, an explicit objective of social work field education is to allow emerging experience to influence the growing professional self.

The Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE, 2008) identifies field education as the signature pedagogy of the social work profession (Wayne, Raiskin and Bogo 2010). A ‘signature pedagogy is a central form of instruction and learning to socialize students to perform the role of practitioner. It contains pedagogical norms with which to connect and integrate theory and practice’ (CSWE, 2008:8, cited in ibid 2010:327). The term was first coined by Shulman (2005, cited in ibid), who explains it as characteristic forms of teaching and learning used in a particular profession. The CSWE recognition of field education as the profession’s signature pedagogy elevates its importance and status in social work education. Thus it is in field education that more attention needs to be paid to understand what and how students are learning.

There are three basic approaches to field education: the apprenticeship, academic and articulated models. The first is where the field is the teacher; the second is where the class is the teacher; and the third is where both class and field parallely teach (Jenkins and Sheafor 1982, cited in Hoffman et al, 2008), Bogo and Globerman (1995,1999, cited in Savaya et al 2003) further explained how the articulated model can be applied as a teaching centre, where a supervisor teaches both theory and practice and as a field setting where there is an agency supervisor for the field and a faculty member for the classroom input.

Examining how the concept of field is understood in different disciplines, field work is associated with research in the social sciences, as in, engagement with the field under study
for collecting data. Srinivas (cited in Jodhka, 2012: 26) talks about how intensive field work is now an integral part of social anthropology and how Indian social scientists ought to realise that by concentrating on the Indian situation, they are really enhancing the range of the social science. Indian social scientists have a responsibility to… contribute to the greater universalisation of their disciplines (p 28). But what differentiates field work in both social science and social work is the primacy of purpose, where in social science it is knowledge for itself and in social work it is for application (Desai 2013, 65-66).

Even the University Grants Commission (UGC, 2001), model curriculum is designed on the premise that social work is to be practiced and is not supposed to be limited to academic learning. Therefore the component of practice learning opportunities is vital (cited in Desai 2013, 29).

It is evident how central field education is to social work education. Field education comprises of various dimensions in the form of an exposure visit, rural practicum, study tour and field work. Each of these have a different objective, a specific place in the curriculum sequencing and learning value. It is the field work component that is the focus of this study.

### Documenting or Reporting in Field Work

One of the most detailed, consistent and steady sources of the content, nature and process of field work in social work, is the field work recordings of the students. As integral to field work, ‘student recording has important functions as a medium for transmitting information backwards and forwards between supervisor and student.’ (Kent 1969:126)

Recordings are a valuable tool in field work. ‘Students use a variety of recording formats to document, measure and reflect upon their work. Field instructors, in turn, use these recordings to teach students the skills they will need. A process recording is a written record of an interaction with a client. The process recording is a major learning tool in social work. Social work is unique in its heavy reliance on process recording to teach intervention skills. Because in social work the practitioner’s major tool is one's self and one's ability to interact effectively with clients and other professionals, training must focus on the interactive skills necessary to be effective’ (Franks 2009).
Commenting on the Indian scenario, Singh (1985:34) describes how schools of social work lay a great emphasis on the recording of field work experience. In describing the importance of recordings he further elaborates how ‘students are required to submit weekly reports, record of individual and group conferences and contacts with other agencies. Process recording is stressed by all schools.’ Thus recordings have been recognized as a tool of learning that provides an opportunity for the student to organise, present information, observe, reflect and act in a systematic manner. They have also been a tool for supervision and evaluation.

While some emphasise the value of this documentation, certain others have objected to this very attention. Mallick (2007:579) raises doubts about process recording which has been an old tradition, largely on the basis of questioning its accuracy. He further also points out that supervision is still a focus on the learning and not on the practice part. This also means that if one really wants to review students’ work in the field, the aspect of observation (by the supervisor) will have to be increased. Students’ recordings ‘capture reflections and document incidents, situations and learnings’ that have occurred but are still indirect or secondary.

The above literature reveals that the value of student recordings in field work has been sufficiently documented with at least some writings on various components. However, since social work education evolved through specialisations in many schools and since there is immense diversity in fields of practice in India, it is useful to focus on field work in specific fields in order to gain a precise understanding of the issues, challenges and to examine the efficacy and significance of field work within that domain of knowledge and practice.
Integration of Theory and Practice

Clapton (2006) undertook a nation-wide study in Scotland (University of Edinburg for the Scottish Institute of Excellence in Social Work Education, SIESWE) during the year 2003-2004 and found that whether it was the teacher, the university or the service provider, all acknowledged that a gap existed between the university and the agency (the field placement) and more should be done to cross influence. The identities and boundaries of field and classroom need to be redefined. While both domains seem to have grown independently, their sharing needs to be facilitated for a holistic learning experience for the student.

The article is interesting and the study would have added more value if the student’s perspective was also integrated. There is also an element of connecting with the self, while it is conceptually clear in practice the question is how to include it in the curriculum.

The use of self in social work practice is the combining of knowledge, values and skills gained in social work education with aspects of one’s personal self, including personality traits, belief systems, life experiences and cultural heritage. This is seen in five different perspectives in the use of personality, belief system, relational dynamics, anxiety and self-disclosure. The field placement provides an excellent opportunity to explore the blending of the values, skills and knowledge gained in your social work education with the personal and professional use of self (Dewane 2006, cited in Heather 2009).

Thus ‘self’ is an integral part of social work practice but currently where and how much is it located in the curriculum needs to be examined. Furthermore another dimension of concern would be how writing and reflection can be assessed within an education framework; what are the criteria, the objectives and how does grading take place. Assuming that all practitioners are homogeneous would ignore and undermine ideological differences and subjectivities. The core question appears to be that in the debate about theory and practice, no matter who is located where, how can one facilitate the transfer of learning? This perhaps has to be an on-going process of framing and re-framing and at this point of time; when social, economic and political realities for most nations are changing, it is necessary to examine such questions with regard to social work education too.
History of Social Work Education in India

The history of social work education in India can be further understood by looking at the historical evolution of the country’s journey, other social issues coming to the fore, getting debated and revised at public forums, and the development of the profession and its education.

Giving a background of the history of social work education in India, Desai et al. (2000) explains how in the first decade of social work 1936-1946, the focus was on social issues, social problems and social policies. Social work was then taught by social scientists. From 1947-48 onwards social work faculty were sent for training to the USA. They brought the methods approach with them into social work education. This was a compartmentalized way of working with people using case work, group work and community organisation with a welfare or therapeutic focus. By the 70s, the thrust on development issues began and a realization that in the Indian setting, social workers should have the skills to move from one situation to another (Desai, A. 2000, cited in ibid: 317).

