The Pointillism Approach: Re-imagining the historiography of social care work

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Appendix 1. Paper 1: The development of social care work in Germany and the US: theorizing the result of cultural understandings and policy responses to concepts of 'individualism' during the nineteenth century

Appendix 2. Paper 2: The tapestry of social care work history

Appendix 3. Paper 3: The International Congress of Women and the Pointillism Approach: An antenarrative approach to the early history of social care work

Introduction

The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to analyze the philosophical underpinnings of 'social care work' in Western culture. This interest developed while studying in the first accredited program in the USA to teach 'social/cultural pedagogy' as an academic discipline at Arizona State University. While studying, I began to establish relationships with educators from the British Isles, Spain, Mexico, Denmark, Japan, Australia, Canada, and more. The discussions which occurred as a result of these connections made it clear that many organizations around the world were attempting to define 'social pedagogy' as a discipline or movement, framed by their own cultural understanding of what I will refer to as *social care work,* but that no unified definition of the phrase 'social pedagogy' existed. In many countries, parenting, education, care for the elderly and/or disadvantaged, social education, and other care initiatives are clearly divided dependent on cultural contributions to the praxes. I became quite curious about the epistemic understandings of inequality, marginalization, and the need for care, in the hopes that a deeper understanding of these elements of practical development might offer some insight into the epistemic differences regarding understandings of what it meant to care for one another as humans.

The phrase 'social pedagogy' is in use in many countries around the world, but is not a globally understood term. Rather, it is a fluid term which has, through recent transnational conversations, begun to define praxes and ideologies which can be encompassed within the term *social care work*. Thus, in this dissertation, the term *social care work* is used, rather than *social pedagogy*, to avoid debate over a 'correct' definition of the term. Social care work is intended here to be used as a fluid term which includes praxes such as social work, adult education, early childhood education, prison reform, addiction care, and more. This term *social care work* also loosely encompasses academic disciplines such as sociology, behavioral psychology, and early childhood education, among others. It is here used as a compendium term intended to encompass those humanitarian care or efforts meant to enhance the well-being of the individual (client/patient/student, etc.) and their quality of life, and to promote the social inclusion and autonomy of the person. To evaluate the history of social care work is to engage in the philosophies of care which promote policies and outreach initiatives intended to uphold these initiatives.

Unfortunately, a canvas this large would be an insurmountable task for one doctoral dissertation, necessitating a narrowing of the scope of research. Given that the USA and England both began to illuminate the need for 'social pedagogy' within the previous two decades (Schugurensky & Silver, 2013), and that much of their early works nods to Germany, a comparative look at Germany and the United States (with the help of some early English literature on the topic) appeared to be in order. However, as stated, the term 'social pedagogy' seems to hold different meanings for each country. This is to say that in the United States, a *critical pedagogy* approach is used to define and understand what is meant by *social pedagogy*, whereas in Britain and Ireland, care for children in early development tends to take a more prominent role in the definition of *social pedagogy*. However, both countries are engaging in and researching 'new' methods of *social care work*.

The development of the praxes of social work and social pedagogy are heavily intertwined, developed in part as attempted solutions or responses to the Social Question/ *die soziale Frage*. Germany, often noted as the home of *social pedagogy* (Schugurensky, 2016), clearly delineates social work (*Sozialarbeit*), Social Work (*Soziale Arbeit*), and social pedagogy (*Sozialpädagogik*), whereas in the United States, *social work* is the singular all-encompassing phrase intended to hold both the practical and academic works of "social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people" (IFSW, 2025). *Social care,* conversely, is often colloquially understood as any socially-minded practice outside – or in addition to - the defined scope of social work. The term *social care* is used at times to minimize, rather than promote, tangible humanitarian care or efforts. While a shared accepted history of the professionalization of the field of social work is apparent in the literature (Trattner, 1999; Katz, 1996; Hering & Münchmeier, 2014, et al), the

epistemic base is less universal. This means that, despite attempts to formalize or recognize shared motivations for care works (International Federation of Social Workers, Social Pedagogy Global Association, International Sociological Association, etc.), understandings which inform those motivations are not shared. A complete and inclusive historiography cannot be developed within this paradigm. Without an understood epistemology, a shared ontology is impossible; and without a shared ontology, a global definition cannot be reached, making the work and effort of many countries futile. Thus, the interest in this dissertation was formed: to begin to build a hermeneutic base with which to help frame social care work, in an effort to encourage further development of a more global definition of social care work, to delineate the work of humanitarian care efforts from the already defined praxes of *social work* and *social pedagogy.* I began this process by attempting to ascertain an epistemic constant within the development of social care work.

Path of the dissertation research

When I began this process, I wanted to attempt to understand why it was that *social pedagogy* developed professionally within Germany, but not in the United States, given the vast amount of shared academic literature between the countries in the late 19th Century. In order to explore this question, I found it necessary to begin to review the development of the praxes of social work and sociology prior to their professionalization/academization. My research began with a brief early comparative look at how the understanding of 'individualism' as a concept shaped German and American ideas of social care. Section 3 will offer a brief overview of that first paper, *The development of social care work in Germany and the US: theorising the result of cultural understandings and policy responses to concepts of 'individualism' during the nineteenth century*, and share the findings of this research into ideas of individualism and the divergence of philosophies which developed social care initiatives in both Germany and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It was during the research for this first paper, the attempt to understand the philosophical divergence, that one philosophy became quite clear: patriarchal messaging and the Great Man theory (Arenas, Connelly & Williams, 2017) were dominant throughout the current narratives of social care works. I then began to examine why that may be and began to find indications within the historiography that this narrative continues to reproduce as a result of the sources and narratives used to teach disciplines of social care work. While I did not publish a paper on this topic, I have included some of these findings here in order continue the thread of this dissertation. Sections 3 and 4 both contain elements of this research.

Section 5 of this dissertation then problematizes the methodology previously used in the development of said narratives of the development of social care work, to include the historization of sociological academization, the historization of the professionalization of social work, and the erasure of women and female-presenting actors in each of these areas. Section 6 follows with introductions of some feminist frameworks that may be used to help mitigate this patriarchal historization. These sections on methodologies are followed by a suggestion to reevaluate the approaches used by educators and historians in the fields of sociology and social work to build the narratives of the history of social care works in western cultures, leading to the second paper of this dissertation, *The Tapestry of social care work: A Pointillism Approach,* which introduces The Pointillism Approach as a potential new approach for synthesizing current methodologies in a way which may help to disrupt the current hegemonic narrative of social care work.

Section 7 then applies the Pointillism Approach to the first International Council of Women in 1888 (Report, 1888) as a case-study, proposing that the ICW 1888 may be useful as a possible framework for a primary epistemological bridge between *The Social Question* and *die soziale Frage*, as discussed in Chapter 3. There I discuss how, despite the ideological divergence in the philosophy, a general epistemology may have been formed during the professionalization of the various social care work

occupations which followed – perhaps even framed *by* the activists and professionals in attendance at the ICW 1888.

This framework paper will then further support the claims of these cumulative dissertation papers by problematizing how the current historical narrative of social care work is shared in educational settings, shaping current and future philosophies of care. It is my hope that this dissertation will begin a process that may illuminate the reductivity of current educational paradigms of social care work, and that the Pointillism Approach may help social work and sociology educators to critically re-evaluate current hegemonic narratives to build a more inclusive narrative. This dissertation postulates that to ensure a more accurate or complete epistemology of social care work, the understood 'early history' must be re-evaluated using methodology intended to deconstruct, decolonize, and delineate historical events from the current, common patriarchal influence of modern teachings by critically framing the International Council of Women 1888 as a crucial but overlooked early conference of social care work. It is also important to establish clearly that this dissertation is not intended as a historical narrative for social work, Social Work, or social pedagogy.

> "The first point is really a plea: that is, that when we talk about inequality or marginalization within sociology, we should not talk just about demographic diversity within academia. We should not consider only whether certain social groups are adequately represented across different ranks of our discipline. No doubt, that is important. Inequalities within sociology are unjust. But I submit that questions of social inequality and marginalization should also be had alongside and in conversation with the question of epistemic inequality and marginalization. This is the question of knowledge hierarchies; of how certain standpoints get marginalized as inferior, unworthy, and lesser while other standpoints get valorized as superior. After all, the exclusion of certain social groups in sociology has both reflected and been a part of this marginalization" (Go, 2017).

Historizations of social care work today

I believe this exploration of the epistemology of social care work must begin with a look at the historization of the academic discipline of sociology. The narrative of social care work is inseparable from the narrative taught within sociology. While there are several perspectives regarding whether social work and sociology are interdisciplinary or mutually exclusive, I argue that sociology is, academically, a main discipline *of* social work. Thus, the historization of sociology, and the epistemic beliefs found in the production of sociology, are reproduced within social work education and, therefore, become nearly inseparable. Dayé, (2018) postulates: "One can argue that the history of sociology is important (I) because it offers a source for collective conscience and disciplinary identity; (II) because it provides and maintains an important way to teach new generations of scholars; (III) because it can inform current sociological research and theorizing; and (IV) because its allows to reflect on the shape as well as the broader cultural and social impact of sociology" (p. 523). Thus, by establishing and legitimizing social identity, how sociology understands its roots has a direct and indelible impact on how we, as societies, enact social work in practice. The enaction of social work as praxis, in turn, directly impacts our societies, and the schematics by which we collectively view the concept of 'society'. As with Foucault's chain of knowledge (1972, 1982), this reproduction of understanding continues to influence how we understand the power structures and expectations within our societies.

> "Of particular relevance to this discussion is the constructionist view of knowledge, mentioned previously, as originating in relationships rather than, as commonly believed, within individual minds. From this perspective judgments of truth and falsity, morality, and aesthetics are located in and generated through historical, cultural, and social processes.

> Social construction challenges the traditions of the individual as the source, generator, and possessor of knowledge" (Witkin, 2014, p.591).

Sexism as reductive

Current historizations of social care work are reductive to the contributions of the many women responsible for the work of what was often referred to as 'applied sociology.' These women, called "radical social reformers" (Ellwood, 2019/1913), "activist Anglo-American women" (Schwartz, 1997, p.287), "slow to take up feminist theory" (Epstein et al, 2022, p.77), "well-to-do Protestant women" (Katz, 1996, p.61), among other reductive labels, were essential to the work, development and professionalization of various praxes of social care work (Muncy, 1991). However, the patriarchal educational agenda which has permeated Western society has resulted in a lack of self-reflection among sociologists and social workers in regard to the accepted hegemonic narrative. This is not terribly surprising, however, given the attitude toward women during the organization and growth of sociology as an academic discipline. An important paper by Mary Jo Deegan (1981) outlines quite clearly how the American Sociological Society has discriminated against women since its inception. Albion Small was not only the head of the University of Chicago's Department of sociology but was the first sitting Chair to the graduate program in sociology, the founder of the American Journal of Sociology, and founded and led the American Sociological Society. "Thus, when he established this professional society, he selected from his 'old boy network' and helped establish a tradition of patriarchal power that was to continue for decades" (Deegan, 1981, p.16).

Although Small was praised for his implementation of progressive public policies, his views on women seem to counter claims of progressive tendencies. "Ironically, as an advocate of society based on competition and the survival of the fittest, Small did not believe that women should be taught to compete. Acknowledging that some "modern" women were trained like men, he felt this was a transitory and possibly destructive phase of social change" (Deegan, 1981, p.15). This view matters a great deal, and Small held and maintained power within the field for several years.

Sociology, as with many professions, was practiced, publicly debated, advertised, and studied academically prior to becoming a socially accepted 'profession.' Albion Small was an important figure in the historical development of sociology as a profession (Buxton & Turner, 1992, p. 382). He was far from alone in his ideas regarding women. The Journal of the Anthropological Society of London published, in 1869, *On the Real Differences in the Minds of Men and Women*:

> "In the domain of pure intellect, it is doubtful if women have contributed one profound original idea of the slightest permanent value to the world! Not only as thinkers, but as workers, are men preeminent. Men legislate, govern, invent, colonise, make religions, fight, build, and dig. So little demand is there for the direct assistance of women in the mental departments which are the special province of man, that could all the male intellect in the world be suddenly paralysed or annihilated, there is not sufficient development of the abstract principles of justice, morality, truth, or of causality and inventive power in the female sex, to hold the mechanism of society together for one week." p.ccx – Allan, 1869

It must be noted that Wikipedia holds claims that the Anthropological society of London was "short-lived" but the archives of the Royal Anthropological Institute state it merged in 1871 with the Ethnological Society of London to form the Anthropological Institute – still in operation today (therai.org.uk, 2024) – "…a scholarly association dedicated to anthropology in all its many fields and applications" (RAI, 2024), which offers a stark example of how reproductive narratives continue to thrive. With such bigotry gatekeeping the burgeoning profession, it's no surprise that women working in the field of social care work (applied sociology) were not to be considered sociologists, even prior to the professionalization of sociology, despite clear work in the *field* of sociology.

> "One could argue that the individuation of 'social problems,' often at the hands of *activist Anglo-American* women, ran in parallel with a feminized concern for society's multiple effects upon a sensitive self in need of healing and harmony … *Socialists and other radicals had very largely set the problems which sociology attempts to solve'*…" (Schwartz, 1997, p. 287; emphasis added).

It must also be noted that the grand council of the ICW 1888 occurred 6 years *prior* to Small and Vincent's publication of the 1894 textbook *An Introduction to the Study of Society,* offering a parallel timeline of development wherein the women in the field ought to be considered *as*, if not *more*, active as the men. There is reason to believe that a history built with limited narratives brings disadvantages for a truly evolved discipline. Rather, as "…every article, of the thousands – millions – published in peer-reviewed journals, is expected to be individually original and distinctive, whilst each also forms part of a larger conversation" (Stern et al 2019, p. 243), this paper lends itself to that larger conversation in the interest of exploring a means to develop an as-of-yet unclear epistemological base of care work prior to the professionalization of social work, social pedagogy, and other praxes, and attempting to carve out a reconstructive, critically descriptive idea of a more holistic history of social care work.

This is to say that a more accurate history of social care work requires a new approach to historical documents, to include those such as the ICW 1888 minutes, in an attempt to build or reconstruct a more inclusive historiography of social care work. "This essay examines the bridging role that longitudinal qualitative research could possibly play between the historian's narrative approach and the social scientist's reductionist approach in theory development of complex social systems." (Burgelman, 2011, p. 591) However, despite our clear understanding of these variables and influences, I have continued to find modern writing published which claims the influence of repeated names of influential men, while failing to offer a critical eye to the earlier impetus for such works. However, this paper postulates that feminist theory is, in fact, a primary epistemological base of social care work, which was erased through patriarchal gatekeeping. These accepted histories must be challenged from a more inclusive perspective and critically analyzed to include a broader archival of ethnographic methodologies of reconstruction. Reconstructive history can be quite beneficial to decolonize and minimize unquestioning patriarchal influence. Thus, building a reconstructive, critically descriptive idea of social work requires establishing and understanding of the epistemic base of social work prior to professionalization.

Even Carolyn Heilbrun – who Naomi Black (1989) refers to as "one of the most open-minded and activist of the feminist scholars" – is quoted by Black as saying: "So far, it is men who have moved upon the earth and had adventures; it is men who have told stories. But perhaps women have not told stories because there were no stories to tell. There was only the dailiness of life, the attention to food, clothing, shelter, the endless replication of motherhood'" (p. 79). However, Mary Leavitt, a valued member of the Women's Temperance Union, recognized explicitly during the ICW 1888 as a remarkable woman (Report, 1888, p. 116) who was quite possibly one of the most well-traveled women in history, has been all but completely forgotten in our modern texts and archives. This is one of many examples which can be drawn from these meeting minutes to exemplify how this problem was not that women did not *have* stories, nor that they did not *share* them, but rather that their stories were not perpetuated in history lessons through time. So, as Black continues, "When anthropologists report that 'women have not told stories,' we should not respond that women as such lack a subject for narrative. Instead, we should distrust the account of women's lives supplied by conventional techniques of inquiry and analysis" (Black, 1989, p. 80).

The systemic sexism in both the early and continued organizational culture of sociology, the patriarchal hegemony of methodologies, and the lack of ethnomethodological reflexivity within the current narratives of social care work, offer a 'perfect storm' of reductive and limited histories of social care. The epistemology of care work, and therefore the ability to move sustainably forward, is greatly lacking. The current historical narrative must be re-evaluated so that the story may be told another way. Evaluation of the ICW 1888, and other events, within a deliberately more inclusive, feminist frame, offer a vastly different understanding of the early epistemology of social care work which may change the trajectory of current teaching and, as such, current epistemologies of care.

Social Darwinism and Great Man Theory

The influence of sociology on social work was profoundly influenced by the evolutionary theories of Spencer's Social Darwinism, reinforcing the idea that an individual's failure to thrive was nearly always the result of personal failings, and that too many of these personal failings became a social problem (Gondermann, 2007). This is not to say that the *idea* of personal responsibility had not already permeated the ranks of social care ideology for centuries, but rather that the academization of this ideology lent it an undeserved credibility; something to be taught and reproduced. However, working backwards, the argument of *individual* responsibility means that thorough historical review must first initiate with the understanding of the idea of an 'individual.' This assessment is what led to the writing of the first paper in this cumulative dissertation: *The development of social care work in Germany and the United States of America: theorizing the result of cultural understandings and policy responses to concepts of 'Individualism' during the 19th century*.

Sociology, intended as a science of society, developed academically in the late 19th and early 20th century. The development of this discipline, within the United States and Germany alike, was heavily supported by the works of Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903), often referred to as a founder of sociology, who coined the term 'survival of the fittest,' and was a grand proponent of Social Darwinism. "By 1900, indeed, Social Darwinist ideas of 'struggle,' 'fitness,' and 'survival,' of the eternal Hobbesian war of all against all, individual, national, and species- centered, had become virtually omnipresent and definitive of one of the most important modern trends in European and American thought" (Claeys, 2000, p.226). The ideology of Social Darwinism, that only the strongest might survive, which permeated both German and American thinking, followed the early English model of 'deserving poor.' While much of the current historical association with 'deservingness' is dated to the 16th or 17th centuries, in reference to Elizabethan poor laws (Katz1996, Trattner, 1999), I postulate this ideology of 'deservingness' began earlier, in the early 14th Century, evinced by the 1349 Statute of Labourers. The language of which states that individuals who *could* work simply did *not* work and would prefer to beg, building an idea of human capital – worth as related directly to the ability for production, which fit perfectly into the understandings of 'survival of the fittest' – those who *can* have worth; those who *can't*, do not.

> "Transmuted into the ubiquitous mid-Victorian notions of 'respectability' and 'character,' in which a division between idle and industrious, provident and profligate, was crucial, these ideas became central to the self- identity of the age. 'Character,' in particular, was often the term applied normatively to describe (in Wallace's phrase) 'the aggregate of mental faculties and emotions which constitute personal or national individuality' (Claeys, 2000, p.236).

Character determined one's individuality which determined one's ability to survive and was, according to Social Darwinism, hereditary. This proposed link between behavior, genetics, and society proved of great interest to the academic community, who began to establish with more fervor the argument for a science of society. Spencer, growing in popularity in both Germany and the United States, published *The Study of Sociology* in installments in the 1870s, considered by some to be, "a great step toward the establishment of social science as a legitimate form of inquiry" (Carneiro, 1974, p.548). This is not to say that the idea of personal responsibility had not already

permeated the ranks of social care ideology for centuries (paradoxically influencing Spencer's ideas of Social Darwinism) but rather that the academization of this ideology lent it an undeserved credibility; something to be taught and reproduced. The historization of sociology, now a 'legitimate' social science, naturally followed. Also profoundly influenced by the evolutionary theories of Spencer's Social Darwinism, reinforcing the idea that an individual's failure to thrive was nearly always the result of personal failings (Heraud, 1974, p.4), but that the ability for greatness was genetically inherent, was promulgated by the Great Man Theory of historical study.

> "In the early 1900s, individual personal traits were studied to determine what made certain people great leaders as opposed to ordinary leaders. The theories that were developed as a result of these studies were referred to as 'great man' theories, which focused on analyzing specific innate qualities and characteristics present in great social, political, and military leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Abraham Lincoln, and Napoleon Bonaparte" (Arenas, Connelly & Williams, 2017, p.2).