Describing the start of professional training, Subhedar (2001) highlights how professional training in social work education started in India in 1936 with the establishment of Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work at Mumbai (presently known as the Tata Institute of Social Sciences). In the beginning, professional training was introduced as generic training but different specialisations developed in due course. Both these trainings; generic and specialised, are available in the country. In the case of India, the destiny of an institution has affected the destiny of social work education. And the destiny of social work education is linked to the destiny of the nation itself (Desai 1985: 16). Subhedar further adds that professional training in social work education has not been developed as it should have been and that relevant and sufficient practical-oriented literature on fieldwork has not been produced either by theoreticians or practitioners in the last six and a half decades. A review of current literature especially, in the Indian context supports this.

The First Review Committee for Social Work Education in India was appointed by the UGC in 1960 and its report was published in 1965. It noted that social work as a profession was of comparatively recent origin. It went on to add that field work opportunities for students
need to be provided through social work agencies in the area. Field work implies not only collection of data but actual experience of working with people evaluated on the basis of a detailed and systematic record of the work done by a student (UGC 1965:167). Significant among the recommendations of the first Review Committee was the acknowledgement that ‘the importance of field work in the education of professionals was underscored’ and it was therefore recommended that students should be required to pass independently in field work.

The Second Review Committee (1975-1980) suggested a name change to Association for Social Work Education in India from the current Association of Schools of Social Work in India, stating that the concept of ‘schools’ was a UK/US legacy (Desai, UGC 1980). Further, its report stated that from the beginning field work has been an integral and necessary component of social work education in India. It went on to describe how field work refers to participation of students in problem solving activities under the guidance of their field instructors. It occupies at least half of the students time and engages almost two-thirds that of the faculty time in individual and group guidance. It evolved specific objectives of field work training in social work education. The objectives of field work clearly elucidated application, integration to classroom learning, development of professional attitude and value. It added that field work has specific objectives from the self, where one is aware of one’s own thoughts and behaviours to being able to apply theory to the field, to learn to test out various methods of practice based on both knowledge and skills, to understand social issues and to be able to contribute to them. This emphasis on work experience is, in fact, in accordance with the objectives of the UGC to make education socially relevant and meaningful by integrating it with community work. Field work is therefore a significant component in the work that faculty do, since it helps the students to relate classroom teaching to field practice and vice-versa. While emphasising that this aspect of social work needs to be recognized much more adequately, the report suggested that one third of the classroom time is to be spent in practice skills (UGC 1980).

A great deal of responsibility lies ahead for the profession. If it is to vindicate its existence in the next decades as it moves forward to a century in which it will either prove itself or finds itself increasingly become irrelevant to the people and the times with which it is confronted (Desai 1985:16)
The Third Review Committee report (1999) presented a model curriculum on social work education. It also highlighted how schools of social work in India face many problems. These problems were school specific, student specific and agency specific. One of the school specific concerns was the dearth of literature on fieldwork, due to which students are unable to understand concepts clearly from a practical point of view.

As the umbrella authority for higher education in India, these reports of the UGC have highlighted the importance of fieldwork in the social work curriculum. This was not the only challenge connected to social work. Various others like Desai (1978) have raised concerns on how we have not been able to develop indigenous conceptual frameworks for our own practice. Mathew (cited in Nair, 1981) talked about separate methods versus integration and proposed the need to accept the possibility of plurality.

Subsequently, Siddiqui (2001) draws attention to the fact that social work in India is in search of an identity itself. The major debates and concerns being between the macro and micro focus, generalist or specialist and a continued dependence on alien models for social work practice and alien literature for social work education. This was largely because of the reality that social work education and curriculum in the Indian context was mainly drawn from what existed in the West and with an assumption that the models that worked there, the way it was conceived for those cultures, and social situations, could be identically applied to the Indian context too. It was not about drawing inspiration from but actually identically modeling. Several years later all of these debates and concerns still continue within social work curriculum discussions.

One of those debates is the issue of indigenisation and how it needs to be addressed if knowledge production and development are to progress. There are no texts on core subjects and some suggestions have been to have professionals ‘document practitioners’ work and voices from the field and to have faculty members write as they teach a course over a period of time (Jaswal 2004). The core idea being that while practice is happening at the field level there is a need to document it so that it contributes to knowledge development.
At the National Consultation on National Curriculum Framework for Master’s Degree in Social Work, (Dec 2012) it was reiterated how one of the missions of the network was for the social work community to come together to ensure quality education across the country through monitoring. This consultation took place at a time when individual social work teaching institutes across the country where feeling the need to converge and standardise some practices pertaining to social work education. The report discussed the scope for strengthening social work education in the 12th five year plan where funds were earmarked for development and advancement of higher education. Some issues specific to that of the Western zone of the country (where the Institute under study is located) were the lack of field action projects and agencies for field work placements. Also that students’ choices of specialisation were market driven limiting training in important areas like mental health, criminology (italics mine)…One of the suggestions that came out of this consultation was that the social work discipline should take the lead for developing subject networks, for linking and sharing resources.

The NGO Sector

A discussion on social work as a profession would not be complete if one does not address the NGO sector as a construct. NGOs, civil society and society are different entities. In common parlance, they are used interchangeably but NGOs are professional organisations and civil society organisations are voluntary associations. The difference seems to be more in its structure, operation and membership. Civil society is a collective of associations and it tends to reflect a desire to recover power for society that was usurped by the state over a period of time. There are three perceptions of civil society, the first as being state controlled (Aristotle, Rome and Greece), the second as being controlled by Religion (Thomas Aquinos, Christianity, Machiavelli) and the third believes in individual participation. (John Locke 1689). Hegel spoke about civil society as being in between the state and the family, the two entities that all humans belong to. Gramsci saw civil society as a prime mover of development where the realm is in culture and ideology. Civil society is public in character. It is organisations involved in political processes without being attached to political parties. In India our civil society is active (Vinod 2006).
Social groups and associations of various kinds make up civil society. NGOs have become an important part of the civil society. Since 1980s, NGOs rose in the sphere of development. They have been referred to by different names, NGO, non-profits, social action groups and social movements. Elliot (1987) classified NGOs as; for charity, development, and empowerment. There is a significant presence of NGOs in our civil society (Baviskar 2001). This is not to say that they are homogenous entities, within them there are variations depending on their focus areas, way of operating, reach, and identity (Jayaram 2009).

Even though the NGO sector is a part of civil society, it has a presence and purpose different from civil societies. This context needs to be kept in mind when trying to locate work being done within the NGO sector and trying to understand the role of the social worker. The researcher, as a social work educator is situated in the field of Criminology and Justice and the focus of the study is about this field of practice. The following section traces the development of Criminology in the West and in India and moves to outlining its thrust within social work.

**Development of Criminology as a Discipline**

Crime itself being multifaceted, the understanding of it attracts attention from many disciplines. There have been academic discussions of whether to limit the focus of Criminology to the legal framework or to take it beyond and locate it within social control mechanisms and human behaviour itself thus widening its scope from the legality to the normative.

Sutherland (1947) defined Criminology as the study of the entire process of law making, law breaking and law enforcing. Reckless (1955, cited in Akers and Sellers, 2004)) states in his classic writing, ‘The Crime Problem’, that in the 60s itself within the academic world there was a debate about whether Criminology has evolved as an independent discipline.

Teaching of Criminology at the university level originated in the last decade of the 19th Century and gathered considerable momentum in Europe and the USA during the first half of the 20th century (Shukla and Krishna 1981). During the 1940s-1980s, Criminology progressively assumed an independent stature and like it evolved internationally there was a development of this discipline in India too.
The report of the general survey on university teaching of social sciences initiated by UNESCO (1950) was discussed in a symposium in London in 1955. The symposium affirmed that scientific teaching of Criminology was necessary for all those who take up careers at the Bar and the Bench, in the correctional and social services, in law enforcement and in the universities (UNESCO 1957, pp 12-15, cited in Shukla and Krishna, 1981). Further to this, it recommended that it be applied in crime prevention and treatment of delinquents. Thus emerged a certain acceptance of this discipline and attached to it were certain sectors like juvenile delinquency and probation that simultaneously emerged as areas of practice.

Historically internationally, social work and law have enjoyed a close association. As early as 1879, members of the National Conference on Charities and Correction focused on using legal strategies to improve conditions for people living in poverty, people with mental illness, those with disabilities, orphans, and delinquents (DuBois and Miley 2005). In the years that followed, leaders of both the Charity Organization Society and Settlement House movements were involved with legal processes and events; including child abuse investigations, child labor laws, the establishment of programs for abused women and their children, and the founding of the nation's first juvenile court (Barker and Branson, 2000). By the mid-1920s, social workers were employed as advocates by police departments (Roberts and Brownell, 1999). The link between crime, corrections and social work has therefore evolved from an interaction between law, corrections, law enforcement, prevention, treatment and education. While this link was growing, a study in 1974 by Joseph Senna in USA found that graduate schools were not making significant contribution towards educating individuals interested in working within the criminal justice system. An earlier study in 1964 by Pivena and Alcabes (cited in ibid) also showed that not many courses in correction or social work and criminology were offered and not a very high priority was given in developing curricula in corrections or criminal justice, nor were these areas occupational choices. A subsequent study by the same researchers in 1967 indicated that seven per cent of social work students went to work into the field of criminal justice. What became evident through these findings was that field placements in criminal justice and particularly in corrections were valued for integrating social work theory and practice.
Social work education furthermore plays a major role in socializing new social workers to different areas of practice but few schools of social work in the USA offer coursework specific to criminal offenders…..with few social workers practicing in this area, it is unlikely faculty are covering much material on this population practicing in this area (Lowe and Bohon, 2008:294).

In India, the need for university teaching of Criminology had also been stressed from time to time at the annual conferences of the Deputy Inspectors General of Police and also by the Central Advisory Committee on Forensic Science and by Vice-Chancellors in Universities in the period of 1950s. The committee then appointed a sub-committee which recommended that some universities should be encouraged to introduce courses in Criminology at the undergraduate level and strongly felt that postgraduate courses in Criminology and Forensic science should be located in central autonomous bodies located in universities (Shukla and Krishna, 1981).

Walter Reckless a Correctional expert on the UN Technical Assistance Program was invited to India in 1953 by the Ministry of Home Affairs to design a correctional policy for India. Some of his recommendations were to, ‘increase number of correctional personnel, provide adequate reformative and retraining programming, enhancing diversion and specialization in prison functions, improved classification procedures, indeterminate sentencing systems, increased use of probation, making available aftercare of released prisoners and separating juveniles from prison populations’ (cited in Unnithan, 2014). Reckless was instrumental in setting up the Centre for Criminology and Correctional Administration at TISS, Mumbai with its then Director, Professor Kumarappa.

This formed an important milestone in how Criminology then evolved as a subject of study. Subsequently what emerged were the following programs of study in India starting from 1940, the Jail Officers Training School (JOTS) in Lucknow, followed by a Diploma in Criminology at the J. K. Institute of Human Relations and Sociology in Lucknow in 1949, the TISS in Bombay had a specialization in Criminology and Correctional Administration in 1954, in the University of Sagar in 1959; in 1965 the Madras School of Social Work and in 1970 at the Karnataka University in Mysore; Criminology courses were started. In a survey conducted to see where Criminology was being taught as a subject (Shukla and

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4 The department was set up in 1953 and the course first offered in 1954.
Krishna 1981), it was found that till 1979, there were 105 universities in India and twenty five schools or departments of social work. Two areas emerged where Criminology was located; academics and training institutes.

The academic institutes also showed a variety in terms of how the program was offered; either

1. *Independently* like TISS (Department of Criminology and Correctional Administration), Bombay (1954) and University of Karnataka, Department of Criminology, Dharwar (1970). Here the terminology is Criminology focused and Corrections as a related subject and these are post-graduate programs.

2. *Combined* like Criminology and Forensic Science, University of Saugar, University of Madras, where the interdisciplinarity between Criminology and Forensic Science emerged. Further, it has been offered as a diploma in Criminology and or Forensic Science; within the discipline of Law, at the Faculty of Law, University of Lucknow and Jaipur Law College; within Anthropology, at the University of Rajasthan and Delhi; within Chemistry, at the Department of Chemistry, Pune and Chandigarh University. Here the locations are within the science streams with the focus on forensics and they are short-term programs.

3. *As a single course within a larger program.* These are courses that have a thrust in Criminology; such as instructions in Criminology in social work, psychology and sociology. Training institutes cover the subject in various programs basically as a one course or one paper focus. The more significant ones that were set up are: Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science New Delhi; National Institute of Social Defence; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy, Hyderabad; Police Training colleges/schools and Regional Correctional Institutes or Jail Training Institutes.

Criminology as a subject is also taught as distance education courses, that is, correspondence courses like the one offered by MS University in criminology and police science or the course on criminology and forensic science by the National Law university, Bhopal and the Law school of IGNOU\textsuperscript{5} has a course on criminal justice (Bajpai, 2014).