It is no surprise, then, that philosophers such as Hegel (1770 – 1831), and early sociologists like Durkheim (1858 – 1917), became so ubiquitous in historizations of sociology that their influence persists to this day. Hegel's historicism, which was "instrumental in forming a world history based on a notion of developmentalism, picturing Europe (and then America) on the basis of an ideology of progress as the yardstick of 'late capitalism'" (Peters, 2014, p.65), and Durkheim's argument that sociology, "unlike history, was capable of becoming a rigorous science" (Iggers, 1997, p.34), produced an identity for sociologists steeped in qualitative, capitalist, scientific-driven methodologies which would direct the field for the following decades.

These genealogies of 'great men' have been reprinted innumerable times in texts, tomes, and articles regarding the development and historiography of sociology. The debate over whether sociology was capable of, and consistently met, scientific rigor dominated the discursive landscape, with little more thought shown for the public presentation of historical development. "And over the course of the twentieth century in the United States, sociology became increasingly tied to the worldviews and interests of white male elites in the new emerging American empire" (Go, 2017, p.195). The views were not produced so much as propagated, with the Foucauldian chain of power and discourse perpetuating the idea of sociology as a male-dominant, male-centric field. The social forces which determined the discursive formation of social science's historiographical biographies remained well into the late 20th century, fueled by the postmodernist approach to historical analysis which served to amplify the existing echo-chamber of the prominent Great Man Theory and narrowed the view of social science historiography even further, leaving little opportunity for new contributions.

Sociology and Social Care Work

Defining 'the Individual'

To build a better understanding of social care work requires that one begin with the basic premise that "the individual" is a contested term, and the development of social care depends heavily on the philosophical understanding of its definition. The word *individualism* seems to have "made its first appearance in a French dictionary in 1836" (Swart, 1962, p.79). Similarly, the American Frontier was rife with novels and stories lauding the *self-made man*. At this time, Germans were gaining a reputation in the Americas and Europe as living in a non-conforming, freedom-loving, independent culture (Swart, 1962, p.88). The Enlightenment writers waxed poetic about the rights of man to live individual lives, outside of hegemonic expectations, and expansion, both from Europe to the United States, and from the United States' East coast to West, provided a broad canvas for new ideologies.

However, despite the consistent influx and movement of people, and the continuous sharing of ideas and literature, German and American 'individualism' developed very differently. The German idea of *Volk* (the People), heavily influenced by Romantic literature, gave the indication that while every individual was deserving of rights and freedoms, those rights and freedoms were, morally, responsible ultimately to society as a whole. In the United States, however, "individualism primarily came to celebrate capitalism and liberal democracy" (Grant, 1986, 312). American individualism referred to concepts of self-reliance, encouraging citizens and settlers to not only work with little in the way of social aid, but to hold pride of place in completing such work 'alone'. Societal expectation had little to do with life on the Frontier – the fictional self-made man was exactly that, fictional, and nothing more. Transcendentalist ideas supported the idea that people were best left to think and decide things for themselves, as they were pure in thought and intention until corrupted by society. However, this ideology was a double-edged sword, allowing those who were less successful to be held solely responsible for their lack of success with very little acknowledgement of the influence of the environment in which they had failed to succeed. In his *Democracy in America*, de Tocqueville (1955) noted that Americans too often thought of themselves as isolated, imagining their destinies were in their own hands, a way of thinking which could lead to a situation in which "each man is forever thrown back upon himself alone, and there is danger he may be shut up in the solitude of his own heart'" (Grant, 1986, p. 311). This solitude solidified the ideology of the self-reliant man and built a culture around which state or local aid was associated with a failure to thrive.

> "In Germany, the ideas of individual uniqueness (*Einzigkeit*) and self-realization—in sum, the Romantic notion of individuality—contributed to the cult of individual genius and were later transformed into an organic theory of national community. According to this view, state and society are not artificial constructs erected on the basis of a social contract but instead unique and self-sufficient cultural wholes. … In the United States, individualism became part of the core American ideology by the 19th century, incorporating the influences of New England Puritanism, Jeffersonianism, and the philosophy of natural rights. American individualism was universalist and idealist but acquired a harsher edge as it became infused with elements of social Darwinism (i.e., the survival of the fittest)" (Lukes, 2020).

This is to say that American individualism linked more directly with an economic view of 'success' while German *individualismus* encouraged personal thoughts and traits within that which was socially-conscious. German *individualismus* explored how a society of individuals could not be considered successful unless all members of the society were able to reach some level of said success. *Die soziale Frage*, then, became a question of how best to address poverty, hunger, homelessness, and other issues which prevented the society as a whole from 'success.' *Die soziale Frage* addressed issues of which solutions would require enaction and, ultimately, professionalization, of various praxes of *social care work*. However, in the United States, *The Social Question* remained a deliberately undefined economic puzzle, to be tackled when, and as, politicians or commerce found necessary (Howerth, 1906, p.154). This marked a distinct difference in epistemic development of the social care problems which would follow. Whereas both countries began to view education as necessary for the development of the citizen, their approaches varied as a result of their views on what defined the 'individual.'

In the United States, scientific methodology provided the answer for the question of education. If *The Social Question* was economic, then the answer was mathematical. The humanities were overlooked in favor of a formula with which to fix the economic conundrum in the developing country. Germany, however, developed an approach to education which embraced the humanities, as well as mathematical formula. The Romance movement (Bahr, Ryan, & Jaeger, 2019) supported an ideology of *Volk* which was theretofore nonexistent within the United States. Popularized in

American dime-novels, rugged individualism and frontiersmen who survived alone on the plains were romanticized and became "….associated with traditional American values such as personal freedom, capitalism, and limited government" (Lukes, 2020). Meanwhile, a growing population of revolutionary German writers were idealizing a new concept of the 'Proletariat' (Sweeney, 2003, p.181), the common person who is not alone, but is a member of a larger organism of society: the working class.

> "Therefore, while in both countries, social work as a mathematical, methodological concept developed as a means of addressing the social question (Specht, 1994) in Germany pedagogy kept a firm grasp on the idea of culture and social care as not only important but necessary for a new world. It was this grasp on the humanities and care for others which built the foundation for the unique development of social pedagogy in Germany, which would not be followed in America for more than a century."[1]

This is not to say, however, that the United States did not develop *social care works*, but that the development came later, and in a different fashion than in Germany. However, due to the strong transnational bonds between the countries at the time, academic discussion and debates provided ground for a reunified epistemology of social care work, which developed through common reference to the works of known historical figures such as Mary Richmond and Alice Solomon, John Dewey and Herbert Spencer, Georg W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx, and so on. The reproduction of knowledge from these actors remains the foundation for the current understanding of philosophies of social care in modern times.

Knowledge (re)production

How individuals *produce* knowledge is directly and indelibly linked to their reproduction *of* knowledge. "For example, Novak (1977) argued that it was time to shift from a stage-dependent view of cognitive development to the view that cognitive development is dependent 'on the framework of specific concepts and integrations between these concepts acquired during the active life span of the individual' (p.473)" (Vosniadou & Brewer, 1987, p.53). This framework, built through individual experiences, is frequently shaped through small influences, such as a text read, or a class attended, as well as through major life occurrences, and can be clearly influenced through formal education systems. The history of sociology is not immune to a 'branding' of epistemology (Dayé, 2018). It is apparent that the reproduction of knowledge – or the study of the acquisition *of* knowledge – rather than the acquisition of new knowledge itself, is becoming more and more accepted as the way to 'do' history.

> "Some scholars emphasize what I – inspired by Niklas Luhmann's fabled 'Zettelkasten' – propose to call the card box function of history (III.1). Thus conceived, the task of HoS [History of Sociology] is to establish and maintain a record of important figures, works, ideas, findings, and events, and to be able to provide information upon request. Such a position was implied in Herbert Gans' (1992) analysis of sociological amnesia, the effect that the discipline appears to have a memory that only rarely extends beyond a timespan of twenty years. Sampling over a variety of fields, Gans found that only 20% of the citations made in the texts he surveyed referred to publications older than this threshold. While he posited that 'collective memory can be intellectually and otherwise inhibiting,' he also maintained

[1] Citation taken from The development of social care work in Germany and the United States of America: Theorizing the result of cultural understandings and policy responses to concepts of 'Individualism' during the 19th century, p. 12

> that 'the relative dearth of collective memory in sociology probably also helps to explain the lack of cumulation' (Gans 1992, p. 708). Studies were repeated not to replicate earlier work, but in complete ignorance of them. And this was an inefficient use of the cognitive potential of sociology as a science" (Dayé, 2018, pp. 528).

This is a dangerous undertaking when new knowledge production is imminently necessary for the production of anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-patriarchal information with which to supplement the current hegemonic epistemic bases. Knowledge must be consistently *pro*duced, not only *re*produced. When we reproduce, we close contingencies for broader understandings, inclusion of 'lost' voices, and new methodologies or theories. Inclusive historical analysis requires a new level of reflection.

> "In other words, what is *history*?—and whose history is being told, where, and by whom? Who has a voice in the *histories*? Likewise, what is *science*, and who can be considered *scientists*? Who defines what constitutes *science*? These discussions and their attendant rebuttals are beyond the scope of this document, but it is important to acknowledge that they are legitimate questions in the non-Western histories of science. Historically, Western science has presumed an aura of universality and neutrality, with all non-Western science relegated to the inferior status of "other." In this model, the West "does" the science, and non-Western groups merely have cultural knowledge practices. Rather, we argue that Western science is one among countless highly localized, historically based and socially constructed knowledge practices." (Cluxton and Horst 2019, p. 200)

While Cluxton and Horst ask these questions in relation to the told histories of scientific developments from Latin America, Williams (2020a) asks similar questions related to the history of business development, Teich (2015) regarding the development of scientific processes, and so forth. Current revolutions in historical research include ethnomethodology, ethnography, and deliberate inclusions of 'lost' voices or contributions to history. As such, the philosophical understandings of what it means to give humanitarian care have shifted much further in the past century than social science education regarding philosophies of social care seem to reflect. The education of social sciences continues to promulgate Eurocentric, male-centric, white-centric biases, and students taught this way may internalize such biases and continue to propagate them in both practice or research. Thus, the narratives used to educate students is resoundingly important in the development of the fields of social care works. Closed, biased, prejudiced, or even incomplete epistemological teachings close contingencies for progressive, inclusive, and creative solution-making. The relationship between education and practice must not be minimized. A sustainable future of social care works requires open contingencies for the sociological imagination.

Teaching the history today

Social care education

Research published in 2011 found that social study textbooks in the United States "… are overly Eurocentric and the majority of their coverage is tilted towards European history" (Marino, 2011, p. 421) and that, in Germany: "The 'European history' constructed [there] is astonishingly similar to the classical templates for national histories in the nineteenth century…" (Lässig & Pohl, 2009, p. 127). It seems, then, that the historization of the early 19th century remains.

Historizations such as 'Great Man Theory' narratives continue to integrate a colonial, patriarchal epistemological narrative of social work for modern students. "The development of the social work identity has been long held as a central component in the training of social work students (Reynolds,

1942; Towle, 1952; Bandler, 1960; Kaplan, 1991; Memmott and Brennan, 1998).” (Miehls and Moffatt, 2000, p.340).[2] It is, therefore, troubling that Peter Burke’s *History and Social Theory* (2005) is lauded as an expert text for the teaching of sociology students. On the surface, a search on Amazon for the purchase of the book presents reviews such as the following:

> "Burke attends in critically appreciative ways to a remarkably diverse array of scholars and schools in both history and social theory, from Annales figures and British Marxists to social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens and critical-historical philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas."—Journal of American History Review

> “Provides an invaluable overview of prior developments and current trends in historical work by anthropologists, historians, and sociologists.”

What these reviews, so easily accessed online, fail to mention is that:

> “Despite its strengths, there are two aspects of Burke's book that sociology instructors should be concerned about. First, there is little discussion of women as either the producers or subjects of social theory and historical research. Second, Burke's preference for brief summaries of a large number of historical studies from various times and places over more detailed discussions of a smaller number of cases may frustrate sociologists who are likely to be unfamiliar with at least some of these historical examples.” (Ahlkvist, 2007, p.193)[3]

Ahlkvist makes an excellent point, which is not strongly enough stated within discussion of social work and sociology education. The two aspects ‘missing’ from Burke’s book truly ought to be enough to require a full review of the work, with a rewrite n*ecessary* for use within educational purposes. “Significantly, the history of our profession shows that progressive reforms in social work practice are not sustainable unless supported by concomitant reforms in educational practice.” (Campbell, 2002, p.29) Of note, there *are* authors, such as Lisa Wade, who are contributing inclusive, reflexive, clear works to the body of sociological research. Wade’s 2022 publication of *Terrible Magnificent Sociology* offers space for more than Burke’s hierarchy of white men, including indigenous voices, people of color, and women as important theorists in the field.

> “However, as reflected in the commentary to the proposed new definition, Western hegemony does remain a problem. Knowledge that originates in the West becomes valorised and universalised; the voices of indigenous peoples remain marginalised and silenced; and the West often appropriates indigenous knowledge. There are, nevertheless, some who believe that the inclusion of ‘indigenous knowledges’ reflects the growing hegemony of the Asia-Pacific region in the IASSW, and the resurgence of conservatism (Ioakimidis, 2013) or perhaps a nostalgic throwback to an ordered and gendered society, underscored by Confucian values and practices (Sewpaul, 2007).” (Sewpaul, 2014, p.362)

Confusion also remains as to the ‘how’ of pedagogical practices in sociology and social work. “Anecdotal and structured observations support the contention that, as social work educators, we are giving insufficient attention to pedagogical philosophy and practices.” (Campbell, 2002, p.26) Campbell argues that this lack of attention to pedagogical philosophy results in a lack of congruency between social work pedagogy and student experiences, which results in a further lack of reflexivity within practice. Thus, social work practice suffers due to a lack of self-awareness. Social work cannot

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[2] Quote taken from second doctoral paper, The Tapestry of Social Care Work History: A Pointillism Approach, p. 4

[3] Quote taken from second doctoral paper, The Tapestry of Social Care Work History: A Pointillism Approach, p. 5

fully become an anti-oppressive practice without this congruency. Literature on this topic is scarce; social work and sociology educators simply do not appear to be giving a great deal of attention recently as to *how* the discipline of history is taught, merely that it *is* taught. This is not to say that the work is not being done, but simply that the literature must be teased out from obscurity.

Storytelling, historical epistemology, and history as 'boring'

Storytelling, history's roots, requires no burden of proof. Humans can weave a tale from any experience, aspect, or thought. For a story to be considered as 'history,' however, requires that the story maintain a scientific base; a level of factual analysis, or consensus agreement of occurrences, before it can be taught as an academic discipline. While this is an important and necessary requirement to academization of facts, many historians seem to have lost the art of storytelling in favor of more positivist approaches to historical analysis. Positivist approaches require that data which can be included into historical narratives is rigidly controlled, often at the expense of marginalized people and voices. 'Facts' must be measurable and quantifiable, while storylines and ethnographic historiographies are ignored or dismissed as unreliable.

> A positivist historian will collect *facts* in an objective and additive fashion, to build a linear and logical account of the past. These facts will be selected because they are free of perceived conflict and substantive in the historian's view. He or she will evaluate them as being well established and reliable. There is scientific method to the approach, but the limited theory that is applied is one which is focused on an objective recanting of past events and people. This practice is only critical when faced with a conflict between two facts and not critical of the practice of *fact-collecting*, itself." (Williams, 2020b, p. 244-245)

The very practice *of* fact-collecting, however, is equally important to historical analysis. From where and from whom 'facts' are collected directly influences how they are then reproduced. The decided-upon 'facts' then determine the narrative. Too often it seems that educators become lost in that burden of facts, and in doing so, lose their 'audience' of students. Students need to be able to connect their personal experiences with the larger context of their learning (Butcher, 2006). "If the sociological imagination is a foundation to the discipline, then the teaching of sociology is crucial in the effort to fulfill its empowering and enduring promise (Scanlan and Grauerholz 2009)" (Adkins, 2021, p. 320). We cannot hope to tap into the sociological imagination of students of social work if we do not find congruency between our teachings and the concerns of our students' generation.

In addition, "Teaching students about social work history has been a challenge for educators, who are aware of student comments about the subject being boring or the presentation of the material being less than intellectually stimulating." (Faux and Black-Hughes, 2000, p.454) Teaching students the facts of social work history is no different. Especially when approached as a continuous hierarchy. In addition, as Dayé (2018) so accurately notes: "Looking back from today, the findings of the classics are outdated; their empirical procedures do not meet current standards – some of them did not even meet the standards of their time; most theories put forth by the classics have become refuted since their original formulation; and nobody wants students to emulate their style of writing" (p. 527).

It is possible that the material is 'boring' or lacks intellectual stimulation for students because what is being taught holds little to no relevance to students' modern needs and concerns. This perhaps bears future study. Returning to Ahlkvist's review of Burke's *History and Social Theory*, note:

> "Burke dives into a discussion of 19 pertinent sociological concepts in Chapter 3, and addresses four important sociological debates in Chapter 4. These two chapters feature a

> 'who's who' of classical and contemporary (male) sociological thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Goffman, Foucault, Bourdieu, Habermas, Gramsci, Tilly, DuBois, Bakhtin, Lefevre, and Coleman. Burke does not attempt to discuss sociological concepts in great depth – topics such as 'Roles and Performances', 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere', and 'Hegemony and Resistance' are each covered in a few pages. Rather, he demonstrates the strength and limitations of social theorists' concepts by considering their applicability in a range of historical analyses… The book's two final chapters are concerned with social change stemming from broadly defined evolutionary and conflict models, the former described as "Spencer's Model" and the latter as "Marx's Model" (Ahlkvist, 2007, p.192).

These current reproductive historizations may serve a purpose, and the goal of this paper is not to minimize or demean these purposes. "However, we argue that what is missing from the current social work literature is a wider international debate of the issues relating to AOP [Anti Oppressive Practice] and social work that is located within a comparative welfare regime framework." (Rush and Keenan, 2012, p.1437) An additional, critically reflexive approach is necessary for the development of the discipline to continue to evolve with the society it purports to study and teach. In essence, the narrative must change. My argument, however, relates less to 'whether' and more to 'how' sociology and, in extension, social work, must begin to retell its story.

Reductive reproduction

In the late 20th Century, historians like Frank Ankersmit and Howard Zinn began to question the postmodernist historical analysis. Ankersmit (1989) argued that the limitations of Lyotard's minimizations of data provided analysts with too little data, and that knowing only one interpretation of an event or narrative was equal to not knowing any interpretations of the phenomenon; that we have a wealth of archives which are useless as they continuously reproduce previous archives, resulting in academically-sound sameness of a few classic texts; an echo chamber of 'knowledge'. "To put it in a nutshell, we no longer have any texts, any past, but just interpretations of them" (Ankersmit, 1989, p.137). Zinn (1977) also argued against the reduction of archival access and production, worried that historians, and organizations with power over historical data, were giving disproportionate effort to preserving existing archives – reproducing previously accepted narratives – than to recording or preserving new or fresh data, and that this is dangerous business as, "…those with the most power and wealth in society will dominate the field of knowledge, so that it serves their interests" (p.18). Despite these critiques of postmodernism, and a rejection of the reductive nature of the method, the narrative of Comte to Hegel to Marx and Durkheim to Weber to Spencer appears to remain primarily unchallenged. It is here that fault can be found in the current historicism of social science: the perpetuation of the 'great man' myth without clear acknowledgement to the power structures which continue to reproduce the narrative. As with Foucault's (1972) discursive formation, the circulation of knowledge, language and power is necessary for a consistent reconstruction and reconstitution of 'truths.' Whether or not this is a deliberate reproduction of hegemonic voices is immaterial as without the stimuli which reconstitute power structures there is not only an absence of power, but a lack in ability to restructure. As a result of this continuous chain of repetitive knowledge, materials used to teach social sciences remain colonial, gendered, patriarchal and authoritative, perpetuating the narrative of the great white male philosopher who has determined the most recent 'right' way to maintain a scientific rigor of social science.