\textsuperscript{5} Indira Gandhi National Open University
The emergence of Criminology as a discipline was also mapped by Shukla and Krishna (1981: 219) and the period of 1970-1974 was seen as the most significant in terms of growth for Criminology as a subject in allied disciplines at thirty five per cent, in Social work it was at twenty five per cent and in Law it was at twelve per cent. Before 1950, the presence of the discipline of Criminology as a subject in allied disciplines was at two per cent. The authors explain this growth spurt in terms of extrinsic factors which further supported and nurtured this, such as the UGC sub-committee on university teaching of Criminology (1970), sent a proposal to the Ministry of Home Affairs via the Ministry of Education, which then directed universities to teach. Also, in 1969 in Delhi, the Indian Council on Social Science Research was set up and funds were available for research in Criminology. The Indian Society of Criminology was set up in 1970 as a platform to nurture the cause of Criminology. The Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPR&D) was set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1970. Also the Central Bureau of Correctional Services changed to National Institute of Social Defense (NISD) and The Institute of Criminology and Forensic Sciences in 1971.

This external support led to a greater awareness of this discipline and acceptance by allied sciences. Slowly Criminology was also made a compulsory paper in certain disciplines like psychology, sociology, social work and law. It was also reported that within the subject, the papers existed in twenty six different titles. All this just reinforces the points made about the plurality of existence within different locations and organic evolution that seems to have happened to the discipline.

The study mentioned above and its findings are significant in terms of highlighting the variations that exist in how the same subject was located within different streams of study. This has implications for how a discipline and a sector grows. Also to be seen is how simultaneously there emerged, education and training institutions that are closely linked to various professions within the field, who then evolved their own training inputs. This trajectory of academic to field and field to academic connectivity has not been smooth but largely evolved as two different and parallel streams catering to different constituencies of academics and the profession. It is this dichotomy that added to the gap that exists in terms of those who study and specialize in Criminology and the employment opportunities for them.
‘To further add to this reality are debates that emerged in academic writings questioning the genesis of Criminology itself and its identity of whether it was a natural or social science. This duality of theoretical approaches and practical locations not being clear influences the rigour of orientation that students get and subsequently the world of work too. The discipline itself also got its own set of critiques in terms of not having a clear framework, with details of what is the specialised focus, not having been spelt out clearly, thus somewhere along the line having negatively affected the perception of it’ (Shukla and Krishna 1981).

There were attempts made to streamline this in the form of a model syllabus drafted by the International Society of Criminology. This was used as a reference and various seminars and symposia in India did try to debate and discuss this. Regional differences in focus areas were also highlighted, for example, the Lucknow syllabus had a sociological thrust and the then Bombay focus was on correctional administration. Perhaps because of the urging to have a more scientific criminology as opposed to a social science based criminology the focus of three (Saugar, Patiala and Karnataka) of the five pioneering departments in India was on Forensic Science components rather than Criminology and Criminal Justice. TISS was and continues to be connected to social work with a heavy emphasis on correctional work and the University of Madras and the department of Psychology are closely linked (Unnithan, 2014). Thus today it appears that the discipline is located in three streams: Law, Forensic Science and Social Work.

At present, the UGC has a distance learning certificate course in social work and criminal justice system. (IGNOU 2010) The UGC model curriculum has focus areas of work with youth, women, children, elderly, disaster and even subjects like human growth and development, family, population and environment, health and health care, rural issues and development and the closest link to criminology is legal systems in India. But there is no mention of criminology or criminal justice in this curriculum. This could also probably indicate how widespread the lack of need for this specialisation has been (Desai 2013).

‘So many years later there seems to be an element of deja vue where the present trend of students’ choices of specialisations are often being market driven thereby limiting their training in important areas of practice such as mental health, criminology and family and child welfare’ (Jaswal 2012, West Zone report TISS, pp10). So, while there are many things to learn from history, in some areas it seems almost like history is repeating itself.
Not One Criminology

In a lecture on Scope and Evolution of Criminology: Synthesis and Synergies on 16 June 2014 to a class of teachers in Criminology at the National Law University, Delhi, Professor B.B. Pande said that, ‘In contemporary times in India, Criminology is seen as being a hybrid multidisciplinary subject with links to three groups, law, social work and forensic science and then as a social science subject by itself. It is located within three identities of academicians, practitioners and researchers. How and where to locate Criminology is actually revealing of ideological positions people may have. These ideological underpinnings have also led to the development of different schools of Criminology that have branched out from the core subject. Public Criminology as contributing to public policy, developmental or life course, subaltern, radical, cultural, structural, peace-making, green and constitution are various other forms that have evolved. Radical criminology is where the role of the state is contested. Critical criminology is challenging the notion of crime formation. Ideally, Criminology has to become a partner in democracy. A question that needs to be answered is what is missing in Criminology today. This brings us to the next question of what then is Indian Criminology. It does have a pro- marginalised approach with a sensitivity to oppressive social structures. It is looking at subaltern powerless people. And yet we have not been able to develop a position on certain issues because of plurality of perspectives in society itself. And a reaction to crime depends on how it is theorised. If it is seen as an interference to personal liberty then there is a need to humanize the CJS, if it is seen as an injury to community then one must focus on peace and restorative justice.’ There seem to be significant discussions and reflections happening with regard to the discipline itself and there is a need to manage and nurture this process so that the direction it takes will be meaningful for how the discipline itself is getting defined.
Public Criminology

‘Criminology’s recent history, internationally, is actually documented as being a paradox. On the one hand it seems to be interesting times with the academic world blooming, with writings being published, researches being done, funds being made available and yet this energy seems to be limited to the domain of the academic. It’s influence on the world outside either in practice or as a participant in policy formation or as a reference point both to media or society at large is limited’ Loader and Sparks (2011). They call this a ‘successful failure’, the dramatic growth inside academy and the waning influence outside and discuss Public Criminology as having drawn influence from public sociology and of having a role to be played in public interest. Goldfrab (1998:49 cited in ibid) further elaborates this role as that in forming democratic politics. Criminology is thriving but how does its value get enhanced towards society in informing public opinions and policies is what Public Criminology’s role is perceived to be.

The challenges associated with this discipline have been internal in terms of developing basic scientific knowledge and external in terms of defining its applications. One position is that it has been connected to the government, to social control institutions and mechanisms. The broadening of this application is how Public Criminology is perceived as and also the need to move into the field of policy, public mind and interest.