This is not to say that the discipline does not engage in self-critique. There is post-colonial critique, led by the Annales school, but the work is slow and resisted.

> "Let me point to some random pieces of evidence to illustrate these points I have made about the going bias in archival work. Recently, I came across a list of letterpress publications sponsored, assisted, or endorsed by the National Historical Publications Commission of the General Services Administration. The papers of thirty-three Americans are being published. There is one black person on the list, and that is Booker T. Washington. What about Mother Jones, the labor organizer, or Bob Moses, the SNCC leader, or the papers of the man who lives down the street? I know that the very stress on collected papers is severely limiting, but there are papers of the leaders of protest movements." (Zinn, 1977, p.22)

It must be asked, then, how effective the Annales have been in decolonizing the history of social sciences, nearly half a century later. Sociology, as a branch of the social sciences, does not avoid the pitfalls of this reproduction of knowledge. I argue that this reproduction of knowledge lies, in part, at fault of too-strict adherence to singular methodologies. While methodology in analysis is a vital component for scientific validity and reliability, a too-strict adherence to a *singular* method or approach narrows the scope of historical research and limits the ability of the historian to accurately portray times, events or people in historical settings. My second paper argues that: "Previous historical methodologies have left social care work bereft of inclusivity and without a thorough investigation of the epistemological base of social care work(s) prior to professionalization."[4]

This is not to say that worthy critical historical approaches do not exist; of course they do. In fact, history and social sciences tend to share approaches to historical analysis. These shared approaches include Frame Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Movement Analysis. While there are many approaches which are used in the study of social sciences, I focus on these three as often-used methodologies in sociology and, as such, those likely to inform the epistemic base for the education of social care workers.

Looking at current methodological approaches

In Dean Gerstein asked, "How shall we write the history of the great sociological theories?" (1983, p. 234) – a question which has been continuously explored, and which potentially has no complete answer. However, the exclusion of marginalized communities demonstrates an incomplete 'how-to' regarding the historical narrative of sociological theories and developments of social care work. Perhaps this is due to the all-too-common adherence to Durkheim's "cause-based sociology" (Young 1994, 76). Narrative historical chronotype (Jørgensen 2011, p. 285) has dominated the field of social theory since its inception, with the story of development reproduced similarly within every telling, and the production of theory climbing the ladder from one theorist to the other, advancing toward a penultimate hegemony of narrative meant to hold an absolute 'truth'. However, "many social movements generated the new institutions" (Young 1994, p. 76) and a single ultimate 'truth' of history cannot exist.

"Sociologists and other radicals had 'very largely set the problems which sociology attempts to solve' (Ellwood 1913, p. 25), but sociologists, trained at Chicago in survey-work and the social psychology of George Herbert Mead or trained at Columbia in statistics, experimental psychology, and scalar testing, could best put the problems in perspective" (Schwartz 1997, p. 288). Schwartz, climbing dutifully up the theory-ladder, was postulating that quantitative analysis was clearly 'the best,' and maybe the only, perspective for understanding social work. Of course, this is an 'old-fashioned' view

[4] Quote taken from second doctoral paper, The Tapestry of Social Care Work History: A Pointillism Approach, p. 5

of data and researchers are increasingly aware of the power and necessity of qualitative methods. Thus, quantitative sociological analyses, while remaining an important and necessary science, can no longer be argued as 'the best' means to 'put the problems' of social work 'in perspective.' "If social work educators and practitioners are serious about reclaiming science and establishing their field of research as a scientific endeavor, they have to think about the methodological foundations of their discipline" (Wagner, 2009, p.95). Thus, whether the projects and professions presented at the ICW 1888 were framed intentionally as professional endeavors, as shown through social movement analysis theory, or whether the framing of each undertaking as 'professions' were a 'side-effect' of the conference, is a matter of importance as the answer may offer a "representational epistemology of hermeneutic exegesis" (Braun, 2015 p. 445).

Historians of social care work must critically examine the difference between building an epistemological base and constructing a frame within the context of social care work. Therefore, historians must determine with which methodology this conference is best analyzed. The point of this paper being that the answer is: **none and all**. Additionally, the ICW 1888 could be considered important not because of how it is or is not framed by history, but how the conference framed itself, thereby giving structure for "reporting women's work and progress in all parts of the world" (p. 10), which offered space for that work to be seen more clearly as professional engagement with social problems. In discourse analysis, if "frames are taken as cognitive entities that impact, if indirectly, people's thoughts, attitudes, and behavior" (Braun, p. 445), then whether the conference was framed intentionally as in social movement theory, or if the framing of professionalization was organic, the result remains that it was critical for the later professionalization of many fields. "However, the fact that the representation of reality is embedded in the conceptual schemas through which we understand the world, does not necessarily make actors passive reproducers of cultural discourses" (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p. 32).

It matters whether the purposes of the council were intentionally framed by the members themselves, and thus recognizable as such in social movement analysis, were framed through the annals of history, recognizable through critical discourse analysis, or were determined as frame-able through other analytical methodology. Each analytical method recovers an aspect, but none are wholly inclusive in their analyses, rendering current methodologies inadequate for the reconstruction of social care work history. Thus, we must engage not only in various frame analyses, but in the analysis of framing.

Frame Analysis

As van Dijk in *Analyzing Frame Analysis* (2023) states,

> "The review will show that generally the notions of 'frame' and 'framing', as used in this research paradigm, are very vague and ill-defined theoretically and therefore also methodologically inadequate. In most studies they serve as a fuzzy term to refer to a large variety of discursive and cognitive phenomena that have been studied, in several disciplines, with much more precise concepts and methods. It is concluded that given the limited theoretical and methodological value of the notions of frame and framing, cultural social movement research should abandon using these notions, and make use of more precise theoretical and methodological concepts of the phenomena it is studying, for example, as they are offered in neighboring disciplines" (p. 154).

Frame analysis, as noted in my second paper, can be a powerful tool for use in social constructionism, discourse analysis, narrative reality-building and individual and social schema-

building, but is frequently too far removed from archival research – in essence, due to its sheer subjectivity, frame analysis too often begins to echo the echoes. It is necessary that researchers recognize subjects not only as objects for review, but as subjects for inquiry.

> “The subject, conversely, is not taken for granted either but is taken as being affected, shaped, or defined by the interaction with social reality under study as well. Having a method may be helpful in allowing for recognition of what one is doing, but the quality and significance of outcomes does not hinge on the correct application of a neutral, formalized method since its neutralizing purpose is illusionary anyway” (Braun, 2015, p.444).

Thus, while a frame analysis can absolutely supplement historical research, and give ‘flavor’ to historical narratives, the repetition of hegemonic perspectives, the simple reproduction of existing analyses can become reductive. In *Frame Analysis* (1974), Goffman writes that the aim of frame analysis is “(…) to try to isolate some of the basic frameworks of understanding in our society for making sense out of events and to analyze the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject” (p. 10).

> “However, the fact that the representation of reality is embedded in the conceptual schemas through which we understand the world, does not necessarily make actors passive reproducers of cultural discourses. In fact, an increased awareness of conceptual “prejudices” can help foster a positive critical attitude towards reality that could enable a critical distance to our own pre-assumptions. As Gadamer wrote concerning the relation between “prejudices” and textual interpretation, ‘it is those prejudices of which we are not aware that make us deaf to the voice of a text’ (1983: 317). The efforts of critical frame analysis go precisely in the direction of exposing the frames that operate in the policy texts on gender equality in order to avoid any inconsistencies at the level of policy formulation or to facilitate political debates” (Verloo & Lombardo, 2007, p.32).

Perception matters. The perception of the individuals responsible for writing the texts which are now upheld as the 'archives' of social care work must be critically considered. Those reading and interpreting said archives are also influenced by their perceptions. When both those writing and those reading are too similar in background, education, experience, and other socio-economic and political markers, the analyses provided become nothing more than an 'echo chamber' which reproduces hegemonic narratives. Events such as the ICW 1888 – written by those who perceived the world in a different manner than the hegemonic elite who controlled the writing, publishing, and teaching of texts which would ultimately culminate in new professions – were too often ignored and discredited, limiting even the possibility of rigorous and useful analysis. Thus, while frame analysis can be a powerful complement to archival research, ultimately the point of frame analysis is to determine what factors about or within an event constitute meaning in a historical setting. However, what is considered ‘important’ to one researcher is subjective, rendering frame analysis subject to potential problems in accuracy and validity.

A truly non-biased analysis, for example, could help to establish an epistemology of social care as resultant from this ICW 1888 event, despite its placement in history as a suffrage movement. This paper postulates this event was also – or potentially ‘was rather’ – clearly held with the intention of hoping to explore a means to work on, or even to answer, ‘the social question(s)’ of its time. It seems obvious through the language of the ICW 1888 Report that the participants of the ICW 1888 attempted quite clearly to put the humanity back into the social question, rather than allowing the social question to become and remain a purely economic issue. This can be seen through phrases such as,

> "In no work is the higher education, with all of the aspirations which it fosters and all of the latent power which it liberates, more constantly available than in solving the problems which arise in working with a part of humanity for the good of all of it" (Report, 1888, p. 62).

The question of whether or not the ICW 1888 conference offers data which can be usefully analyzed to further our epistemological understanding of social care work depends heavily on the analyst's understanding of 'the social question' and, oftentimes, on their feelings surrounding the suffrage movement, 'women's work' and so forth. In essence, frames are based on perspectives, and perspective alone cannot be used or determined as valid in analysis of historical events – there must be a deeper, or possibly a less subjective, means of analyzing such moments.

One must also be careful that framing of any historical event remains participatory, rather than representational. Representational framing limits possibilities for creative inclusion, causing potential dismissal of important events or actors as a result of the echo-chamber politics of hegemonic narratives. This dissertation asks: What qualifies as an 'event' and *who* determines that an event is *worthy* of analysis? The reproduction of analyses of the same events (the church to social work pipeline, in the case of social care work), which perpetuates a timeline narrative of events to follow, produces a limited epistemic framework. Thus, while framework analysis is an important and necessary approach to historical narrative, it cannot be accepted as the only (or best) approach.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As a text, one might be inclined to interpret the report of the ICW 1888 using discourse analysis methodology, given that: "Discourse analysis explores how texts are made meaningful…" (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p. 4). This is a reasonably assumptive methodology for this particularly presented case of the ICW 1888 Report and may, in fact, shed some insight into the epistemological or ontological understandings of the professions presented at the conference. In fact, to continue with Phillips and Hardy (2002), "…social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning. As discourse analysts, then, our task is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality" (p. 3). As Repina (2017) argues,

> "'The content of the collective memory changes in accordance with the social context and practical priorities' (p. 334), which means that the relationship between the discourse reported and the 'reality' presented in modern histories of social care work are unreliably marred as a result of current social understandings of the male-dominated development and professionalization of social care work fields. In addition, discourse analysis, by the sheer nature of the methodology, lends to a narrative chronotype which is 'the construction of plot and order' (Czarniawska, 1997, p.11) and becomes, by default, reductive."[5]

To critique CDA as a singular or unified approach would be nonsensical, as CDA branches into several schools spanning a few decades. However, for the purpose of brevity and the point I wish to make in this dissertation, I refer to a broader understanding of CDA:

> "As a self-conscious movement with an explicit agenda, CDA abounds in definitions of what it purports to be and do. These declarations range from the highly politicised: 'to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle' (Fairclough 1989: 2), to the almost anodyne 'to answer questions about the relationships between language and society' (Rogers 2005: 365), depending on the stance of the individual

[5] Quote taken from second doctoral paper, The Tapestry of Social Care Work History: A Pointillism Approach, p. 7

researcher. However, the general consensus is that Critical Discourse Analysis contains two essential elements: A more or less political concern with the workings of ideology and power in society; and a specific interest in the way language contributes to, perpetuates and reveals these workings. Thus the more explicit definitions all emphasise the relationship between language (text, discourse) and power (political struggle, inequality, dominance)" (Breeze, 2011, p.495).

Unfortunately, when analyses of a culture or event happen through text and discourse, the cultural memories are effectively lost. "In indigenous societies, the practices creating such a temporal continuity focus on strategies of repetition: the performance of myths, storytelling, and other practices transmitting multi-media forms of what is now called 'intangible cultural heritage,' including music, ritual, and dance" (Assmann, 2021, p. 26). While the intent of CDA is to involve linguistic affects, the fact is that too often the voice is missing in the discourse. As such, while the ICW 1888 Report can, and potentially should be, analyzed using Discourse Analysis methodologies, the overall history would remain incomplete. In addition, discourse analysis, by the sheer nature of the methodology, lends to a narrative chronotype which is "the construction of plot and order" (Czarniawska, 1997, p.11) and becomes, by default, reductive. In response, some feminist methodologies firmly support the deliberate re-inclusion of full and intentional multivocality, which could help to enhance and return the missing cultural memories.

Social Movement Analysis

Social movement analysis is the final tool I intend to address in this dissertation. Social movement analysis, which is often used in tandem, or within the parameters of, framing analysis, is a vital component of historical methodology as it offers meaning for the actors in history. Almost in opposition to Great Man Theory, social movement analysis frames the movements of a society as an entity of its own. Social Movement analysts tend to assume – whether they are correct or not – that meaning precedes action. Thus, actions produced on a large scale must have been deliberate. However, social movement analysis is somewhat outdated as a theoretical framework – the past two decades have shown great progress in the understanding of globalization in social movements, and how necessary it is to use a transnational lens to analyze modern social movements. I argue that this same lens must be applied to the history of social care work in the Western hemisphere. Nonetheless, historical narratives continue to offer boundaries such as 'the suffrage movement,' 'the women's movement,' 'prohibition,' and 'abolition,' which all segregate histories and limit perspective. When historical narratives attempt to separate the Suffragettes from the Abolitionists and Prohibitionists, they separate people from themselves. Suffragettes were often Abolitionists. Abolitionists were often Prohibitionists. Thus, the categorization of people into social movements limits their infinite human depths and reduces modern understandings of their intentions, beliefs, goals, and desires. Their stories are reduced to the singular movement being studied and their narratives naturally become incomplete. When the narrative is incomplete, so then is the epistemic base for future education.

It is possible that the members of the ICW 1888 intentionally framed the council conference as an impetus for social movement. Social movement theory could be a powerful tool to analyze and attempt to postulate whether this is a possibility within the historical narrative of 'women's history.' Certainly, some members intended this conference to work as a provocation for change:

> "One of the purposes of calling this Council has been that it may result in an International Association that shall henceforth hold itself in readiness to communicate with every possible organization in every possible country on the face of the globe, that we may know that all

women who are struggling for freedom are shaking hands the world over" (Report 1888, p.50).

However, it is clear that this was not the sole intention of the council:

> "If the women of this nation will henceforth give all the thought, the time, the force, the enthusiasm, to the practical work of this life, that they have heretofore expended in speculations and preparations for the future, we might bring sunshine into every home, open the prison doors, transfer all the heavy burdens from the shoulders of men to tireless machinery, and gradually lessen the roll-call of the unfortunates" (Report 1888, p. 436).

While it may be helpful in building a narrative of the epistemology present in, or resultant from, this grand meeting, social movement analysis, again, does not offer us a full and inclusive view of the impact of such events on or within the developing epistemology of social care work.

Too often the leaders for such movements are seen as men, or women who 'act like men' are given more credit for social change than the women who appear to be truly 'behind the scenes.' History-theorists have argued 'traditional' social movement theory as problematic even within normative analyses of historical events, as "gendered notions were woven into the very fabric of the research process itself" (King 2012, p.18). This can be illustrated with an example using Frederick Douglass, a single man who seems to be mentioned more frequently in conjunction with the suffrage movement than any one of the thousands of women present at the first International Council of Women, despite the frequent mislabeling of the ICW 1888 as a suffrage meeting. So while the ways the women of the ICW 1888 framed the council and the work being done may be *partially* extrapolated using a social movement theory of analysis, which offers insight into the preliminary organization of later professions and an epistemology of social care work, Social Movement Analysis as a singular approach to the history of social care work, encouraged by a strong patriarchal base (whether intentionally or unintentionally) becomes problematic for building an inclusive narrative of the pre-development era of social care.

Introducing Feminist framework

Previous works in feminist theory regarding deconstructing and reconstructing the evolution of historical narratives as they are built and told, critique the simple fact that nearly all works to date draw from that which is already written, as discussed in Section 4. I argue that the approaches often used to choose the stories we tell ourselves may not be the best approaches to critically analyze or reflect on how said stories affect internal reflection of a discipline. This is to say that repeat approaches to narrative-building may be minimizing the efficacy of critical works by acting more as a means of reproduction than of analysis.

In order to increase reflexivity, we must include works which draw from more intersectional approaches. "In another sense, participatory, autoethnographic, and feminist approaches seek out participants' voices, even friendships, to form a core part of the research process" (Cisneros, 2022, p. 1532). Given the argument of this dissertation that the current narratives of social sciences fail more frequently than they succeed in inclusive narrative-building, it makes sense to turn to modern feminist works as they often deliberately strive for multivocal, intersectional reflexive practices (Cisneros, 2022; Wetzel, 2019; Fabris, et. al, 2022).

Antenarrative

Feminist, multi-vocal approaches to storytelling blend easily into Boje's (2001) ante-narrative approach (ATA) to narrative-building.

> "Boje uses the term *ante* to denote *before* which speaks to the approach of deconstruction before such *traces* transform from *narrative emplotments* to *mediated coherence* (Clark, 2002). ATA takes stories from the *reconciled* to the *fragmented*, from the *one-voiced* to the *multi-voiced,* and from the *linear* and *reductionist* to the *dynamic* and *disordered"* (Williams, 2020a, p.249).

Jørgensen (2011) states that to present a linear historical narrative is to limit the reproduction of knowledge to what already is, whereas an antenarrative storytelling approach "means to uphold the unfinished and open character of interpretations" (p.284). As stated in the second paper of this dissertation, "Historical narratives offer linear solutions to the problem of how occurrences follow one another. Antenarrative analysis asks not what *did* happen, but rather what *is* happening. How have previous interpretations influenced modern thinking, and what must be 're-thought' to challenge the current hegemonic narratives?" In this way, educators and historians in social care fields can begin to tease out incidents of epistemicide (Cisneros, 2022; Hall & Tandon, 2017) in the hopes of building a fuller, more diverse and more inclusive epistemology of social care work. "Narrative knowing must include those ways of antenarrative analysis of stories told in organizational communities in which the telling of the stories is the currency of knowledge making and knowledge negotiation" (Boje, 2001, p.8). Antenarrative construction holds space for collective memories – a "consensual narrative" (Boje, 2001, p.4). The importance of plot points is determined outside of the narrative – leaving room for multiple methods of analysis, multiple data points within the story, despite possible contradictions. It leaves room for a richness of plot and storyline that may disrupt current hegemonic chronologies. Antenarrative analysis asks what can be freed from the reproductive chain. It adds branches to a tree, or points to a canvas, rather than limiting the narrative to a road already paved. One must be careful not to be caught up in whether the data analyses above are framed as normative or empirical. This is to say that storyline interpretation is often *both* normative *and* empirical, by default of humans' schematic-building. Thus, the positivist, post-positivist, constructivist, or pragmatic argument becomes nullified by the sheer act of producing antenarrative storylines, rather than linear timeline narratives. Antenarrative storylines demand of the researcher not only an awareness of *how* data is being analyzed, nor only *what* or *which* data is being analyzed, but by what means the data has been chosen *in the first place.*

Antenarrative storyline writing challenges the current narrative paradigm in which, "The dominating voice is the voice of the author, who draws on present day accounts to construct a reasonable and convincing narrative of what has happened and what will happen but in this process she excludes and marginalizes other voices" (Jørgensen, 2011, p. 287). Building new, plausible, reconstructive historical narratives requires antenarrative analysis framework to uncover and share stories within history which are "…too unconstructed and fragmented to be analyzed in traditional approaches" (Boje, 2001 p. 1).