In a lecture on Status of teaching of criminology in India on 16 June 2014 to a class of teachers in Criminology at the National Law University, Delhi, Professor M .Z. Khan said, ‘A few questions need to also be asked regarding the status of teaching of Criminology in India. Is it an intellectual discipline, applied or both? Is Criminology in India a generic course or a specialised one? There are still some issues that abound the discipline today, they are curriculum development, need for regular revisions, the problem of the course and industry interface, creativity in the teaching methods, the importance of practicum in the curriculum and the need for research and publication in the light of dearth of good articles.’ That eminent Criminologists are raising this in training programs and various fora itself is a healthy indication of the direction the discipline is taking. This internal reflection or questioning will propel growth of the discipline to the next level.

The other dimension of this reflection is related the identity of Criminology. Professor S. M. Jamdar in a lecture on Status of teaching of criminology in India on 16 June 2014 to a class
of teachers in Criminology at the National Law University, Delhi said, ‘There are certain other aspects related to its identity that need to be thought through. There is an observation that Indian Criminology is ninety per cent dominated by a sociological understanding and that the current reality is that it is disjointed, fragmented and located in various places. The immediate concern is how to improve the Indian content in Criminology and whose responsibility is it? In USA the American Society of Criminology had taken on this responsibility and whether its Indian counterpart, The Indian Society of Criminology can take up this challenge is a question. A curriculum development dialogue has now started and this could be the beginning of a new phase in Indian Criminology.’ Statements like these though they highlight complex dimensions, they have an undercurrent of being optimistic and in a way indicate the phase of possibilities and opportunities for the subject itself.

The need of the hour seems to be a stronger political interest and will, to expand Criminology and general crime related education and to link it with existing criminal justice functionaries. The value of Criminology will be enhanced when it is able to move from being only a discipline to a field of practice; that element of functionality, contribution, participating and being involved in various social process both general and crime related, is what the next big step for the discipline should be. This will enhance the acceptance of the subject and its expertise by various stakeholders, the CJS, media, market, and society.

**The Field of Criminology**

The ‘field’ can be understood in multiple ways. It can be defined in terms of the mode of engagement that is direct work, research, or policy level work. It can be defined as an intervention; networking or issue focus; as action and analysis or theorising. It can also be defined in terms of practice as in micro, mezzo or macro level as stated in the Systems theory. (Bertalanffy, cited in Friedman and Allen, 2011). All of these contribute to the developing of a field of practice. They just emphasise different domains of attention and different methods being used and it is usually an interplay among these three that develops a field. While all three are important, they are not exclusive independent categories. For the purpose of this study the focus has primarily been on the micro, on the direct work aspect as field work was examined and one of the initial concerns was about the field not having grown so much and that jobs not available for those who are being trained in this specialisation.
Like every field of practice, Criminology also has its unique features. They are in the form of working with the system, power and authority, closed and open institutions and working within a legal framework; and each of these very strongly influence work with the sector itself. Any engagement with the field demands that these concepts are understood and work is then planned accordingly.

Foucault argues that Criminology emerged from the disciplinary practices of prison and that it is open ended in its relation to other disciplines and is utterly eclectic in its theorising and practice. His description of Criminology as a human science in the service of disciplinary power certainly captures one important aspect of its social functioning (cited in Garland 1992, pp 410, 414). This introduces us to the ever prominent concept of power that exists in the criminal justice system. Domination through authority occurs when there is an institutionalised relation between a group of superordinates and a group of subordinates. It is a form of legitimised or institutionalised domination. (Weber 1968:943, cited in Scott 1973). Very integral to this field of practice is this notion of power and authority and how everything revolves around this.

Criminology operates within several different fields of power. Certain kinds of Criminology continue to operate within disciplinary and normalizing practices aimed at individuals. Others operate at governmental strategies aimed at broader population. Still others see their role as interrupting and criticizing all such practices from a position external to them (Garland 1992). And in each of these there is a position of practice that can be located, drawing from the Systems theory, the first being micro, the second being macro and the third a mezzo level. (Bertalanffy cited Friedman and Allen, 2011). Thus the interface with legislations, with bureaucratic, rule oriented, authoritative systems and government entities defines the ethos of the CJS and this field of practice.

Criminology is also closely connected to the concept of Criminal Justice. The two are inseparable and yet are two different entities themselves. Criminology pertains to the study of the cause of criminal behaviour. And in response to what do you do after you know, the action element, falls within the domain of criminal justice which is defined as the understanding of various strategies to control criminal behaviour. Thus, Criminology is knowing the problem and criminal justice is knowing the solution (Pratt, Gau and Franklin 2011, pp 177). And a study or interest in one implies similarly for the other.
The Criminal Justice System in India

The criminal justice system of a country very often mirrors both a reality of how society is and what the people’s expectations of it are. A commentary about the situation of the larger CJS can be done with a micro focus on some of its systems whether it is the police, judiciary, prisons or issues like access to justice and the need for reforms. A discussion on any of these will highlight what ails the CJS today and how is it perceived by society at large.

Talking about Prisons, Gonsalves (2007 cited in Dobhal 2011) states, ‘that prisons are areas beyond access because the State has through law and the lathi shrouded the prison system with an iron curtain through which only those may pass who has no hope for returning. And while the press, the public and social activists are debarred the courts turn a blind eye. As a consequence, the criminalisation of prison administration proceeds a pace and is the main factor contributing to the hardening of the offender and to the inmate’s physical and psychological break down.’ He further describes the double problem people face of getting in and then not being able to get out and some of its other problems.

Today millions of people are jailed pending trial either because they are too illiterate to apply for bail or too poor to furnish the bail amount. Overcrowding has increased many times over. There are under trials languishing in jails even though the law presumes them innocent unless convicted. In many cases despite years going by the trials have not yet begun. Probably no country in the democratic world keeps its people behind bars like India does. The overwhelming majority of those incarcerated are poor, Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims. That the system operates harshly against these sections is an understatement. It operates only against these people (pp84).

The broad of visitors is a farce. Judicial reluctance, bureaucratic callousness…. takes India rapidly towards the precipice where the working class find themselves brutalised and isolated and the justice system is seen by all as a weapon perpetually perpetrating injustice. (pp86).