The newly critiqued perceptions reflected on the organizational structure of the research, and vice versa, offers space for new understandings of events. Collected results must always be interpreted by the researcher, and placed into a storyline, report, or narrative; the most crucial aspect of any research. Interpretation of 'findings' requires a critical use of reflexivity. "The reflexivity element in auto-ethnography is about taking a critical perspective on our own process of writing, knowledge production and on our own position with respect to the subject of inquiry" (Styhre & Tienari, 2013 as found in Williams, 2020a, p.70). The intention of personal reflection regarding the perception and organization of data is to assist the researcher in critically engaged interpretations of findings. This interpretation of findings then becomes, through writing, the new *representation of* the historical event being analyzed. This representation matters a great deal as it adds to the corpus of knowledge

and can be an important tool in disrupting the hegemonic normative narrative. This theoretical framework is mirrored in Williams' Feminist Critical Historiography.

Feminist Critical Historiography

Feminist historiography understands this limitation and challenges the gendered historical narratives through discursive examinations of possible truths rather than regurgitative statements of 'facts.' Feminist Critical Historiography is meant to, "…push the boundaries of *what* is known, but also *how* the knowing is constituted" (Williams, 2020b, p.244). This theoretical foundation "…fuses *critical discourse analysis* and *antenarrative theme analysis*…" to discuss power as central to feminism and serve "…feminist researchers interested in uncovering female history…" (Williams, 2020b, p.242). Williams (2020a) proposes that histories exist in many plausible alternatives; the actors and motivations in historical narratives are of equal importance to the narrated events of said discourse. This is to say that the current hegemonical histories must be undone and redone with a deliberate intention of inclusion for women who have been previously neglected.

Feminist critical historiography embraces a post-structuralist lens of history, which rejects the idea of a single truth or definitive 'fact' about the world. Post-structuralist philosophy postulates that culture and meaning are inseparable. When viewed through a post-structuralist lens, historians must accept that one current view of historical significance, or story of contribution, cannot be considered the 'most significant' or 'only' story possible. Post-structuralism lends freely to an ante-narrative view of history, which states that: "The living story chronotope implies that the relationship between texts is not a linear one but on the contrary that there are multiple possibilities and outcomes when text deconstruct and reconstruct into other texts" (Jørgensen 2011, p. 6). This follows Munslow's argument that 'history' must be consistently challenged and reimagined, as the concept of 'history' itself can never be entirely ontologically anchored, but should be considered to be as fluid as the concept of possibility within multiple futures (Munslow, 2010). This post-structuralist lens, paired with feminist critique, encourages self-reflection of personal bias within researchers and promotes agency and voice in those studied by interrogating power structures and uncritically accepted hegemonies written into history.

Once a historical narrative has been critically unpacked in this manner, a historiographical framework must be applied. Historiography is a critical lens for reconstructive history. Historians work from a positivist tradition, accepting narratives and building the ladder of theorists, whereas those who work in historiography use methodology which is both older and newer than that of modern 'historical science'. Historiographical methods remember that, even scientifically applied, historical research, "…can never be reduced to a set of disembodied processes of thought internal to the discipline, but always involves living human beings who work within the framework of scholarly and scientific institutions and hold assumptions regarding the nature of reality that they share with a great many of their contemporaries" (Iggers 1997, p.18).

Williams (2020b) states that, "…feminist theorists need to be aware of the hidden subjectivities which are discursively at work to produce so-called normative (male) knowledge and patriarchal power relations …" (pp. 242-243). In her dissertation, Williams (2020a) offers a new approach to historical analysis which she coins as *ficto-feminism*, stating that, "Ficto-feminism offers scholars the means to study lost female figures of significance, surface their lost lessons and contributions, uncover the discourses, which hide them from view, and rhetorically challenge the limited domain of current study with a defiantly feminist lens" (p. 7). Williams challenges not only current historical methodologies, but the style and content of modern academic historical writing, proscribed by patriarchal conventions and thus limiting a more inclusive paradigm. An example of this subversive

interruption to current historical paradigms can be found in the ways that Williams writes of the women of history, making use of the first names of women rather than limiting their identifiers to their family names. This is done deliberately as the use of last names as identifiers – especially given the common practice of women adopting, or having forced upon them, the names of their fathers and husbands – too often ties women's identities to the men in their lives, rather than to their works or accomplishments. Williams employs her theories of feminism and critical historiography as a means of analyzing and re-conceptualizing the history of women in management and organizational history.

Ficto-feminist methodology explores the liminal space (Williams, 2020b) – the 'between the lines,' untold stories of history. This is paramount in reconstructive history of social work as, "… male rejection of the women's movement seriously hampered the profession's development; and third, a gap between the bourgeois interest of the middle classes and those affected by poverty left a lack of theory development in social work" (Jindra, 2017, p. 6). Ficto-feminism relates women in history to our current understanding of the world through reconstruction of "plausible non-fiction" (Williams, 2020a, p. 13) by building a storyline representation of history, rather than continuing to limit our understanding of development to the hegemonic ladder of theory inherent in the current historical narrative. Ficto-feminism embraces Williams' newly presented analytical methodology of feminist critical historiography.

While ficto-feminism itself is a compelling and intriguing means of framing and developing more inclusive storylines, it is the application Williams' *feminist critical historiography* that this paper argues as not only relevant, but potentially crucial, for a developmental understanding of the epistemology of early social care work.

> "It is important to distinguish this approach as a critical historiographer operating in a feminist lens with that of an historian (from a positivist tradition). I draw a distinction here to allow for readers to negotiate a departure epistemologically and methodologically" (Williams, 2020b, pp. 242, 244-245).

Williams' ficto-feminist method of writing enables the researcher to establish parallel storylines and understandings of thoughts and actions within a given historical event. Thus, convergence of these approaches offers a new model of epistemological development within social care work history, helping to reconstruct and provide a more complete and inclusive historiography, as previously oppressed or ignored voices are recognized and able to surface as equally important to those given prior hegemonic billing. In order to adopt a new paradigm of social care work history, which allows space for critically important events, such as (but not limited to) the ICW 1888, we must adopt a much more ethno-methodological approach to historical analysis. "First we must locate the women who have been overlooked by the field…. [and] … not only reveal the figures and what contributions have been lost (what we have missed in the development of business history and associated early theorists), but also to reveal the ways they have been lost, or rather, how have they been lost (the discursive limits we have set on the field's development)" (Mills & Williams 2021, p. 9).

> "As a feminist critical historiographer, my interest is in surfacing the variety of views and emphasizing the conflicts and agendas. When assertions are made of female leaders and their histories without context, and overlooking the social construction of identity, marginalization and often erasure is the result" (Williams, 2020b, p.251).

Williams uses Feminist Critical Historiography to tease out lost narratives, reconstruct stories based on previously overlooked sources, and reanalyze hegemonic views, adding use of CDA to evaluate dominant discourse(s) that "reveals reinforcing ideologies" (Williams & Mills, 2019, p.149).

Analyzing the dominant framework

Braun's (2015) work on the analysis of framing "argues that the concept of frame can be useful from a critical policy studies perspective in that it may serve to make visible dominant policy frames that operate as part of larger patterns of domination" (p. 441). Braun argues that historians need first select between a "representational model that strives to yield a correct depiction of a segment of social reality and a participational model that strives to yield a plausible narration of what has been going on" (p. 442). This directive is easily used in an interdisciplinary manner and ought not be considered unique to policy analysis. If "frames are construed as cognitive schemata that organize the way people perceive, interpret, organize and represent their knowledge of the world" (Braun, 2015, p .445), then historians of social care work must consider each of these aspects of framing as the pillars of frame construction within social constructivism: perception, interpretation, organization, and representation. Historical events then can be analyzed with deliberate engagement of these pillars.

Of particular interest in Williams' ficto-feminist approach is her commitment to auto-ethnography. Williams calls attention to three aspects of auto-ethnography: "(1) critical use of reflexivity (often seen in feminist work); (2) an examination of one's own position; and (3) reflection on practices" (p. 69). Auto-ethnography offers a methodological framework enabling social care work historians to develop a "plausible narration" through participatory engagement of texts (Braun, 2015, p. 442). This language of 'plausible narration' is descriptive, but problematic as, "Narrative is an attempt to monopolize truth" (Jørgensen 2011 p. 287). Semantically, what is meant by 'plausible narration' is that a storyline must be developed which includes the "changeability of the past and the multiplicity of 'truths'" (Williams, 2020a, p. 69). This development of new storylines from annals of history, such as the ICW 1888, allows learners to visualize several parallel timelines, each accurate, which fostered the professionalization of different care work fields, and challenges the veracity of statements from the hegemonic narrative such as the above-mentioned 'Anglo-American women and other radicals'.

Williams draws on post-structural feminism through a Foucauldian framework, exploring history as contextually fluid as determined by dominant discourses, and as malleable per reconstruction of said discourses. Williams and Mills' (2019) research looks at how textbooks acknowledge, or fail to acknowledge, women's role in management, or their roles as managers and found textbooks to be "essentially silent" (p. 162) regarding women.

> "Nowhere do we not get a glimpse of the possibility of women as *the* leader or *as* leaders per se. If anything, the closest we come is to the idea of women *in* management, rather than *as* management." (Williams & Mills, 2019, p. 161)

Women are both presented and insinuated as less capable, less successful, or *de facto*, less worthy through this absence. Feminist Critical Historiography was later proposed as a means to begin to address these failures by reviewing data sources and reevaluating narratives to challenge and potentially reconstruct the stories in order to deliberately include all actors within a given historical event. The result is a somewhat more fragmented, but equally 'more complete' account of historiography. While Williams proposes this theoretical approach for management and organizational studies, I believe I have shown above why this approach can be important and beneficial also within historiographical analysis of sociology and social work histories, which advise many praxes of social care work in western culture.

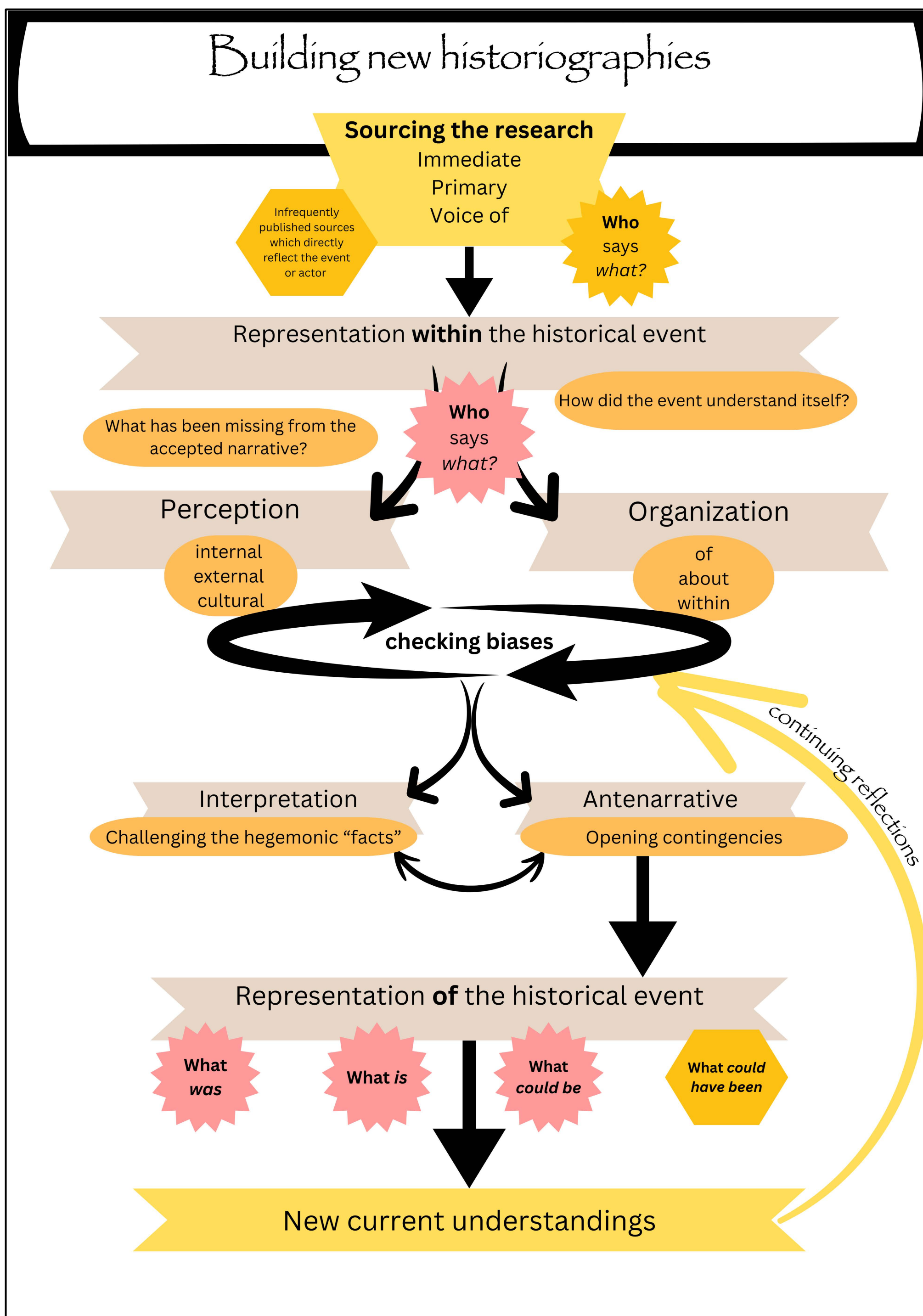
This reconstructive interpretive storyline writing may best occur within the above-mentioned antenarrative analysis framework in which the author resists placing events in a linear history as a before/middle/end sort of history but rather establishing an idea of the historical story which allows for multiple 'truths' and understandings to happen simultaneously, eliminating the possibility (and need) for one truth. It is possible that many truths exist, depending on the framework in which they are presented. It is here that the Pointillism analogy resurfaces. It is not necessary to brush findings together to build a new color of truth; each individual point is important and necessary. I propose that elements of the theoretical framework from antenarrative reconstruction and Feminist Critical Historiography be applied to the history of social care work, as well, using The Pointillism Approach. Once the canvas is covered, a picture emerges while maintaining the integrity of each individual dot.

The Pointillism Approach

The Pointillism Approach is a proposed multi-step means of reframing understandings of social care historiographies. To illustrate this model of epistemological development I offer an analogy to the Pointillism art style, developed in the mid-1800s in which the artists constructed works of art through a meticulous and careful application of color, unmixed, dot-by-dot, until a picture began to emerge and the 'truth' was revealed by the beholder. Pointillist Art is an approach to art in which literal dots of paint fill a canvas, one-by-one, until a picture emerges. "This technique resembles the way computer screens work today, as the pixels on the screen resemble the dots in a Pointillism painting" (Meyer, 2021). Any given dot, alone, is simply a small element of color. Each dot must be thought of as both a subjective and an absolute truth (what is 'blue'?), but alone is, nonetheless, 'just' a dot. Dots placed close together may blend into new colors or shapes, while dots with more distance tend to remain 'pure', when viewed up close. However, when seen from further away, pure' dots may still trick the human eye into seeing a clearer image than what may have been originally expected. The approach, developed by Georges Seurat, was meant to enmesh the scientific theory of vision with the beauty of art (Venturi, 1941). The science of vision, to include color-theory, refractive biology, and emerging psychological theories of perception, offered viewers a means to re-conceptualize what was previously understood as 'art.' This provides a powerful analogy for a new approach to the historiography of social care work: each newly understood actor or event offers clarity to the picture as it:

1. Disrupt the reproductive nature of hegemonic narratives,
2. Include a new diversity of voices and perspectives, and
3. Examine concurrent historical possibilities.

As stated in my second paper: "The Pointillism Approach to social care work history is a model of antenarrative, post-positivist historical reconstruction built with the intention of challenging current accepted paradigms of leadership or epistemology upheld in modern teachings of social care work." Using Pointillism as a technique, artists must carefully add dots to the canvas for a fuller picture to emerge. The final picture, or narrative, as a result of the perception of the viewer, remains subjective in its truth. The clearest image or picture may vary dependent on the physical, emotional, or mental state of the viewer. The epistemology of social care work is the canvas on which researchers must place their dots in hopes of offering the clearest view possible without deliberately blurring the colors, thereby keeping the purest 'truth' possible while still producing a work of historical art. The Pointillism Approach is intended as a map, rather than a method, by which educators of social care work narratives may analyze or evaluate the narratives being reproduced. As follows:



The Pointillism Approach Image 1

Sourcing the research

Critical historiography requires that researchers first broaden their understanding of 'acceptable' sources – as already reflected in the increasing acceptability of ethnographic sources within social science fields. This acceptability of 'other' or 'new' sources is pertinent to building a more epistemically valid epistemological understanding of social care work. Many historical analyses begin with an 'event,' whether this be a conference, a biography (or autobiography), an archeological discovery, or another 'significant' instance in history. The sources gathered are subjectively

obtained, but ought to offer *'representation within historical events'* [see image above: top of model] which refers to immediate, primary sources that describe, explain, or illustrate a critical event.

Naturally, primary sources are not always available. When this is the case, researchers must begin to apply a critical lens immediately, questioning their use of sources, the source authors or publishers, and the ready availability of sources. This is to say that the source(s) used must reflect a diverse population, differing voices, and perhaps 'ought' to be less readily accessible; readily accessible sources are often the result of a pushed or ‘accepted’ narrative, perpetuating a hegemonic ideal rather than examining a concurrent historical possibility. Source(s) offer a starting point to analyze how an event was represented at the time *of* the event, by voices directly involved or directly watching said event (primary or secondary sources). This *'representation within'* may include a singular source, such as the ICW 1888 Report, or several sources, such as a compilation of articles, biographies and autobiographies and/or other pieces of data. These sources offer a starting point for a Pointillist approach to storyline construction.

"I believe that making history actually happens in the present and it is a practice which should not only chase so-called facts, but examine their context, examine what has been collected, who collected it, and why it was collected and held as important or significant" (Williams, 2020a, p. 62). This context is the representational canvas of the Pointillism approach to reconceptualized historiographies. As documentary from the past, primary source representation(s) of an event reside(s) in a perpetual state, thus, analysis must begin at the source point. The nearer to primary sources, the more powerful the voice of representation becomes. It is important that researchers be critically aware of *who* says *what*. Centering representation, the researcher then begins to apply Braun's pillars of <u>perception</u>, <u>organization</u>, and <u>interpretation</u>, which are inherent in how people "represent their knowledge of the world" (Braun, 2015, p. 445). However, as stated above, simple analysis of these pillars is not solely sufficient for an inclusive analysis. Additional approaches, including Williams' approach through feminist critical historiography, can also be applied to enrich the tapestry of the narrative.

We present an example of a researcher wishing to explore the ICW 1888 through a framework of a more traditional discourse analysis. Although the sheer numbers represented in the report is prohibitive within quantitative social movement analyses, to include social network analysis, let us assume for a moment that said researcher is determined and interested in examining the number of times the phrase 'women's work' appears within. Naturally, it is quite possible to simply count these words and assign meaning to the number found. A network analysis may even examine the primary source for the number of times the phrase 'women's work' and the word 'social' appear within the same sentence and assign meaning to these findings. However, while it is of course *possible* to assign a word to a ‘value’ and count the number of times said word appears, and to empirically quantify that word, one cannot then *‘prove’* what was meant by it. A rigorous historian may next attempt to analyze the meaning of said word by tracing its usage and understanding through history, assigning action to the word or phrases analyzed. Through this example of language analysis, the report as a whole is assigned as the 'representation within'. The extrapolated data must then be analyzed through lenses which focus specifically on the perception, organization, interpretation and representation of the data.

The primary objective of the Pointillism Approach, however, is to disrupt the reproductive nature of hegemonic narratives of social care work. This means that previously understood or accepted ‘meanings’ of events or actor’s participation must be reevaluated. The historical event must be re-told, insofar as is possible, without researcher bias. Thus, the researcher must be willing to evaluate the event through the eyes of those present, rather than re-telling of events. The researcher must

approach sources with ethnographic methods in mind. Source authors and their purposes for writing must be critically analyzed. Tertiary or even 'second-hand' secondary sources cannot be considered, as this is where second-hand reflection begins to truly cloud the lens of interpretation. To note: this is not to say that first-hand accounts are pristine, or unbiased, but that the bias, itself, is part of the reflexive process. Whereas secondary and tertiary sources bend the bias even further (arguably too much) as the narrative passes through more and more interpretations. In addition, sources which are more difficult to obtain will, by default of their lack of popularity or publication frequency, offer fresh or new perspectives to old narratives. These sources, once teased out from their obscurity, are then used in the first step of the approach.

*Representation **within** the historical event (Primary and Secondary sources)*

As shown in Image 1 above, the ultimate objective of the Pointillism Approach is to reconstruct the current epistemology of social care work by re-evaluating the representation of a historical event or actor, through deliberate critical analysis of the event which removes the reproduced narratives and resituates the event as critically important without the hegemonic voice. This begins with an ethnographic approach which attempts to understand the event or actors as they understood themselves. As stated above, the researcher must first challenge personal biases by teasing out previously unread or infrequently published sources which directly reflect the event or actor under scrutiny. The researcher must ask how the event understood itself, through the lens of those present, asking how the actors present developed, understood, marketed, shared, or discussed the event or person being analyzed. The researcher must then note whether the information they have found corroborates or refutes 'commonly understood' information regarding the same event or actor. Here the researcher must deliberately strive for subversity – the goal is to find the 'more,' the missing, or the misunderstood. This is the first step in constructing the antenarrative storyline – the concurrent historical possibilities.

To continue with our example above, I will share here that Frederick Douglass was, indeed, present at the ICW 1888. As mentioned previously, Douglass did, in fact, speak frequently in favor of women's rights and was a powerful, thoughtful advocate. However, a newly critical reading of the Report on the International Council of Women 1888 clearly shows Douglass refusing to accept the spotlight, but instead offering the focus back to the women in leadership. When asked to speak, he stands speak briefly, stating that he "…had no expectation of being called upon at [that] hour to utter one word …" (p. 47). He then quickly said a few short sentences, reiterating what the (woman) speaker prior had said, naming her directly – Lucy Stone – then acknowledged, by name and effort, the women in leadership of the conference, and quickly yielded the floor back. Douglass is often lauded as a leader in the women's rights movement. While this is likely not *in*accurate, the above quote does offer space for an analyst to ask if this is fully *accurate* information. Was Douglass a *leader* or a vibrant, powerful ally (a concurrent historical possibility)? As a strong ally, rather than as a 'leader', space is freed in the storytelling to answer the question of: if not him, who? What was the perception of leadership *from within* the event? Who were the 'leaders' of the International Council of Women? And would these same women not be eligible for consideration as leaders of the Women's Rights Movements? It is these questions which open contingencies for further possibilities of the understanding of history. Who was Lucy Stone and what was her role in the development of the epistemological base of social care works? The representation of the event and actors *within* the event or *by* the actors *themselves* is paramount to disrupting hegemonic narratives.

Once representation is determined and centered, the next step of the Pointillism Approach is to begin to apply the subsidiary analysis of perception, organization, and interpretation, extrapolated from Braun's pillars (Braun, 2015, p. 445). Braun (2015) postulates that building framework is a

matter of interpretation, dependent on personal understandings of framing, critical analysis, and more. “The concept of a frame is not ‘critical’ in and of itself” (Braun, 2015, p. 441). Braun challenges the current paradigm of disengaged research, arguing that the analyst and the individuals involved must participate in the building of a critical framework.

She acknowledges methodological approaches in critical policy studies with discussion of narrative and representational framing and uses these pillars of linguistics and discourse analysis to exemplify cognitive schemata that build “cognitive entities that impact, if indirectly, people’s thoughts, attitudes, and behavior” (Braun, 2015, p. 445). Individuals build critical categories which apply to, from, and within these pillars. This is to say that the ‘perception’ of an individual can both result *from* ideological constructs, and enact *upon* ideological constructs. The narrative or representational nature of the applied framework determines the classifications of responsive behaviors as per the individual, and must be appropriately problematized for both resultant limitations and possibilities. It follows then, that building framework, as discussed above, must be carefully handled. In essence, human error reduces the reliability of the results of any study held too rigorously to a single framework approach. This is not to say that objective, formulaic methodology has no place in historical research, but that the fluidity of human cognition requires that critical analysis be equally fluid. Therefore, I have ‘borrowed’ these pillars of cognitive schemata and employed them as guideposts **within** the Pointillism Approach.

Perception* ←→ *Organization

Once sources are gathered, the researcher must begin to analyze findings using the concepts of perception and organization as narrative or representational frameworks. Braun (2015) is careful to warn her readers that “the possibility that dominant frames may precede and shape actors’ perceptions, self-understandings and identities in ways that are not wholly transparent to them” (p. 449). Thus, *perception* matters. Once the source is accepted, and reviewed and noted for the representations within the event – how the event self-reports – the researcher must review their own internal bias and ask: *How am I perceiving this event? How is the event reported historically? How is this different than the self-report? Is my internal bias driving my perception?*

This application is applied in many small steps, as outlined first by Williams (2020b) and complemented by the model provided within this paper. First, the researcher must apply a critical feminist historiographical lens by: applying a post-structural lens to all findings; reflecting on possible personal bias; ensuring that the language being applied to conclusions and discussions embodies the voice of the actors taken from within the primary source – as well as considering the native language background, environment, and life situations which may have influenced that voice; and offering an interrogation of power in each application. So, for example, when counting the number of times the phrase women's work is applied within the meeting minutes of the ICW 1888, it must also be noted *who* used the phrase and *what* the phrase means to them (if possible to discover), and *why* the phrase was used.

Take, for example, the presence of two well-known names in history: Frances Willard and Frederick Douglass, both active attendees of the ICW 1888. Frances Willard was the daughter of a member of the Wisconsin legislature who was "instrumental in organizing in 1851 the Rock County Agricultural Society" (Crowe, 1919, p. 457). This is to say she was a middle-class, educated, Anglo-American woman from an influential family. Frederick Douglass was a 'runaway slave.' A black man who illegally left his bonds of servitude, taught himself to read (Douglass, 1845), and took the risk of speaking out against slavery for several years, making it necessary that he flee to the British Isles for two years. It is not at all unreasonable to surmise, then, that the connotative and semantic

understanding of words and phrases, such as 'women's work' or 'social' would be used very differently by these two individuals whose experiences during the formative years shared a continent, but little else.

In my second paper, I offer the term *women's work* to illustrate my point regarding perception and bias in language analysis. The phrase today is often used in a demeaning context, intended to belittle, insult, or reduce the unpaid labor performed more frequently by individuals presenting as women than by individuals presenting as men. However, such bias cannot be reasonably applied as "women's work" was, at one point in history, considered to be positive, constructive engagement with local communities. Thus, assigning meaning to a word or phrase, as often occurs in discourse analysis, can be limiting. Researchers must self-analyze their perceptive biases, as well as the biases inherent in the sources accepted. The 'perception' of the representation within then becomes more objective without the limitations of positivist formulas.

Perception of the meaning of each word or phrase would need to be analyzed not only with a critical lens regarding each individual use of the word within the text and by the actors, but *also* with a careful 'examination of one's own position' by the researcher. This requires humility and self-reflection. In addition, researchers must consider how the meaning of the phrase or word is perceived through their personal bias, and why that perception is present. Perhaps the researcher considers 'women's work' to be a phrase which denotes a demeaning of worth or effort. However, within the ICW 1888 meeting minutes, 'women's work' was considered as positive and constructive engagement with local communities, to include several aspects of care work which are today professional fields of care (pp. 184, 278, 427). Additionally, considering the many languages within the ICW 1888 inherent in the representation of 27 countries, claims to understand or assign 'meaning' to any given word or phrase becomes nothing short of hubris. Therefore, the variability for analysis using the assigned phrases or words as data used to illustrate a given value or social construction is too great to be reliable. This example extends further into the modern perception *of* an event. The *representation within* the event, the researchers' personal perception of how the event is self-perceived, and the modern perception of the event – the hegemonic narrative – must be analyzed by the researcher to complete this step. The perception of the previous historiographers, the perception of current educators, the perception of new researchers, and the self-perception of the event and actors within the event must be evaluated and combined to open possibilities for alternative 'truths.'

Perception ←→ ***Organization***

Of equal importance to the *perception* of, about, and within an event, is the *organization* of, about and within said event. How an event is organized, from leadership to logistics, offers great insight into the organization itself, and can therefore affect the perception of the researcher, or the perceptions from within. A chaotic, unorganized gathering, with notes which have been compiled from various scraps of throwaway paper may be categorized historically as 'grassroots', whereas an event such as the ICW 1888, which required years of planning, coordination, and thought, cannot be convincingly argued as such.

As with 'perception,' the same filters apply: the representation *within* the event, the researchers' personal perception of how the event is self-organized, and the modern perception of the event's organization – the hegemonic narrative – must be analyzed by the researcher to complete this step. The organization of an event, and how that is perceived by members of the event can be quite important, as identity is formed "through the process of self-categorization or identification" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.224). Therefore, how the actors within an event self-perceive may be directly

related to the organization of the event itself. The ICW 1888 self-perceived as a "grand assemblage of women coming from many countries and latitudes" (Report, 1888, p.10), offering an identity to those in attendance gendered as 'women.' This identity as women (self-perception) and the organization within become more intertwined as the Report continues:

> "The principle of division of labor finds novel application in modern life and especially in what, even in a democratic community, may be called the higher social circles. In such circles in the United States men are, by common consent, the guardians of material interests, while women, by the same authority, assume the direction of social (including spiritual) interests." (Report, 1888, p. 62)

This language deliberately organizes intent, identity, and perception into categorical narratives with which members may then self-identify. Further, the clear schedule of speakers and the timeline of events, presented before the commencement of the event, provides evidence of intentionality and zeal, offering opportunities for the researcher to explore the comparison of notes regarding self-perception and self-organization. In this way, a story regarding who the ICW 1888 believed they were, outside of the reproductive narrative of a 'suffrage meeting' becomes clearer. This is absolutely necessary for an antenarrative approach.

Continuing with this example, researchers must also reflect on their own organizational practices. Researchers must reflect on the reason(s) certain organizational research models were chosen, the ideology behind the organization of one's research, and the chronology of research expectations. Within this example of the ICW, a researcher may reflect on their justification for setting the boundary of 'women's work' and 'social' as needing to occur within the same sentence. They may ask what internal bias, prior experience, or assumed knowledge led the researcher to the determination that 'women's work' and 'social' may be closely enough related to one another to be analyzed in the manner determined. Every decision holds internal bias and, as such, every decision must be reflected upon.

Interpretation ←→ Antenarrative

The interpretation-Antenarrative step of the Pointillism Approach requires very little explanation. This is where the reflexivity of the findings from the above three steps occurs. This is the point by which the researcher will have engaged in the reflexive practices often found in ethnographical methodologies; critical self-analysis of the data collection and writing processes to this point. This is where the process of knowledge-making begins to occur. Once the reflexivity inherent in the perception and organization analyses is complete, a new story begins to emerge. This new story, parallel to the hegemonic narrative, adds dots to the canvas. As stated in my third paper[6]:

> *Interpretation* requires that the understandings gleaned during the *Perception <-> Organization* phase of the Pointillism approach be synthesized into a storyline which accounts for the alternative truths, such as the statement that the ICW 1888 was *not* a Suffrage conference, nor even a meeting *of* Suffragettes, but was rather a social movement event, intentionally constructed to frame and build social care work as an approach to the social questions/ social problems of the time. It is also during this phase in which the analyst must begin to reflect on their personal biases and predetermined knowledge, asking themselves whether their interpretation is merely a continuation of the current hegemonic narrative, or offers reliable divergences within new storylines. The emergence of reliable,

[6] Quoted from The International Congress of Women and the Pointillism Approach: A new approach to historical analysis of the early epistemics of social care work; paper 3 of the doctoral compendium

> plausible ante-narratives produce new stories which can then be shared as new *representations of* the event. This new representation is then held in comparison to current hegemonic narratives.

This is the most vital stage of the Pointillism Approach, the place where 'facts' and 'truths' are challenged, where the researcher must become intentionally subversive. The researcher must begin to negotiate what *has been* known with what may be known *now*. This naturally disrupts the linear timeline, as the story emerges not chronologically, but in tandem with stories already told. As with the Fredrick Douglass example above, we see a man from history, a man we 'know' with now two divergent paths. In one, Douglass is loud, vivacious, and outspoken, taking every opportunity to speak on behalf of women and women's rights, on the other Douglass is still vivacious and outspoken, but the opportunities he may have are happily given to those he feels more equipped to hold court on the subject at hand. He is still a fierce advocate and supporter, but the method by which he supports in this alternate timeline offers space and voice to those fighting for their own rights. The story remains, but the historiography diverges greatly, and the tectonic plates of epistemological theoretical frameworks shift, ever so slightly, bringing us to the final step of the Pointillism Approach, the Representation *of* the historical event.

Representation ***of*** *the historical event*

Now, the researcher must explore three timelines:

1. What was – how the event was represented then, in the modernity of the time,
2. What is – how is the event currently being represented in texts, articles, and discussions, and
3. What could be/ could have been – an antenarrative storytelling as a new representation.

The researcher must then write the narrative for the first two timelines, find the similarities and the differences, and construct the storyline anew, adding dots to the canvas and clarifying the picture. Paradoxically, this process is never fully 'complete' as new technology and more voices join the discussion. As with Hegel's dialectic, the thesis is ever shifting; however, with careful consideration of sources, and critical analysis of current hegemonic narratives, the dots added will brighten, rather than smudge, the picture. I will illustrate this in a small way in the following pages as I apply this approach further to the ICW 1888.

The International Council of Women (as important for the epistemology of social care work)

> "The International Council of Women, in session in the city of Washington from March 25 to April 1, inclusive, in closing makes public announcement that fifty-three different organizations of women have been represented on its platform by eighty speakers and forty-nine delegates from England, France, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India, Canada and the United States. All of these organizations but four are of national scope, and these are of national value. The subjects of Education, Philanthropies, Temperance, Industries, Professions, Organization, Legal Conditions, Social Purity, Political Conditions, and Religion have been discussed. While no restriction has been placed upon the fullest expression of the most widely divergent views upon these vital questions of the age, it is cause for rejoicing that the sessions, both executive and public, have been absolutely without friction." (Report, 1888, p. 25)

The International Congress of Women, first held in 1888, has been misrepresented or forgotten in the historiography of social care work. Potentially the first, and largest, gathering of women from

around the world at that time, the ICW 1888 brought together women from around the globe with the intent of 'solving' the social problems of the day.

> "We must fight, hand in hand, all prejudices, all injustice, and, as I said in a report presented to our society in 1886: '**the social problems** would not be difficult to solve if we applied always and everywhere principles of justice, of morality, of fraternity'." (Report, 1888, p. 91, emphasis added)
>
> "It is impossible to over-estimate the far-reaching influence of such a council. An interchange of opinions on **the great questions now agitating the world** will rouse women to new thought, will intensify their love of liberty, and will give them a realizing sense of the power of combination." (Report, 1888, p.10, emphasis added)

Meticulous notes were taken of the conference, which include a full report of 471 pages, and daily news reports by the *Woman's Tribune*, and a stenographic report which furnished "daily *verbatim* reports of the addresses, not only to the *Woman's Tribune*, but to many representatives of the press, with a success, if not unparalleled, at least unexcelled" (Report, 1888, p. 455) which were published each of the eight days of the conference, sharing fifteen public sessions. Additionally, letters and telegrams of participants, delegates, ambassadors, and royalty can be found discussing the event. The location in which the event was hosted, Albaugh's Opera House, was billed at the time as "only a trifle smaller than the Metropolitan Opera House in New York"– and the largest theater in DC. The Metropolitan Opera House in New York has a seating capacity of 3,850 people. "Long before the hour of opening had arrived Albaugh's Opera House was crowded and the aisled filled with persons standing" (Report, 1888, p.24). This event was no small matter.

As noted in my second paper, and the impetus for my third: "The ICW 1888 event remains relatively unknown and underappreciated as a significant event in the development of social care work." The language used today in social care work echoes the language used in the ICW 1888. Likewise, many of the topics addressed and discussed in earnest during the event remain pertinent. Defining social care work as that which works toward the dignity and autonomy of the individual, one can easily postulate that the ICW 1888 has had a rather significant impact on its epistemology. I will apply the Pointillism Approach below to further illuminate this point, as with my third paper of this compendium doctorate.

The Pointillism Approach and the ICW 1888

Representation within: How the ICW self-reports

Given the 471 pages of primary source notation, and the fact that the Women's Council is, to this day, an active community of women, primary sources are entirely possible to review. In order to determine the representation within, therefore, one must simply ask of the documents: *Who did the individuals, hosting and attending the ICW 1888, believe they were?*

To answer this question, it must first be noted that the ICW is often – when mentioned at all, which is rare – referred to as a "suffrage meeting" (Kern, 1996, p. 1235). However, the *representation within* the event, as shown in the Report on the International Council of Women, 1888, indicates that the event did not perceive itself as a 'suffrage meeting' but rather as an event with a much broader scope.

> "It is, however, *neither intended nor desired* that the discussion in the International Council *shall be limited to* questions touching the political rights of women. Formal invitations requesting the appointment of delegates will be issued to representative organizations in

every department of women's work. Literary Clubs, Art and Temperance Unions, Labor Leagues, Missionary, Peace and Moral Purity Societies, Charitable, Professional, Educational and Industrial Associations will thus be offered equal opportunity with Suffrage Societies to be represented in what should be the ablest and most imposing body of women every assembled" (Report, 1888, p.11, emphasis added).

This single paragraph challenges what we currently 'know' and reproduce about the ICW 1888. The attendees present at this conference discussed far more over 18 days than suffrage rights. The topics of temperance unions, labor leagues, education, professional development, and charitable outreach are all topics of social care which were of paramount importance in the development of social work and discussed openly in academic circles developing sociology. Given the scope of the event, and the number of people involved both nationally within the United States and globally, it is difficult to imagine that the discourse from this council did not significantly affect the development of an epistemology for later professionalization. The attendees of the ICW 1888 certainly believed in the impact they were making. Several letters were sent to express support for the event, seemingly all with a similar theme of expectations for great success.

> "The story of the Council would be incomplete without some reference to the social events of this significant week … Gatherings and meetings of hundreds and thousands of participants continued days past the official event closing on April 1st and resulted in new organizations such as the "Women's International Bar Association" (Report, 1888, pp. 457 - 8).

> "My Dear Miss Anthony: Although compelled, at the last moment, to forego the long-anticipated pleasure of meeting the International Council of Women in person, I cheerfully unpack my trunk and resume my home duties, content to meet you all in spirit, and in that way engage in the deliberations of *the most remarkable assemblage of my sex yet known to history*." – letter from Abigail Scott Duniway, March 22, 1888 (Report, 1888, p. 442, emphasis added)

> "It is certain that such great meetings of women of all lands working for the elevation and enfranchisement of their sex cannot fail to have a good result" – letter from M. Dupuis-Vincent, Maine et Loire, France, March 5, 1888 (Report, 1888, p. 443).

The call issued invited women from around the world to join in a 40th celebration of the "first organized demand for equal education, industrial, professional, and political rights for women" held at Seneca Falls, New York, U.S.A, in 1848, but was not to be "limited to questions touching the political rights of women" and was rather intended as an opportunity for "reporting woman's work and progress in all parts of the world over the past forty years" (Report, 1888, p. 10). The intention, clearly stated, was to forego the previous "custom to mark the passing years by holding meetings of the suffrage societies on each decade" but rather to host a "broader recognition of all the reform associations that have been the natural outgrowth of the suffrage agitation" (Report, 1888, p. 32). The representation within the event was not that of "suffrage" but of a movement intended to "advocate the same measures in carrying on the varied reforms in which we are mutually interested" (Report, 1888, p. 34).