These are strong statements that depict a harsh picture with clarity. Thus, Prisons seem to be a closed space and almost impossible to negotiate out of with an additional problem of the profile of the people who are in it and their inability to produce financial sureties. Any ills are further kept out of sight by non-functional or ‘non-fully’ functional bodies of supervision whose main aim was to play a role of a monitoring system to point out wrongs and inadequacies. That feedback loop itself is dysfunctional.
Human rights violations can be kept in check by bodies set up as mechanisms for this very purpose, like the National Commissions. Balagopal (2007 cited in ibid) comments about how though it has the power to investigate and make recommendations but the utilisations of the powers still remains a far cry. It has only become an agency that holds seminars like any debating forum. He further emphasises how amendments catering to specific wrongs, in this case by the police are ignored for example, 30 years ago the Law Commission had made an amendment regarding custodial deaths and this amendment is not incorporated in the law even today. And the reality is that amendments that strengthen human rights are seldom allowed, he adds. Thus the culture of the bureaucracy or of those in power seems to be not so much about setting right what seem to be apparent inconsistencies. (pp89)

Another serious dimension to this discussion is added by Baxi (2007, cited in ibid) who critiques the Committee of Reforms of the CJS that was set up. His questioning is fundamentally about how the nature of its membership is a handful of handpicked individuals who supposedly represent the aspirations of the people of India. This, he critiques, goes against the very nature of any democratic process. He quotes the report saying, ‘everyone knows that the CJS in India was about to collapse, high rate of pendency, low rate of conviction have made crime a profitable business’ (pp 93). And feels that the ethos of the whole report is ill-suited and dysfunctional to the future of human rights in India. This he claims is akin to squandering a great opportunity for law reform itself. So while amendments themselves are few and far apart and not adhered to, attempts to set up discussions on the subject of reforms seems more ornamental than serious and impactful.

Commenting on the draft national policy (DNP) on criminal justice, Pande (2007, cited in ibid) again reiterates the point of participation and people’s involvement in these crucial processes and how such important documents are generated, distanced from the people. He affirms that it cannot just consist of ‘expert’ opinion but of people who have a real stake in a healthy criminal justice policy. The larger reality of the fate of previous reform committees and documents are highlighted and referring to the Police Commission of 1979-1981 or the Prison Committee of 1980-1982 that now remain in cold storage for so long, what is guarantee the DNP will influence the course of legislative power in the near future, he asks? The way previous recommendations have been treated is enough of an evidence to be concerned about what different fate will yet another committee report encounter. ‘Criminalisation of the poor and weaker sections of society is a well-known phenomenon
throughout the history of criminal law throughout’, he states. And adds that if the DNP is trying to reverse the process it must first try and understand what it is trying to undo. (pp104)

This concern of who remains in the CJS without access to legal aid or support systems outside, gives an indication of certain sections of society that are already socially disadvantaged and once they get into CJS are in reality legally disadvantaged too. Patil (2007, cited in ibid) explains this saying that the vast majority of the poor in any case see the CJS as a great engine of oppression where torture is widespread and condoned by the judiciary and innocent people are roped in while the rich go scot free. It is often unpopular to uphold the Constitution particularly when it is implemented in respect of poor and working class people, he adds.

Adding to the debate of the need for reform, Patil further highlights how reform in criminal justice does not mean diluting of standards.

It means raising the standards of the police and public prosecutors so that they are able to meet the high standards set by the Supreme Court through its earlier judgements. Sadly things have proceeded in the opposite direction and it is assumed that the police and public prosecutors will continue to be inept and corrupt. The question is then of speeding up the system and the rate of conviction thus running a risk of indiscriminate arrests, prosecutions and convictions. The Malimath Report of criminal justice reforms in India suggested such a change and it was widely criticised and the Government rejected its recommendations (p108).

This complex situation of layers of problems that ail the CJS in India today needs to be also seen in the light that monitoring bodies like the Human Rights Commissions and Board of Visitors exist but they do not really play the role they are supposed to or can. Even the few amendments and recommendations suggested are not considered so while the system is going through its own challenges and limitations, for some reason the decision makers seem to want to maintain status quo. The cry for justice by the weak, poor, marginalised and vulnerable is already feeble and then falls on deaf ears.

It is in this context that social workers with their rights based orientation and pro-people training become the support so genuinely sought out for by the needy in the otherwise formidable CJS. It is against exactly this background that discussions of the need for and the role of the social worker in the criminal justice system needs to be placed and understood.
Criminology and Social Work: The convergence of two Disciplines and Sectors

The evolution of social work education, field education, and within that the importance of field work and the growth of Criminology as a discipline has been examined. This section discusses the convergence of both social work and criminology at the discipline and sector level.

When one reads through the historical evolution of social work in the USA, it is interesting to note that as a special field of practice, probation and corrections is mentioned along with child welfare, medical social work and psychiatric social work (Stinson 1967). This focus on probation and corrections could then be accepted as the beginning of the sector of Criminology as a field of practice in social work.

Until mid-1920s, the profession played a strong role in providing services such as pre-sentence investigation and supervision, counselling prisoners related to managing the prison environment and re-entry planning. In USA social workers influence declined after the 1974 Martison report that questioned effectiveness of many kinds of treatment programs (Gumz, 2004, cited in Singh 2012: 290). It was also noted that changes in the social work profession in the USA has diminished its role in corrections. Social workers in the USA were more attracted to private practice enterprises and less involved in work with persons in public welfare and prisons. (ibid 291).

The challenges of the social worker operating within an authoritative CJS is indicated by Hariston (1997, ibid),

> Concerns about working with involuntary clients, the need for self- determination and working in an oppressive system of social control have overshadowed parallel needs for the social work profession to be engaged in the debate about criminal justice policies, programs and services… while the nation builds more prisons to house more of a population that is predominantly poor and non-white, the social work profession has largely remained silent. (p 291)

Therefore, implying the role of the social worker as being relegated to a periphery as opposed to influencing the system and its processes. Furthermore the largest American organisation for social workers, NASW has about 150,000 members and eight specialty practice sections listed; of aging, alcohol, tobacco and drugs, child welfare, health and
mental health, poverty and social justice, private practice and school social work, with no mention of corrections. Social workers still serve as probation officers but their presence in the field has declined (Gumz, 2004, cited in Singh 2012, p291).

In the Indian context, in the 20th century, work with adult offenders and juvenile delinquents was mostly limited to institutions. Juvenile corrections meant special institutions, reformatory schools, focusing on education and vocational training and prisons were for adult offenders and the focus of work there was health and hygiene (Panakal, 1967). The choice of this subject was affected due to jobs being only in the government sector, vacancies were less and people came on deputation to study. Thus not having fresh avenues for employment after studying also affected the subject being chosen.

Likewise at that time post graduate training in corrections expanded rather than undergraduate or certificate level. There was a one year course on moral and social hygiene, and TISS used to offer a six month course for correctional personnel during the period of 1953 to 1965. They no longer exist (Panakal, 1967). Another important growth at that point was other government bodies were setting up their own in-house training schools, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra Jail Training Schools had papers in social work. So social work went into corrections, demonstrating acceptance of allied institutions and disciplines to work with social work trained personnel.

The employment opportunities and low salary in corrections affected the way this specialization grew because the scope for employment and jobs in this field significantly shaped whether students came to study this course itself. Another debate of importance was whether Criminology and forensic sciences needs to be included in corrections or that the subject of corrections should limit itself to prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. This was also about determining where the overlap between Criminology, Criminal Justice and Social Work lies and how to envisage the role of this social worker.