> "In calling this Council we anticipated many desirable results. Aside from the pleasure of mutual acquaintance in meeting face to face so many of our own country-women, as well as those from foreign lands, we hoped to secure thorough national and international organizations in all those reforms in which we are mutually interested."

Many of the attendees at the ICW 1888 *were* ‘radical social reformers’ (Ellwood, 2019/1913), but they were not, in fact, merely “activist Anglo-American women” (Schwartz, 1997, p.287) or “well-to-do Protestant women” (Katz, 1996, p. 61). The report makes quite clear that the participants involved were both women and men, from many countries, cultures, religions, and backgrounds. The *representation within* the document offers a far richer tapestry of involvement and inclusion.

Perception *←→ Organization: the ICW and a modern lens (within, of, and about)*

As previously noted, the modern perception *of* the ICW does not match the perception *within*. An article published in 1921 in the Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law states of the ICW:

> “The International Council of Women is perhaps hardly as well known to the general public as its importance would warrant. Lady Aberdeen, its President for more than twenty years, wrote of it recently as a League of Nations in being and in operation, and, although it has no statutory powers, it may certainly be said to have paved the way for the " League of Nations idea" among those women of the world who are practical workers in schemes to promote the welfare and progress of women and children” (Matheson, 1921, p.112).

Even articles which seem to be in support of the ICW offer a narrative that is incongruent with the narrative shown through primary source quotes.

> “In 1888, American suffragists organized an International Council of Women (‘ICW’) to acknowledge the fortieth anniversary of the first woman’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848” (Kern, 1996, p. 1235).

While not technically incorrect, this language, again, reduces the ICW to that of a tribute to the Seneca Falls meeting, and fails to give the reader a clear understanding of the immense scope and reform initiatives of this event. Postulating an explanation, I would loosely argue that the publications that I have found in which the ICW are mentioned frequently are discussing sociology, feminist socialism, or women’s rights. Thus, the ICW is mentioned very often ‘in passing’ as an organization which is important to the early stages of feminist movements but is not often explored further as it is considered unimportant to the discussion at hand.

This can be seen in Ida Husted Harpers 1907 publication of *Woman Suffrage throughout the World* where she mentions the International Council of Women in Berlin in 1904, and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906, but offers only that, “this International Council advocates that strenuous efforts be made to enable women to obtain the power of voting in all countries where a representative government exists” (p. 55). There is an equally problematic reference in Zoë Thomas’ 2020 article *Historical Pageants, Citizenship and the Performance of Women’s History before Second-Wave Feminism* in which she states of the ICW: “In the International Council of Women pageant, actual suffrage banners were repurposed: ‘banners which had been carried in many more toilsome processions than this, and brought with them the memory of a hard fight now happily ended’ were complemented by ‘proper dresses of the period’ for the 1888 and 1899 scenes” (pp. 122- 123). While this may be historically accurate, and important for Thomas’ research and point, it does further reduce the narrative surrounding the ICW to that of suffrage. In this way, one sees how the reproduction of the history so easily becomes reductive. For the purpose of this step of the Pointillism Approach, this modern and reproductive narrative must be clearly noted by the researcher.

The next aspect of the perception step is to analyze the personal perception the researcher has *about* the event, which is often influenced by the current hegemonic (often patriarchal) narrative, and must be challenged to open possibilities for alternative storylines. As mentioned above, I personally found that the language of the ICW 1888 can be emotionally difficult. However, this step is listed in the model *because* the lens of personal bias is often clouded. Careful reading of the ICW 1888 Report, as well as the works of Jane Addams (*20 years at Hull House*, 1923), Alice Salomon (*Character is Destiny*, 2004), Elizabeth Cady Stanton (*Eighty years and more*, 1898) among others, was necessary to the understanding of the phrase "women's work" which was, at the time, an indication of work related to care for others which would later become 'social work.' This is an incredibly important point to note, as modern understandings of this and other phrases would result in very different feelings toward the document, hindering true understanding of its intent and meaning.

In the case of the ICW, the question of self-perception is found in the analysis of the representation within. Thus, the notes required to complete this step of the Pointillism Approach were to evaluate the language for meaning which may be different than I previously expected. This step is personal for each researcher and must be approached with the intention of self-reflection. Each determination of 'fact' noted ought to be challenged with questions such as: *Why do I think this? Why do I believe this to be 'true'?* It is through this basic critical analysis that one begins to find alternative truths.

So, using the Pointillism Approach, we see that the perception *of* the ICW is that the event was that of a large suffrage meeting; the perception *about* the ICW (researcher bias) is that it framed a significant amount of what was to become modern-day social care work; the perception *within* the ICW was that of radical reformers coming together to strengthen their cause.

Perception ←→ ***Organization****: the ICW and a modern lens (within, of, and about)*

These determinations must now be balanced against the organization within, of, and about the event, taking into account both deliberative and incidental organizational occurrences. The ICW was a very intentional event in history. The planning for the event constituted a multi-year process, with several committees who handled everything from invitations to pageantry to décor (Report, 1888). Delegates from around the world were invited and those unable to attend were named and, at times, given space for their letters and outreach to be heard during the conference. Little was left to chance. The dedication and intention of this work did not go unnoticed, or unremarked,

> "We have been summoned here under the prestige of a very attractive and inclusive name – that of an International Council of Women. Surely, from our coming together, much good ought to result. National limitations and prejudices may be effaced, and a broader and more hopeful good-will may hereafter unit our efforts for public and private weal in many a remote locality" (Report, 1888, p. 94).

Unifying comments, such as these, influence the organizational culture of a group, and often result in a changed self-identity for members. While further research is necessary to analyze and determine the extent of that identity, it is reported that several smaller organizations and initiatives were founded or expanded in relation to the ICW 1888, indicating a feeling of unity or belonging. In addition, several social events were held in tandem with, in relation to, and immediately following the conference.

> "It would not be possible to give here in detail the receptions and meetings of the week. Every hour not occupied by sessions of the Council, was filled with social Engagements. Mrs.

> Louisa Southworth, of Cleveland, received ladies from Ohio each afternoon. Mrs. Amanda C. Tiffany, of New York city, invited the ladies of her State to meet in her private parlor at Riggs House. Mrs. Shattuck held a reception the Red Parlor for the ladies from Massachusetts, and this example was followed by the daughters of Cassius M. Clay for Kentucky, and by the visitors from several other States.
>
> The lawyers held meetings, resulting in the formation of a Woman's International Bar Association. The physicians met at Mrs. Bovee's. The President of the Western Collegiate Alumnae, Mrs. Stowell, called together the women especially interested in educational subjects….
>
> … the President and Mrs. Cleveland received the Council and its visitors… Mrs. Harriet Robinson received the factory-girls of Lowell, their daughter and friends, and the former contributors to the Lowell Offering… Senator and Mrs. T.W. Palmer, of Michigan, gave a handsome reception to the Foreign Delegates. Eight hundred invitations were sent out to the members of the Foreign Legations, prominent government officials, and to the delegates and visitors to the Council, and more than a thousand persons availed themselves of the occasion …" (Report, 1888, pp 457-458).

It is clear that membership was cherished, valued, and important. The organization of the event *within* the event was that of deliberate inclusion and the organization *of* the event was a deliberate blend of ambassadorship, outreach, and pageantry. These findings certainly match the argument above that the self-perception of the ICW is that of intentional reform and powerful groups. Paradoxically, this influences the perception of the researcher *about* the event. To reiterate, that perception *about* is subjective to the researcher's personal biases and experiences and therefore must be revisited several times. It is not my intention that the researcher move *from* the 'perception' step *to* the 'organization' step within the approach, but that the two points of inquiry 'perception and organization' are used to consistently challenge one another throughout the application of this step in the research.

The 'Organization' step of the approach is a slight change in cognitive tactic. Here the researcher must return to modern times and ask how information or resources surrounding the event are organized. This is directly related to the perception of the event – how is the event understood and narrated. In the case of the ICW, this step is nearly moot. The information surrounding the event is so sparse that the word 'organization' is hardly recognizable in this context. There is little to say regarding organization about the event, except to make clear that, to date, it does not appear to be organized as a priority in any text or online sources I have found so far.

Bringing these steps together, we find that the *perception within* the organization was of that of deliberate radical reform, and the *organization within* intentionally and accurately aligns. The perception of the ICW was that of a large suffrage meeting, which does and does not align with the organization of data – suffrage history still manages to reduce and ignore the ICW 1888, and gives little credit to following ICW conferences, despite this perception. With these two points in mind, I had to make a determination as to my beliefs about the ICW 1888, taking the research to the *interpretation/ antenarrative* step of the Pointillism Approach.

Interpretation ←→Antenarrative: Opening contingencies

I had hypothesized that the ICW 1888 deliberately framed the early epistemology of social care work. However, I now do *not* argue that the ICW intentionally framed professional praxes of social care work, *per se*, but I *do* argue that they intentionally began framing *social reforms* in response to

what would be considered social issues of the day. This is to say that while I do not believe the ICW 1888 set out to frame modern social work, it does appear that the discourse within this event absolutely had an impact on what was to become the discourse surrounding various social care work praxes and, therefore, is a significant event which must be more closely analyzed as pertinent and necessary to the development of an early epistemology of social care work.

Representation of the ICW 1888

Now the three timelines mentioned on page 34 must be explored using the findings from the document review and self-reflection as directed by the Pointillism Approach.

What was – how the event was represented then, in the modernity of the time

The ICW 1888 was *known.* Resources are limited, and the time constraints inherent in historical research require that this question be analyzed outside the confines of this paper, but select excerpt from newspapers of the time give us a small idea of the commonality with which the ICW was recognized. A joke, found in an 1888 Catholic publication serves as a reminder that humor replicates reality (Rossing, 2016) and that the joke would be neither possible nor profitable in a public paper without the potential for public understanding. This indicates a strong probability that the event was easily recognizable.

> "A Congressman dead against woman's rights was talking to a delegate to the International Council of Women. - 'Why', he said, 'you women can't be men, you can't vote, and you can't fight.' - 'Can't fight, can't we?' she said, with a cold glare in her eyes. 'You are a bachelor, ain't you!' - He was" (Catholic Columbian, p.7).

Continuing to support this presumption are quotes from the Woman's Exponent, a women's rights magazine published in Salt Lake City Utah in 1888.

> "It [the International Council] marks a new era of woman's position before the world; not that any wonderful event will transpire in consequence of the fact, but that woman's views, opinions and sentiments on questions of public importance have come to be recognized as sufficiently popular to be able to rally not only in a national, but an international capacity. The union of women in this work will be a strong lever to lift them from comparative obscurity to a much higher and loftier plane, and will give to the various departments of woman's work and industries an impetus not before apparent" (Woman's Exponent, 15 March, 1888, p 156).

> "It will, indeed, be a kind of Jubilee for these pioneer workers, as well as the means of advancing the cause for which they have labored so long and so earnestly" (Woman's Exponent, 15 March, 1888, p. 157).

> "It will be by far the most important and influential gathering of women that the world has ever seen" (Wells, 1888a, p.139).

These excerpts offer hope for the coming Council and, even a year after the event, the causal nature with which the event is mentioned that employs an expectation of understanding, indicates for the modern reader that the event was well-known.

> "The Baroness Gripenberg of Finland had a reception given her, week before last, in Saratogy, at the house of Mrs. Harriet Whipple Wallace. … She is a member of the Board of

> Education of Helsingfors, *and was a delegate to the International Council of women*" (Wells, 1888b, p.75, emphasis added).

Representation of the event then appeared to be relatively prolific. The International Council of Women 1888 was *known* in its time. It is not within the scope of this research to postulate whether the event was positively or negatively received, but it is clear that it *was* received. The event was not obscure but was rather a topic of common enough conversation to be printed about, without explanation or disclaimer, in the Washington Critic and later shared through other papers. This is an interesting point when one considers the following question in this step.

What is – how the event is currently being represented

Here I will refrain from too much elaboration in order to avoid belaboring the point. Put very simply, the International Council of Women 1888 seems to be a relatively unknown event in the historiography of social care work history. More pointedly, the ICW 1888 is incredibly difficult to find in the narrative – much of the modern writings which do include the ICW 1888 (such as: Rupp, 1997) continuously fail to give more than a paragraph or two of coverage to this initial meeting, and fail to impress upon the importance of the discussions and subsequent outcomes from this event. In addition, the current narrative surrounding the ICW and other international women's activities have slowly been erased with rhetoric that indicates a stopping or failure on the part of the organizations.

> "During World War I, women's participation in the paid labor force increased exponentially, and, because the war prevented travel and diverted organized women to the war effort, *most international women's activities ceased.* However, in 1915, ***an*** International Congress of Women was held at the Hague in an effort to promote peace among the warring nations" (Fraser, 1999, p. 880, emphasis added).

Modern representations of this type offer some interesting insight into why the ICW 1888, which I argue intentionally framed epistemologies of social care work, are not included in the conversations or historiographies of social care. Antenarrative writing requires an acceptance of ethnographic research, which demands the researcher acknowledge the voice of the marginalized. In this instance, the 'marginalized' is the International Council of Women, and organization which nearly 150 years later is still in practice, and considers themselves a women's rights organization.

> "Ever since its establishment, the organization has been at the forefront of bringing worldwide attention to the issue of women's rights and leading the battle against gender based social injustice. In that sense, the ultimate goal is the creation of a happier, safer and more egalitarian world for all" (ICW History, n.d.).

> "Bonded into historical narratives as a suffrage attempt has led even the most affirming historians to write passages such as the following (emphasis added): '**Despite its failure** to advocate women's ballot, the ICW accelerated women's collective progress by laying the groundwork **for future coalitions** of women in reform and professional work. Many of the women who would collaborate with Elizabeth Cady Stanton on her controversial Woman's Bible, for example, were drawn from the ranks of the ICW. Women attorneys in attendance found one another and instituted the Woman's International Bar Association. National

> Councils of Women formed within the ICW, and …the ICW **survived** as one of the movement's invaluable legacies for women of the future' (Kern, 1996, pp.1246 – 1247)."[7]

While the above is not exclusive to the women involved, *per se*, it does clearly exclude the contributions of the ICW 1888 to the discourse regarding social problems which led to later developments in sociology, social work and other fields of social care. The 'echo-chamber' (Smith, 1974) effect of the Chicago School, the American Sociological Association, and others as the epistemological 'fathers' of social work has allowed for an egregiously reductive view of social care history.

The ICW 1888 clearly identified itself as a women's rights organization – a hot-button topic of the time, and the impetus for the initial gathering of the National Committee of the United States, upon which the ICW was founded.

49 delegates and nine countries were represented in person at the ICW 1888, while 27 countries were represented in total, by letter, telegram, or mention. "Fifty-three women's organizations" were reportedly represented as well (ICW History, n.d.). Thousands of participants attended the opening evening, and hundreds of people – women and men – attended the conference (Report, 1888, pp. 23 -24). The ICW 1888 wrote of itself:

> "Almost every one of the eighty women on this program represents a constituency, an organized constituency of women. Each of these constituencies numbers its members by scores, hundreds, thousands, some of them even by scores and hundreds of thousands" (Report 1888, p. 62).

And, in addition,

> "Over a period of 128 years, ICW has succeeded in building and maintaining an outstanding reputation of professionalism both within the League of Nations, and subsequently, within the United Nations" (ICW History, n.d.).

This is to say that the egregiousness of the reduction and diminishment of the participants of this organization and others to "Anglo-American women" and "other radicals" cannot be overstated. The participants of the 1888 Council clearly stated their desire to "view from the collective or social standpoint" (Schwartz, 1997, p. 228) the problems facing society. The modern ICW "continues to work closely with the United Nations of issues of health, welfare, peace, equality, education, environment, migration, violence, discrimination, trafficking, poverty, and the rights of women, children, refugees and minorities" (ICW History, n.d.). Thus, the women of the ICW 1888 *were* the 'other radicals' who "very largely set the problems which sociology attempts to solve" (Ellwood, 1913). Despite all of this, the ICW 1888 remains relatively unknown and underappreciated as a significant event in the development of social care work.

What could be/ could have been – antenarrative storytelling as a new representation

Reform, women's work, women's rights, human rights, and community rights are mentioned throughout the ICW 1888 Report, all under the umbrella of 'women's work.' Nonetheless, each of the 'projects' shared and discussed were – some maybe this clearly for the first time during this event – verbalized as attempts to work within or solve independent community needs. The social questions of the time became articulated as individual social problems quite clearly. 'Projects' such

[7] Quoted from The International Congress of Women and the Pointillism Approach: A new approach to historical analysis of the early epistemics of social care work; paper 3 of the doctoral compendium

as addiction work and prison reform were given voice and articulation as 'work' within this conference. Social problems were analyzed within a framework of how to discuss and build framework for community or social projects, the definition of epistemological basis – showing within the meeting minutes how the thoughts about local issues became, were, or could become actionable projects. This shows a broad developmental beginning of a generalized theory of social care work – producing professional praxes that encompass social work, social pedagogy, community development work, etc. It is here that antenarrative storytelling becomes important in the construction of a more clearly defined narrative.

Although the framework of the ICW 1888 has, in history, been recorded as a suffrage association, or as an organization committed solely to 'women's rights,' it is clear that the intent of the ICW 1888 was to explore the social problems of the day through a framework of women's work and women's rights, but not with the intention of a sole focus on these topics. By this logic, the women who desired to "view from the collective" the "great questions" (Report, 1888, p. 10) were acting as applied sociologists attempting to unpack, deconstruct, analyze and postulate solutions to social problems. While improvement in "degendering and bringing gender to the center of the discipline" (SWS, 2025) has continued over the past few decades, our epistemological understanding of these developments has not been adequately challenged or adjusted.

At the passing of Charles Ellwood, author of *Sociology and Modern Social Problems (1913),* Howard Jensen (1947) wrote in the *American Journal of Sociology* that America had lost, "one of its few remaining pioneers" in sociology. While Ellwood's contributions to the field ought not be overlooked, this language builds a rhetoric which, when investigated with more zeal, cannot be substantiated. Jensen (1947) writes that following the completion of his doctorate in sociology in 1899, Ellwood's "next eleven years were spent in social work, teaching, and the publication of occasional articles" (p. 362). As illustrated throughout this document, 'social work, teaching, and the publication of occasional articles' in the field of social care work was the intentional, announced, and produced goal of the women of the ICW 1888. While Ellwood more than certainly contributed to and impacted the fields of sociology, social psychology, teaching and social work, the use of the term 'pioneer' is misleading. A parallel timeline in which the ICW is analyzed as a document which intentionally begins to frame 'social care work' offers a narrative in which the 'radical reformers' of the ICW 1888 were working on initiatives which were later echoed in Ellwood's works. Thus, these works should be investigated further as providing an epistemological base for his research, which would follow more than a decade later.

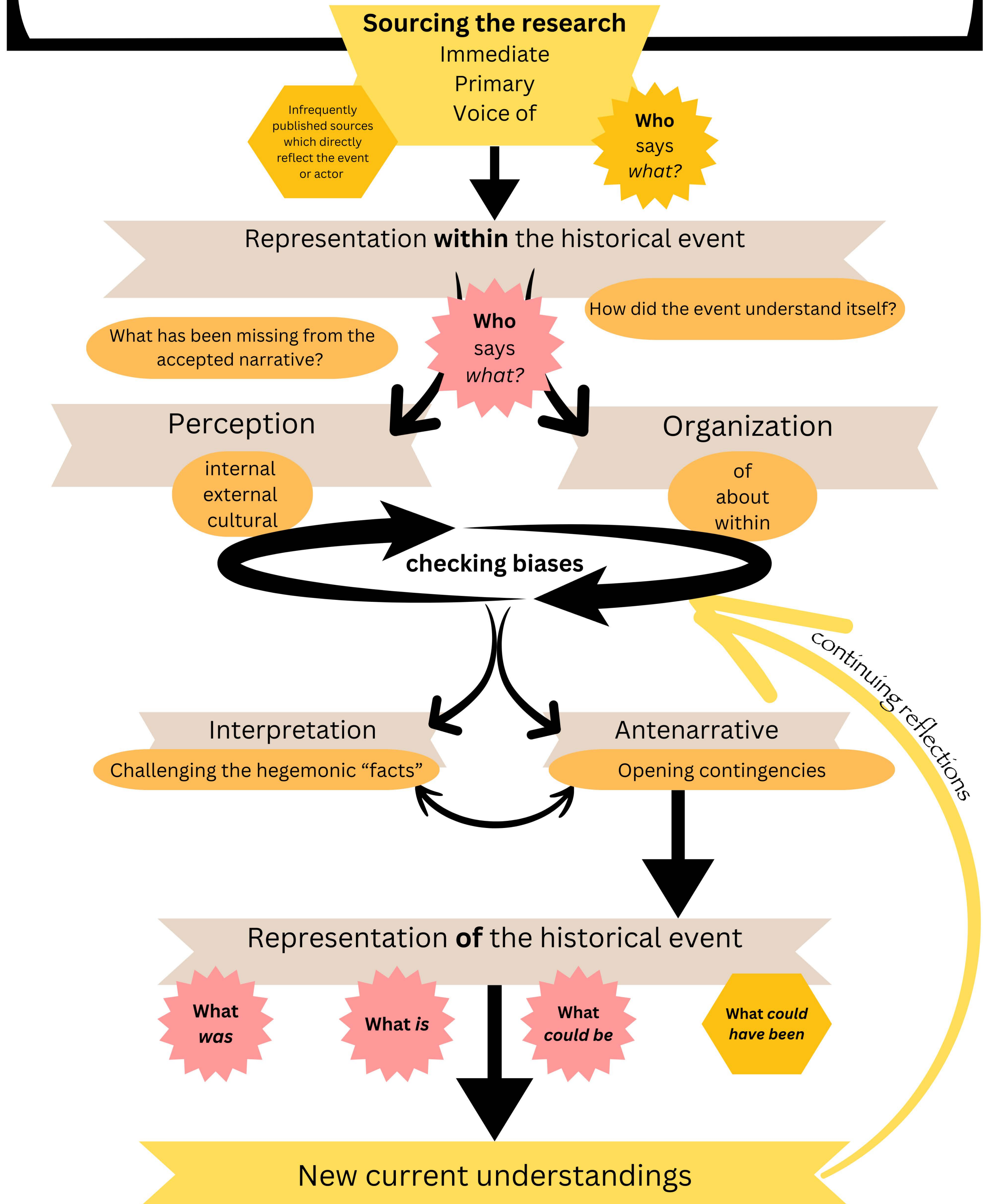
Here is where the antenarrative/ historical paradox becomes difficult. Clearly, for example, a single researcher cannot assess *every* word of a large corpus; selection is always subjective. Application of Williams' *feminist critical historiography,* and the Pointillism Approach*,* requires that reflection on practices be applied for every *decision*, which continues to interrogate power and engage in discursive understandings of how each analysis has been conducted, to disrupt normative thinking and hegemonic regurgitation. It is important to note that this is not a linear recommendation, but rather a circular movement of reflection. Reflecting on one's perception may bring organization into question, and vice versa. Thus, this process must be revisited several times to ensure that biases are understood and accounted for within the best ability of the researcher before interpretation begins.

When establishing a new understanding of early epistemology, it is important to construct stories, rather than timelines. The ongoing work of the International Council of Women clearly influenced many fields of praxis. However, the International Council of Women must also have been influenced by many fields. A timeline of influence – a theory ladder, a hierarchy of academia – becomes impossible as one begins to delve into the interwoven truths of human development. The story of

the ICW 1888 is a story of thousands of people interested in social change. It is the story of more than a social movement, but of the birth of many disciplines and praxes, advocacy works, and initiatives. The story of the ICW 1888 must be evaluated through a variety of lenses and frames, outside of the wording of 'suffrage meeting', in order to properly inform the epistemology of social care work. The stories we tell regarding how social care work has developed – the epistemologies we accept and reproduce – continue to affect the development of social care work. The 'Great Man Theory' must be removed from the narrative of social care education in favor of an inclusive, diverse, multi-vocal historiography. This requires deliberate and intentional reflexive pedagogies.

> "We define reflexivity as encompassing a critical assessment of the significance of environment, power, and context as well as subjectivity in the delineation and construction of knowledge. Without reflexivity education becomes a process of transferring the values and practices which are embedded in a specific culture and are particularly associated with the assumptions, values and maintenance of the power elites of that society" (Ryan & Walsh, 2018, p. 1).

Reflexive practices within those who are constructing narratives must become a normative approach to building such narratives. Reflexive pedagogy offers a disruption to the flow of hegemonic power; antenarrative storytelling is a natural outcome of reflexivity in historiography; the Pointillism Approach is a guideline for these practices. The Pointillism Approach is informed by critical reflexive pedagogies and is not intended as a new methodology of analysis, but as a map used to help researchers engage reflexive practices.



The Pointillism Approach Image 2

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Publications

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The tapestry of social care work history	Journal of Social Work & Society	2025, vol 23 (1)	Published	Kara O’Neil
The International Congress of Women and the Pointillism Approach: An Antenarrative approach to the early history of social care work	Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies	Submitted: 17 June, 2025	Submitted: Under Review	Kara O’Neil

Appendix 1
Paper 1

International Journal of Social Pedagogy

UCLPRESS

Research article

The development of social care work in Germany and the US: theorising the result of cultural understandings and policy responses to concepts of 'individualism' during the nineteenth century

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Abstract

The now-emerging development of social pedagogy in the US continues to benefit greatly from better understanding how social pedagogy has evolved as a profession in countries where it is well established, such as Germany. The necessity for a unified definition of 'social pedagogy' appears to be desired increasingly by countries around the world in regard to social pedagogical theories and methods. Building such a definition requires an understanding of the development of the practices inherent in social care work as a whole, from which social pedagogy has emerged. This article proposes that the praxis and philosophies which formed social care work in Germany and the US, and which remains as *Sozialpädagogische Arbeit* (social pedagogical work) in Germany, had at one time in history experienced similar and complementary growth in the US. The article also explores concepts of 'individualism' as one area in which said philosophies began to diverge.

Keywords social pedagogy; social work; social care work; individualism; *Individualismus*; *Sozialpädagogische Arbeit*; *Sozial Arbeit*; *sozialarbeit*

Introduction

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are known as times of major growth for social care policies. It was during this time that social work emerged as a viable profession for the rapidly changing societies of both the newly unified Germany and the fast-expanding America. Of notable difference, however, is the additional emergence of social pedagogy as a profession within Germany during this time.[1]

While often parallel in development during the late nineteenth century, by the early twentieth century, prior to the First World War, the practice and implementation of social care work seem to have quickly changed course. Germany has a long and well-documented history of social pedagogy, and theories of 'social care work' were philosophised long before the definition or institutionalisation of social pedagogy and/or social work (see, for example, Úcar, 2012). Germany developed the parallel and complementary professions of social work and social pedagogy, whereas social work developed alone in the US. I suggest that this divergence is in great part due to cultural, societal and linguistic differences. For this reason, in this article I explore the development of social care work as a result of cultural understandings and policy responses to 'individualism' as it stood during this time in history.

It is important to echo Hering and Münchmeier (2014) and note that historiography has been too frequently studied through a lens of politics or economic innovation, resulting in a limited view of the developments of the nineteenth century. In concordance with this, I have made a deliberate choice to engage in exploration on the influence of concepts and understandings of 'individualism' with regard to the ideas and development of social care work by critically examining the philosophies surrounding the formation of social care work while intentionally excluding a specifically economic perspective.

For the purpose of this article, the phrase 'social care work' is used to frame the undefined intersection between social work and social pedagogy, behavioural psychology and education. The aim of this article is to postulate that the varied developments and theories of social care work – to include social pedagogy, social work, welfare programmes, retirement care and more – are, in part, results of the extreme subjectivity of understandings of individualism in the hope that this exploration may offer an important insight into the development and trajectory of social care work within both nations and, hopefully, insight into the practices which subsequently developed in Germany as social pedagogy. The idea of conquest and self-reliance in an expanding America,[2] and of the citizen-individual in Germany, ultimately laid the grounds for the understanding and definition of what was meant by social care work or care for individual persons within a given society.

National identities as precursors

This dichotomy of understanding regarding the concepts of 'individualism' and 'individuality' continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century as a topic of philosophical analysis and debate. The authors, thinkers, philosophers and learned individuals who discuss these concepts at length are certainly too many to acknowledge within the scope of this article.[3] Although, as Swart (1962) notes, '"individualism" made its first appearance in a French dictionary in 1836' (p. 79), Germans were, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, already world-famous 'for their love of freedom and non-conformism' (p. 88). This position of personal independence, individuality and lack of need for autocratic or invasive politics was found in many Western European nations and shared through German literature, which claimed that 'The German sense of independence ... went back to the love of freedom which the old Germanic tribes had demonstrated in their successful resistance against Roman domination and which after the Germanic invasion had permeated some medieval institutions, like the feudal system' (Swart, 1962, p. 88). A sense of German independence and philosophical exploration with regard to citizenship and social engagement meant that identity for individuals began to form as a result of, and precursor to, the later development of social care work, itself resulting from the rapidly shifting political states of the time.

Meanwhile, westward expansion had swept across the US, pushing the western frontier and producing an inevitable decoupling from hegemonic governmental and societal systems which influenced ideologies surrounding the development of social work that have persisted even to modern day. As Bazzi, Fiszbein and Gebresilasse (2020) argued:

> [Historian Frederick Jackson] Turner noted, the frontier was 'a form of society rather than an area.' Life in such a society was isolating in two ways. Low density meant isolation from other people within a given location. Proximity to the frontier line meant isolation from population centers to the east, and in most cases limited interaction with the federal government. With such isolation came a lack of social infrastructure, making frontier life rough and dangerous. However, isolation also implied relative resource abundance and thus favorable prospects for upward mobility. This attracted pioneering settlers in search of opportunity. (p. 5)

The self-made man

National identities in the US were strongly influenced by this frontier culture and its subsequent identity, and the culture that arose on the frontier continues to 'have important political ramifications' (Bazzi et al., 2020, p. 2). In their study published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Bazzi et al. (2020) found that the counties found to have spent longer amounts of time on the 'American Frontier' continue to 'exhibit stronger and, in fact increasing support for the Republican Party between 2000 and 2016', which correlate directly to 'greater opposition not only to redistribution but also to social protection, minimum wages, gun control, and environmental protection', issues which 'resonate[s] with frontier culture, embracing opposition to the welfare state, a strong belief in effort versus luck in reward, the right to self-defense, and "manifest destiny"' (p. 2). Thus, while the development of a frontier culture was not inherently an intentional political push, the political effect of resultant cultural views still resonates in the US.

Romanticism

Likewise, the idea of a German nation, or more precisely of a 'German people', was not initially a political topic, but a cultural one that was shaped by literary figures and philosophers. Especially notable were German leaders in Romantic thought: philosophers and authors such as Humboldt (1769–1859), Fichte (1762–1814), Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and others who 'were anti-systematic and championed a fusion between philosophy and literature' (Forster and Gjesdal, 2015, p. 2). The literature of the Enlightenment had already proclaimed the independence of peoples, and in German Romanticism and Classicism this idea was taken up and the cultural idea of a specifically 'German' people was conceived.

> Yet Romanticism did not reject 'individualism' altogether, but only in as far as it was 'quantitative', 'rationalistic', 'optimistic', and 'democratic' (to use a number of adjectives used by later German writers to distinguish the Western European variety of individualism from their own), and cultivated it in its 'qualitative', 'irrationalistic', 'pessimistic', and 'aristocratic' form. The Romantic authors glorified genius and originality. (Swart, 1962, p. 82)

As is the case with many social movements of the nineteenth century, the influx of immigrants from Europe to the Americas during this time resulted in a constant exchange of cultures and cultural ideology. Rousseau's earlier ideas of the perfectibility of humanity, and the idea that autonomic voices were the most moralistic or progressive means of democratic governance, could be seen in Western Europe and North America.[4] However, the mechanisation of these ideas manifested very differently in German and US American[5] cultures almost immediately.

> From the very beginning, 'individualism' [in Germany] was used to designate at least three highly dissimilar clusters of ideas: first, the idealistic doctrine with equalitarian implications of the rights of man, or what may be called political liberalism; secondly, the anti-statist, largely utilitarian doctrine of laissez faire, or economic liberalism; thirdly, the aristocratic cult of individuality, or Romantic individualism. (Swart, 1962, p. 77)

US Americans similarly internalised their own translations and connotative interpretations of the linguistic ideals prevalent during the French Revolution – *liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité* – using concepts such as self-reliance, rather than individualism, as a means of encouraging citizens and settlers (frontiersmen) to work and develop the nation, irrespective of the lacking (and often non-existent) social structures for help.[6] This linguistic difference seems marginal at first, but ultimately it became an important point of differentiation in ideology with regard to social help and social care.

> The change in the meaning of individualism from a term characterizing a society dominated by selfish interests to one denoting the ideal of the free individual and his development took place in Germanic, predominantly Protestant countries earlier than in France. The term was probably first used in the English as well as the German language in translations of Michel Chevalier's *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord* (1839 and 1837 respectively) ... In this book Chevalier, a former Saint-Simonian, made the statement, so widely repeated after him, that *the Americans, especially the Yankees, were individualistic par excellence, contrasting them to the much more sociably-minded French*. A similar statement about the individualistic nature of American society was made in an article in the American and Democratic Review of 1839, but, whereas Chevalier had used the term in its pejorative sense, as was common among French publicists of his time, the anonymous American Democrat outlined a philosophy of history according to which 'the course of civilization [was] the progress of man from a state of savage individualism to that of an individualism more elevated, moral, and refined.' He clearly stated that it was America's mission in the world to be the first to reach this goal in history. (Swart, 1962, p. 86, my emphasis)

Defining individualism

As Nevitte and Cochrane (2006) note, 'different scholars use the term individualization to capture different concepts, while others label the same concepts with different terminology [and] "one can hardly think of a word heavier with misunderstanding than "individualization" has proven to have in the English-speaking countries"' (p. 204). It is therefore necessary to clarify the definition of individualism, even more so when we take into consideration that this analysis is intended not to compare 'English-speaking countries' with one another but to compare the US with Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, for the purpose of establishing a framework within the history of social care work, I begin with the application of Nevitte and Cochrane's (2006) definition: 'Individualization refers to the decoupling of human values from such traditional value-generating institutions as family, work, politics, and religion' (p. 204). To be clear, the assigned term 'individualism' is therefore, in this article, being used as a derivative of the word individualisation. When individualisation of a society occurs, individualism is the result, and the individual is, conceptually, bred from this morphosis. I feel this clarification is necessary as the moment of decoupling – religious, cultural and national – frequently appears to be an important factor in the development or evolution of social care work.

Decoupling from the permeating monarchical governmental systems can be seen throughout the literature of the time, both in Germany and the US. Where earlier forms of Romanticism in Germany heavily influenced the idea of *Volk* (the People) and individual rights and freedoms, Transcendentalism in the US began to give more prominent voice to the idea that individuals were 'pure' until corrupted by society. Transcendentalist thinkers believed that people were best when left to think and decide things for themselves, and that this was, in fact, the only path to a properly ideal community.

Ultimately, however, the final two decades of the nineteenth century are where the connotative understanding of the word began to shift between the countries. It was these later decades in which, 'in the United States ... "individualism" primarily came to celebrate capitalism and liberal democracy. It became a symbolic catchword of immense ideological significance expressing all that has at various times been implied in the philosophy of natural rights, the belief in free enterprise, and the American Dream' (Grant, 1986, p. 312). According to Swart (1962), 'German individualism in many ways reached its climax in the 1840's, when the Young Hegelians subjecting all political, social, and religious institutions to radical criticism, preached a complete emancipation of the individual amounting to a form of anarchism and nihilism unparalleled in its extremism by any other European country at that time' (p. 89).

This 'excessive individualism' (Swart, 1962, p. 89) gradually gave way to that of fostering a spirit of cultural renaissance seen as necessary for the revival of German pride and the unity of the post-war Bismarck era.

> In Germany, the ideas of individual uniqueness (*Einzigkeit*) and self-realization – in sum, the Romantic notion of individuality – contributed to the cult of individual genius and were later transformed into an organic theory of national community. According to this view, state and society are not artificial constructs erected on the basis of a social contract but instead unique and self-sufficient cultural wholes ... In the United States, individualism became part of the core American ideology by the 19th century, incorporating the influences of New England Puritanism, Jeffersonianism, and the philosophy of natural rights. American individualism was universalist and idealist but acquired a harsher edge as it became infused with elements of social Darwinism (i.e., the survival of the fittest). [7] (Lukes, n.d., n.p.)

In fact, this 'harsher edge' of US individualism was noted by James Bryce (1888, quoted in Lukes, n.d.), British ambassador to the US, who defined Individualism in America as 'the love of enterprise and the pride in personal freedom' and stated that this ideology had 'been deemed by Americans not only their choicest but [their] peculiar and exclusive possession' (n.p.). Bryce was not alone in his observations and may have been influenced somewhat by the writings of De Tocqueville (1805–59) who 'considered the prevalent individualism as an undesirable consequence of the French Revolution and the spirit of democracy in general, a mentality, according to him, unknown to the French people of the *ancien régime*, when individuals were not yet isolated, but felt themselves an integral part of their society' (Swart, 1962, p. 80). In his *Democracy in America*, De Tocqueville (1955) notes that in the US, 'The division of fortunes has diminished the distance separating the poor from the rich, but in coming closer, they seem to have found new reasons for hating each other' and that society is endangered, as US Americans 'have abandoned what goods our former state could present without acquiring what useful things the current state could offer' (p. 191). This sentiment seems to perfectly reflect the importance placed on 'self-reliance' by later authors of 'the American novel'. De Tocqueville (1955, quoted in Grant, 1986) went on to say: 'individualism is of democratic origin and threatens to grow more equal' until Americans 'form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagin[ing] that their destiny is in their own hands.' Ultimately this habit could lead to a situation in which 'each man is forever thrown back upon himself alone, and there is danger he may be shut up in the solitude of his own heart' (p. 311).

Despite these later-emerging negative views, 'as early as the 1840's and 1850's a small, but increasing number of authors in sympathy with the attacked ideas began to use the term in a favorable sense. Like many other words, "individualism" was introduced by its critics, but gradually adopted by its supporters' (Swart, 1962, p. 78). Transcendentalist writers began to take up the mantle of support for individuality and in the late 1800s Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82) wrote:

> The former generations acted under the belief that a shining social prosperity was the beatitude of man, and sacrificed uniformly the citizen to the state. The modern mind believed that the nation existed for the individual, for the guardianship and education of every man. This idea, roughly written in revolutions and national movements, in the mind of the philosopher had far more precision; the individual is the world. (Emerson, 1903, quoted in Watters, 1945, p. 33)

This view seems directly related to the German understanding of Individualism, which, according to Swart (1962), 'also left its impact on the Marxian utopia promising the free development of each as the condition of the free development of all, found its most daring and consistent form in Max Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1845)' (p. 89). However, while this excerpt may lead the reader to assume sympathies with German understandings of *Individualismus,* Emerson 'wagered his intellectual wealth' upon the attribution of 'unrestricted free will' to the 'self-reliant individualist' (Watters, 1945, p. 42). And while Herman Melville (1819–91), author of such works like the eminently popular *Moby Dick*, certainly shared a more favourable view of society, 'Melville himself reaffirms the general idea of the immanence of mankind in the individual' (Watters, 1945, p. 35).

> The French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) identified two types of individualism: the utilitarian egoism of the English sociologist and philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903),

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> who, according to Durkheim, reduced society to 'nothing more than a vast apparatus of production and exchange', and the rationalism of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1788), and the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), which has as 'its primary dogma the autonomy of reason and as its primary rite the doctrine of free enquiry'. (Lukes, n.d., n.p.)