A study in four cities in India by Ramchandran (1969) attempted to understand the reason for people choosing social work as a profession, why certain specialisations were opted for at the time of the study and what was the basis of selecting jobs both from the individual and agency’s point of view. Of particular interest is the finding that eight per cent of students opted for what was then called correctional and institutional administration as a field of specialization [italics mine] and four per cent chose to work in the sector corrections [italics
mine]. Of the students who did a generic training in social work also, four per cent worked in corrections. What emerged was that of the number of students who opted to study the specialisation only fifty per cent went on to work in it and an exact same number also did so from a generic social work course. The reality was that there did not exist supportive legal sanction nor directive for specialisation based employment. This was the case even for probation officers in government settings. The study highlighted how this was one of the fields in which employment opportunities were limited and also that very few people actually chose their specialisation of study when it came to employment options. This is significant in terms of understanding the existence of and importance given to the specialisation of correctional and institutional administration as it was then referred to in the early seventies. The debate of specialisation versus generic is beyond the scope of this research but it would suffice enough to state that 60 years ago, correctional administration as a specialisation and corrections as a sector was mentioned.

It is also important to understand what was happening in the environment externally at that point in time that also affected Criminology as a sector,

By the late 1970s and early 1980s emphasis on social welfare ebbed and focus was on poverty alleviation. Thus persons faced with social stigma and on the fringes of society did not remain a priority. For this group, the State lost faith in institutions and rehabilitation as a method of social reintegration. Demoralization of welfare sector so few institutions remained. Investment of human power, training, service delivery, institutions reduced so fewer students now came to study. The field of criminology and corrections became limited to intervention in these institutions for women and children in terms of field work. The sector was shrinking and so was everything related to it. There were few jobs being created and the purpose of training for these non-existent jobs was losing its significance (Raghavan, 2013, cited in Singh 2013:266)

By the late seventies, community based programs were already being talked about (Rosenthal, Luger 1974 and Johnson 1978, cited in Srivastava 1980). It was now being accepted that correctional agencies alone cannot correct crime as crime is rooted in social causes (Carney 1977, ibid 1980). The National Advisory Commission, 1973 (ibid) talked about limitations of correctional institutions saying that they brought about more negative change and made successful reintegration back into the community less likely. By the 70s, community based corrections was emerging in USA as the future. It meant getting the community involved in the prevention and treatment of crime. Thus rehabilitation was seen to be the joint effort of the offender, the professional worker and the community.
In the Indian context, it was pointed out that since it was a struggle with even a basic sense of security, community based corrections was a long way off. There were very few, who supported the progressive strides of modern Criminology (Srivastava 1980). Critics also accept that the scope is in rehabilitation of first time offenders and so suggested to widen the probation net, liberalise parole procedures and de-institutionalise juvenile corrections. It is within this domain of community based corrections that one can also position the role of the social worker, whose main aim would be to help an individual make his journey back to society into a web of meaningful relationships away from a life in crime.

This historical understanding is very important to put into perspective what the external factors were in terms of how the curriculum and field connection emerged as it depicts a trajectory of how the discipline and the related field of practice developed. International writings have further broken down the sector of criminology and social work practice as police social work, forensic social work, correctional worker, social work in courts and prison social work. There is a need to understand the extent to which these aspects are functional in the Indian context and to compare it to the specific classroom inputs being given. Some of these focus areas have already been experienced, some need to be nurtured, and some still need to be explored.

**Evolution of the Sub-sectors in the Criminal Justice System in the Indian context**

Within the sector of social work in criminology, sub-sectors were branching out and evolving differently. Some of these sub-sectors were social work in; prisons, police stations, institutions and rehabilitation.

The beginning of social work in prison in India can be traced back to student field work in 1985-1989, at the women and young male adult sections of a central prison. Simultaneously work was explored in police stations, railway police and in courts, with an overall focus on human rights protection, custodial justice, and reaching out to those in need within criminal justice. The prison legal aid project was initiated from 1999 to 2000 by the FAP and Government Law College (FAP, Annual report 2002).
In India social work practitioners do not formally work within the police system. The police, however are amenable to collaboration on issues of domestic violence (Dave 2000 cited in Sinha 2012:92). ‘Evidence of institutionalized prejudice and stereotyping, insensitivity to cultural differences, unfair harassment and use of excessive force, necessitates the presence of social workers in the police station to address these concerns. Social work in police station needs to negotiate individual rights to social control’ (Dick 2005, cited in Sinha 2012:96).

The police can recognise their human service role and broaden their responses to include crisis intervention and divert persons with social or personal problems from the criminal justice into social service areas (Abandinsky, 1976). Bard (1971, ibid) notes that the police role in family crisis intervention deviates from the order maintenance function and he emphasises the need for training if such intervention is to be useful. Thus if one is seeing a changed role for the police it is important that change is made in their training curriculum too, so they are equipped to handle these situations. Another point of view put forth by Burnet et al, (ibid p 125) who stresses the need for combining social work and police work so that the two professions can provide help to citizens who look for aid through the police. Social workers bring with them counselling skills, diagnostic skills, and awareness of service delivery system, knowledge, and experience. The police bring different skills, they are authority figures, have back up in crisis handling, know differences of the community, know different service networks and provide security to case worker ( ibid, p 128).

Social work at police stations as demonstrated by the FAP was about addressing persons vulnerable to criminalization, victimisation, marginalization, or destitution with both a victim and offender focus. Work was about grievance redressal, conflict resolution, informal justice, social control mechanisms, socio-legal and psycho-social support. The groups that one can work with at the police station are women, children, youth, first time offenders and victims to name a few. Also with victims of commercial sexual exploitation and their rehabilitation and a preventive role from being taken into exploitative situations for example, women in railway stations. And the role of the social worker here is counselling, giving information, and making home visits, providing medical support, financial assistance, legal guidance, and finally referral to other service providers. The most important thing being that the presence of the social worker helps citizens to access the justice system better and leads to an improvement of police community relations. (Raghavan 2012, FAP Hand Book Series).
Attempts to formalise this work was made by the FAP from 1992, in terms of submitting a note on the need for trained social workers in the criminal justice administration. The objective of reformation and rehabilitation of offenders has been formally recognized in correctional legislation: for example in the Probation of Offenders Act, Juvenile Justice Act, Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act, Prevention of Begging Act, Borstal Schools Act and Habitual Offenders Act. Posts of the probation officer, liaison officer, child welfare officer, prison welfare officer, case worker had existed in residential institutions and probation departments for adults and juveniles (BATS and Prayas, 2006). This was further reiterated as initiating the process of rehabilitation, reclaiming individual to society and facilitating the journey from client to citizen. The various titles used for the social worker have been prison worker, legal aid worker, court worker and aftercare worker (FAP 2012 Hand Book Series).

The National Expert Committee on Women Prisoners’ report (1987), clearly states the role of a social worker in prison as in reaching out to the prisoner, their families, conducting meaningful activities, social integration and counselling (Raghavan, 2013, cited in Singh, 2013, p 276).

Similarly work in the sub-sector of aftercare and rehabilitation has been defined as intervention required while the individual is in institutional care, immediately on release from prison and after release. The role of the social worker could be in emergency assistance on release, temporary accommodation and assistance in securing housing, employment, family support, counseling, guidance, legal aid, and protection from police harassment (Model Prison Manual 2003, GOI: 278) If a juvenile violates a law, he is not punished but treated, guided and because of the treatment focus the social service figure is central, (Abandinsky 1976) thus highlighting the role of the social worker in this sub-sector.

In a lecture on Institutional Correction: Critique and Perspective on 17 June 2014 to a class of teachers in Criminology at the National Law University, Delhi, Professor B.N. Chattoraj said that the NGO presence in the area of reform and rehabilitation is very poor and the question that is constantly asked is; who is the onus on, the Government or civil society? In a lecture on Social Work Approach to Criminology on 20 June 2014 to a class of teachers in Criminology at the National Law University, Delhi, Professor V. Raghavan explained how, ‘in 1980s social work in Criminology (in prisons) as a sub-field was introduced and explored. The ideological base is individual and social change and crime is viewed as an outcome of structural inequalities of society, social conflicts, changing power dynamics,
criminalization of poverty and social exclusion policies.’ Engaging with the concept of power, bringing forth a sense of equality in legal mechanisms was the position taken by the FAP. This is also reflective of the Institute’s position and stand on various issues with a sub-culture that has a spirit of questioning and challenging. Thus, how one understands the causes of crime influences how one will then deal with those who are crime affected and those processed by the CJS.

An over-arching concern connected to work in this sector is the lack of a climate conducive for work with the system, the offender and the victim and the need for an equal emphasis on institutional and non-institutional programs, both prevention and rehabilitation (Sinha 2012:95). The UGC distance learning certificate course in social work and criminal justice system describes the need for social workers as being able to help bridge the gap between law and policy and the gaps in implementation of the same. And work is conceptualized as social and legal services in correctional settings (IGNOU 2010:8).

There is another sub-sector that is written about in literature, that of ‘Forensic Social Work’. It is a practice specialty that involves interaction with the courts and has emerged as an important field more in the international context rather than in India. Forensic Social Workers often are involved in making recommendations regarding competency, risk of violence and alternative sentencing. They conduct forensic interviews and psychosocial assessments and testify as expert witnesses. They have a role to play in cases of domestic violence, child maltreatment, mental health, elder abuse, divorce, foster care, adoption, criminal and juvenile justice, substance abuse and probation and parole (Rome 2008). And all of this is largely possible because they are formally a part of the system.

Yet another sub-sector that is emerging and has the potential for social workers to engage themselves with is that of ‘Restorative Justice’ and it is defined as seeking to restore and enhance victims, offenders and the community to fuller functioning through the use of such techniques like mediation, family group conferencing and peace-making circles. ‘It is a new area and criminal justice scholars have begun writing about it, social workers not yet’ (Merit: 292).

And finally coming to the concept of ‘Criminal Justice Social Work’ (CJSW). It includes tackling criminal behaviour and reducing risk of re-offending, supervising offenders in the community, assisting prisoners re-settle into the community after release from custody
(Whyte, 2009, The Development Centre for Scotland, Social Work in Youth and Criminal Justice, University of Edinburgh). Its aim is to reduce unnecessary prison sentences and strengthen community based alternatives. The services include social investigation reports, court social work services, supervision, probation, community work, drug, prison social work, parole board, through care, aftercare, public safety and community protection, victims of crime and their families. Thus CJSW is an overarching concept that includes the multiple roles that social workers can play in connection with the criminal justice system with an engagement both in institutions and in the community with the aim to reintegrate. This is where the future of this field of practice could be moving towards, facilitating the journey out of institutions into communities, facilitating individuals to reclaim their identity and place in society.

Social workers have a defined role in providing services to incarcerated individuals since the inception of the profession in 1904 (Roberts and Springer 2007, cited in Wilson 2010). Social work practice performed various roles in the criminal (and juvenile) justice systems in the USA and it is referred to as criminal justice social work, correctional social work or forensic social work (Wilson 2010). The National Association of Social Worker describes Criminal Justice Social workers as frontline staff and administrators in the criminal justice settings. The purpose of this social work was conceptualized to effect meaningful change in the criminal justice system and to balance the conflicted dichotomy between the need for public safety and to address the psycho-social needs of offenders. The need for a National standard for psychosocial service delivery and that there exists a constant tension between the punishment model and the rehabilitation model has been documented. The social work profession has an opportunity to re-establish its leadership role in offering ‘evidence based models’ for effective psychosocial service delivery to offenders and victims of crime that will help achieve the objectives of the CJS in the 21st century. They have accurately observed that we as a society are becoming more punitive and an increase in persons in custody means an increase in persons re-entering society and then getting re-arrested. One similarity between the situation in USA and Scotland is the increased need for social service professionals based on the expanded use of alternative sentencing and the provision of more comprehensive community based programs (City Council of Glasgow 2009). The concept of evidence based practice itself is under a lot of discussion within social work circles with equal voices proposing and opposing it. Evidence based practice is based on clinical practice and influenced by a need to be accountable, on premises of outcome and measurability and
for performance based funding (Weibe, 2004). This study is not making a comment on this but understands the above mention of evidence based models to imply models that have worked, that have shown some kind of an impact beyond just explorations. So there is an element of knowing what is being done.

In England and Wales, social workers play an important part in the youth juvenile system as members of multidisciplinary teams and are called youth offending teams. In Scotland and Northern Ireland, social workers are fully involved in the CJS (Johns 2006:94).

Closer home, the Centre under study focuses on the social construction of crime, understanding violence and its relationship with the state and civil society actors and engaging with the criminal justice system to promote the legal rights and social re-entry of marginalised populations (Institute Annual Report 2014). Thus this entire journey for the Centre has been from criminology and correctional administration, to criminology and justice and now to criminal justice social work. In India there is a need to initiate, consolidate, formalise and popularise most of these terms and functions. This will then introduce, nurture and sustain the need for and the value of the social worker in the criminal justice system.