Thus, the idea of 'individualism' in America,

> supplied the nation with a rationalization of its characteristic attitudes, behavior patterns, and aspirations. It endowed the past, the present, and the future with the perspective of unity and progress. It explained the peculiar social and political organization of the nation-unity in spite of heterogeneity – and it pointed toward an ideal of social organization in harmony with American experience. Above all, individualism expressed the universalism and idealism most characteristic of the national consciousness. This concept evolved in contradistinction to socialism, the universal and messianic character of which it shared. (Grant, 1986, p. 312)

US American individualism seems now to link more directly to an economic view while German *Individualismus* took a more socially conscious approach. This evolution meant that individualism in America began to relate most closely with Bernard Bosanquet's 'Moral Individualism'. Bosanquet (1848–1923) was a leader in the neo-Hegelian philosophical movement referred to previously and was heavily influenced by the works of both Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831).[8] Bosanquet's (1890) distinction between Moral and Social Individualism, and Moral and Social Socialism, offer an important review on understandings of individualism and their effect on modern social care work. Bosanquet postulates that when a community enacts socialist laws – when socialism is mechanised – Moral Individualism arises. Economic Socialism, then, is linked with Bosanquet's theory of Moral Individualism in that one must 'buy in' to the ideas and systems in order for any given system to work effectively. In *Aspects of the Social Problem*, compiled, edited and sent to publication by Bosanquet, contributing author C. S. Loch (1895) argues, 'Where cases of real hardship occur the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be, or ought to be a substitute' (p. 256). In essence, a person must be able to work and earn for themselves (caring for the Ego by establishing a relationship in regard to the earning of material objects), be trusted to work when able and be honest about their ability or inability to work, a position of self-support referred to as Moral Individualism. This Moral Individualism, or ability to earn for oneself, must be carried out while maintaining a relationship to the state (Social Individualism) and with the state (Moral Socialism) (Bosanquet, 1890).

This relationship, Moral and Social Individualism in relation to Moral Socialism, consequently requires that the state then offers financial or material support (Economic Socialism) in times of need for that which cannot be met by a person independently. Ultimately, a recurring theme in Bosanquet's writing was the belief that the greatest danger is to take away the ability of people to care for themselves. Although what Bosanquet meant in his writings about socialism have been debated hotly in economic, socialist, sociological and academic circles for now over a century (see Bosanquet, 1897, for his own reply), this singular belief, both stated and echoed frequently by Bosanquet, held – and continues to hold – massive influence on US American thought regarding social care work.

Literature as cultural influences

One of the most illuminating means of exploring these nuances can be enacted through a brief exploration of the 'American novel' and German literature of the time. It is interesting to note that academic writers of late nineteenth and early twentieth century did not often write kindly of 'American Individualism' with concerns that, 'in early American fiction, the Enlightenment ideal of self-determination is sacrificed on the altar of social anxieties concerning individual freedom of choice' (Scheick, 2007, p. 370). It was through the dime-novel that the uniquely US American concept of 'rugged individualism' began to foment and take shape, and it was this ideology, I believe, that began to sow division in not only understandings of 'individualism' but also in the philosophy surrounding cultural shifts which began to determine the relationship between the individual and the community.

This is important because, as noted by Swart (1962), 'in the United States some of the first writers glorifying "individualism" were German immigrants, like Francis Lieber and Carl Schurz' (p. 88), whereas mid-century American authors in the US 'gave preference to the terms "self-reliance", "self-culture", "self-help", and "self-made man" to express their strong confidence in the power of the individual, and "individualism" did not come into current usage in the United States until the last two decades of the XIXth century' (pp. 86–7). Even then, 'the more favorable interpretation of the concept of individualism owed even more to German writers than to American or English thought on the subject' (Swart, 1962, p. 87).

Certainly, plenty has been written in English about the American novel, and a copious amount of writing and study on this topic surrounds theories of liberal individualism, rugged individualism and other such descriptions. These are seen as permeating the early literature from the US, whether as intentional attempts at rousing political upheaval or social change, or simply as a natural exhibition of the shifting culture of America of the time, as exhibited in the writings of US authors such as Grey, Longfellow, Tennyson, Melville and others. These authors, fully entrenched in 'transatlantic celebrity' (Morton, 2015), were read particularly widely throughout Europe and were often accused of fanciful writing (Glaser, 1859). In simplicity, the poems and novels of early literature in the US were authors' attempts to differentiate their works from those of their British counterparts and establish a distinct and recognisable 'American' voice in publication.

Germany experienced its own above-mentioned movement in Romance and *Volk* Literature, such as the works of Goethe, Büchner or Schiller, and Kleist's dramas using Greek subjects, romantic notions of ambition and exoticism, which offer a direct lineage from the *Sturm und Drang* era to the Romantic movement of literature (Bahr, Ryan and Jaeger, 2019). Similar to the US American desire for literature uniquely separate from the former influence of their British oppressors after the American Revolutionary War (American War of Independence), German authors and artists sought a unique cultural movement removed from the 'rationalism' of their French oppressors during the Napoleonic Wars. In fact, as Bahr et al. (2019) argue, 'the temper of the time demanded a concept of German national identity liberated from the tyranny of Rome and Paris, and it demanded a literature that would express this new national self-awareness' (n.p.). This sort of literature was initiated, in part, by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), author of *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* ['Journal of My Travels in the Year 1769'], which served as 'an allegory of a progress away from unthinking German provincialism to the kind of strongly individualistic rebellion that was to set the tone for his generation of German intellectuals and poets' (Bahr et al., 2019, n.p.). It was Herder who first conceived of the idea of *Volksseele* (the soul of the people), which came to illuminate *Volk* literature.

Here the comparative distinctions between the German view of individualism as a humanistic concept, and the understood economically defined Individualism of the US become more obvious. Additionally, it is through this dichotomy that one begins to see quite clearly how cultural understandings of individuality/*Individualität* may have had very direct effects on beliefs and ideology surrounding developments of social care work.

The loyal subject and the last of the plainsmen

Analyses of two extremely popular works of fiction of the time, *The Last of the Plainsmen* written by US-born author Zane Grey (1872–1939), published in 1908 and popularised over a decade later (Grey, 2004), and *The Loyal Subject*[9] (*Der Untertan*), written by German-born author Heinrich Mann (1871–1950), first published in 1918, offers a more concise explanation of this dichotomy. *The Loyal Subject* is a satirical novel following the life of bourgeoisie German citizen Diedrich Hessling. Diedrich is portrayed initially as a young man somewhat trapped by societal expectations of his class. In desperate attempts to be seen as successful and worthy of his born social class, Diedrich joins a series of organisations such as fencing leagues, young military brotherhoods and the like, and engages in a variety of acts intended to boost his status among his peers. A consistent theme in Diedrich's younger self is that he would 'like to be nice' all the time (Mann, 2004, p. 27), but that this sort of behaviour would show too much 'sentimentality'. Sentimentality, it seems, is synonymous with 'care for another', or too much concern for immediate or close acquaintances, which divides the attention from the needs and requirements of the formal (bourgeoisie) society, therefore proving dangerous to an individual's social standing. One slip or misstep can result in years of lowered status, a fate, in Diedrich's eyes, possibly worse than death.

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Heinrich Mann considered this refusal to engage in social connection in favour of contrived status within 'Society' to be a weakness, worthy of satire and derision.

Grosshut (1950) called Mann 'a man who read the future' and 'recognized the earliest symptoms of the spiritual process which made possible the development from Romanticism to Fascism in Germany ... About the year 1900, he tells us [in his essay 'Bekenntnis zum Uebernationalen'], thinkers began to lose their human sympathy' (p. 357). Grosshut says of *The Loyal Subject* that it is a book 'whose caustic social satire of the Hohenzollern era actually anticipated the final German catastrophe' (p. 357). '[Mann] realized that *the thing of primary importance is the individual and his consciousness of responsibility*' (p. 359, my emphasis). *The Loyal Subject* is generally now accepted as having been an important literary work that 'showed the untenable nature of social antagonisms in Germany' (Pelzer, 2017, p. 2).

Diedrich Hessling is a man ironically without irony; his inability to offer human sympathy is portrayed by Mann as his greatest weakness, whereas, in *The Last of the Plainsmen* by Zane Grey, this ability to pull away from society is considered admirable, with no ironic intent. To be self-sufficient, hard-willed and able to manage without close individuals and without the help of larger Society is lauded as a great strength. While Mann portrayed 'individualism' as a necessary but untenable objective, unless taken in the context of care for (and from) others, Grey offered rugged individualism as a primary goal of man.

> Typical of the western genre, most of Grey's novels are set in the late nineteenth century, but their chronology actually extends from the 1850s to the 1930s. In choosing these settings, Grey contributed more than have most writers to the idea that the frontier West is both a historical and current reality, which explains why the temporal mythical West is not rigidly defined. Current ties of his name with western places indicate that the West he portrayed is perceived to be alive, which, in turn, has arguably affected the national psyche. (Blake, 1995, p. 210)

Grey's imagery promoted the idea of economic opportunity; his characters often 'strike gold' or are awarded great swathes of land which offer them a lifetime of comfort and success based on the supposed merit of their deeds and hard work. This is unsurprising when one takes into account that 'writing brought Zane Grey fame and wealth. *Publishers Weekly* proclaimed him the most popular author of fiction, 1919–26, and among the six best-selling authors between 1900 and the year 1924, when he enjoyed a princely annual income of nearly $275,000.00' (Cox, 2006, p. 400). Additionally, Grey wrote at a time when the US was recovering from the Civil War, a short but bloody conflict which greatly shook the confidence of the sense of pride in unity used to build the cultural understanding of what it meant to be 'American'.

> To a generation imbittered by war, disillusioned by peace, and searching desperately to regain a sense of normalcy in a world frighteningly abnormal, Zane Grey purposely and consciously offered a view of society which, beneath the blood and smoke, reaffirmed the traditional values seemingly jeopardized by European war and the swirling social currents of the 1920s. (Goble, 1973, p. 65)

Grey wrote to offer romance which he believed, Goble (1973) argued, was 'another name for idealism' as he 'labored to present to Americans a romantic world of "idealism": innocence and rugged virtue untainted by European war and the complexities of modern life' (p. 66).[10] Grey used the western frontier as a symbol of escapism and isolationism which provoked feelings of security in the status quo, a rejection of the progressivism of the East Coast. 'For Grey and his readers the West is the place with restorative powers, an escape from the banality and immorality of the older parts of the United States' (Blake, 1995, p. 214) – parts built and settled primarily by European immigrants and the continuing industrialisation of the East Coast. 'The West defines how Americans view their past, and this region, more than any other, is the source of American identity, pride, and cherished heroes' (Blake, 1995, p. 215). Isolationism was seen as the solution to, and a means of avoiding, international conflict. In essence, without neighbours, conflict becomes impossible. Thus, the 'American' western frontier became a symbol of peace and isolationism, '"And if this be isolationism", [Grey] seemed to say, "make the most of it!"' (Goble, 1973, p. 74).

The social question

Arguably – as either due to, or as a reaction to, these literary influences – the social question in the US and *die soziale Frage* in Germany both merged and split during this time, becoming at once a question of economic success and a question of how educational systems (through formal institutions) and pedagogical theories (applied in both informal or social experiences and within formal institutions of learning) can play a role in the formation of people's rational ability for self-governance. In Germany, specifically, this socialistic line of thought continued to develop into the question of how a democratic government could successfully form and remain effective if the individuals who comprised said democracy do not tend to care for one another or use their personal power or status within the society to promote and support every individual member of said society, regardless of class, rank or social standing. In other words: how could a society of individuals succeed when society itself requires many to remain successful, unless all members of the society reach some level of 'success'? In the US, however, a more economic reasoning of the social question came to the forefront, and as the 'American Dream' began to take hold within the social psyche, cries for help or assistance were often condemned as weakness.

It is perhaps easier to explain the social question in the US with the words of Ira Howerth (1906):

> Although literally hundreds of books, pamphlets, and articles have been published on 'The Social Question', or titles which mean the same thing, the phrase conveys to the mind of the average person no definite conception, and is used for the most part to cover vagueness or confusion of thought ... 'The social question' is a phrase that has a double meaning. It is applied first, to the general and eternal question of social well-being. So understood, the social question involves a multitude of questions, political, moral, social, and industrial. (p. 254)

In Germany, the newly defined citizen of this era became the centre of debate which encompassed issues of socio-economic stability, education, military might (and right), industry, sexism and other pressing matters. Reformers argued that education (*Bildung*) was the most basic element of societal change and that the *Bürger* (voting citizens) must be educated well in order to enact and participate in a functioning society. *Die soziale Frage*, then, became the question and analysis of how to best address and manage not only the rapidly increasing incidence of poverty nor the rising industry coming from the UK and slowly changing the face of Europe, but also the issues of child rearing, education, citizenship, class structure and women's roles in the newly forming societies. Each of these issues required not only thorough philosophical or statistical assessment, they also demanded a new field of analysis, social theory and decisions regarding how social policy could and should be built to strengthen and rebuild Prussia as the heart-state of an envisioned new Germany.

> As a newly created nation state, Germany was confronted with two fundamental problems of integration – social integration in terms of class divisions and cultural integration because although the new state used a common language, it contained deep cultural divisions and its citizens, divided by religion and strong regional affiliations, had yet to be committed to a set of common cultural reference points. (Lorenz, 2008, pp. 631–2)

Thus, while Germany was searching for clarity (*Klarheit*) with respect to *die soziale Frage*, US Americans were simply acknowledging that, for them, the concept may well best remain undefinable. It is this emergence of cultural division – not only from the search for 'answers' to social problems of the day, but to articulation of what those problems are – which lead to distinct and important differences in how they may be addressed. The evolution of how each country decided to tackle these social problems gives an interesting insight in the philosophical backgrounds of development in social care work.

I would like to direct the reader's mind back to the statement regarding the US American tendency to define 'individualism' as linked more directly to a view of self-sustaining economic ability in opposition to Germany's understanding of *Individualismus*, which is defined through a more socially conscious lens. To put it simply, at the time, literature from the US understood social problems to be a problem *in* society *for* singular, independent individuals who, only when counted en masse, comprise *a* 'society', whereas German literature of the same era understood social problems to be a problem *for the* society which affected individuals *within* that society. This is a key point when attempting to construct a better understanding of the development of social care work.

The idea of community as 'social' and understandings of 'citizenship'

As Sandermann and Neumann (2014) noted, development of social work and social pedagogy has been occurring in Germany for more than 120 years as an attempt to 'react to the social issues and upheavals of the 19th century by means of a pedagogical approach and with reference to educational understandings' (p. 16). Sandermann and Neumann later refer to a '"conceptual framework" for social pedagogy on the one hand, and a "practical science" of social pedagogy on the other' (p. 22), illuminating a clear relationship with modern social pedagogical practice in Germany as related directly to Hans Thiersch's theories of lifeworld orientation.[11]

Thiersch's lifeworld orientation regards social work 'as a human rights tradition and therefore … emphasized social help and social support' (Schugurensky, 2014, p. 8). This development of the discipline of social pedagogy can be arguably traced to debates and insights around the idea of community, particularly as espoused by Tönnies (1855–1936). Tönnies (1887, quoted in Smith, 2019) argues that a community was defined as 'the permanent and real form of living together, while society is only transitory and apparent, and therefore community should be seen as a living organism and society as a mechanical aggregate and artefact' (n.p.). Debates following these definitions of community/society, coupled with understandings of individualism and how each individual plays a part in their respective communities and has a part to play in their society, informed and influenced the subsequent developments in social care work – to include, but not limited to, social pedagogy. As Hämäläinen (2015) stated, 'Social pedagogy is seen to originate historically from the discrepancy between individual autonomy and the requirements that modern society imposes upon a person, especially of the younger generation' (p. 1023), or rather, from a decoupling from traditional, hegemonic value-generating institutions, as acknowledged above in reference to the writings of both Mann and Grey.

It becomes necessary here to borrow Dolwick's (2009) definition of 'social' as being 'a collective whole with several basic unifying elements' (p. 28), to clearly sharpen the intended meaning for this article. Thus, when referring to social change, I am referring to an ideological shift among a defined grouping of individuals which will then determine or affect actions or behaviours. This shift is often the result of a decoupling of behaviours from previously held social expectations or norms. If, as Hämäläinen (2015) suggests, social pedagogy originates *from* such decoupling in German culture, I must argue there is irony in the argument I will put forth here that similar decouplings are equally indicated in the *lack* of development of social pedagogy within the US.

Returning to our example of *The Loyal Subject*, the figure of Diedrich Hessling is given satirical treatment by Mann; he is unable, or unwilling, to decouple from Society in order to love and care for those closest to him or his society as a whole. His inability to decouple the expectations of his bourgeoisie class prevents him from engaging with his 'true love', caring properly for his sisters and mother or treating the workers in his factory with respect and kindness. In fact, the faster his world changes, the more tightly he holds to the old ways. As a satirical, ironic figure, Diedrich Hessling is inadvertently offered by Mann as a support for Hämäläinen's theory regarding the development of social pedagogy; social pedagogy became the professionalised work and efforts of those *unlike* Diedrich, a believed-to-be-necessary change which developed from a need for the improvement of German cultural norms of the time. The Germany of Mann's youth was newly unified and attempting to build a nation from several tribes, kingdoms, cultures and beliefs. Much of the literature and discussion of the time supported the elimination of class division, a decoupling from the previously prevailing feudal class system. Mann's writing beautifully reflects the burgeoning strife between the nobility and working class, while simultaneously reflecting the views of the dissenting cultures. *Volk* literature helped to define the 'citizen', as citizenship was often portrayed as producing a sense of belonging, which was built by the above-mentioned ever-changing identity of what it meant to be 'German' as people searched for unity through culture, rather than politics (Werner, 2021).

Alternately, however, in *The Last of the Plainsmen*, Grey depicts Charles Jesse 'Buffalo' Jones as a hero for almost exactly the same reasons that Mann ridicules Diedrich Hessling. Buffalo Jones is a loner, a self-sustaining, singly successful man, lauded for his ability with a rope, his toughness in the desert and his lack of dependency on any other individual. Even the dogs and horses in Grey's books are given the hero treatment when accomplishing tasks without, and sometimes in spite of, the help of their owners

or others in the pack/herd. Jones makes the choices that serve him best, thinking of others only second, and for this he became a national hero. Unlike Germany, in America, citizenship was 'given' and since 'everyone' was a citizen without the need to find unifying ground,[12] it was unnecessary for cultures to blend or shift to accommodate a national identity. Westward expansion, thousands of miles of open land and the belief in manifest destiny gave those not wishing to share cultural exchange with other urban dwellers the ability to 'just leave' and head to the frontier. Thus, decoupling was not a decoupling from societal expectations or a movement towards cultural unity but rather a refusal to shift and change with the prevailing movements within cities and towns. Citizens were not searching for meaning through culture but rather finding their identity through the formulation of covenant, the agreement to abide by the overarching ideologies within the US Constitution, a document written more than a hundred years earlier.

Public education and social pedagogy

In both countries public education has historically been developed as a means of educating citizens for the purpose of supporting the society in which they will live. Thus, understandings of 'citizen' become important when attempting to theorise foundations of social care work. Pedagogy/education also informs the social care work of a country. How education is viewed seems to frequently mirror expectations of the care of fellow citizens within communities.

In the US, where citizenry was automatic, education was derived from the need for, and built intentionally with the purpose of, facilitating the workings of the government, rather than helping facilitate the government to work. As historian Michael Katz writes,

> The crusade for educational reform led by Horace Mann ... was not the simple, unambiguous good it [has] long been taken to be; the central aim of the movement was to establish more efficient mechanisms of social control, and its chief legacy was the principle that 'education was something the better part of the community did to the others to make them orderly, moral, and tractable'. (Katz, 1971, pp. ix–x, quoted in Murphy, 1998, p. 403)

In essence, the US was educating citizens primarily as a means of increasing its labour force, which would support the continued expansion of the country within and beyond the western frontier. In the late nineteenth century, educational curricula in the US were based on formulaic determinants of need to maintain control and continue or increase the worth of the human capital[13] for the defined communities at the time – all while 'communities' (towns, municipalities and so on) were being built under a deliberate corporate structure (mining towns, factory towns, even university towns).

Meanwhile, in Germany, towns, villages and other communities had been established, some literally for hundreds of years, in kingdoms, hamlets and otherwise; so these communities were not built to fit the capitalist agenda – the capitalist agenda had to fit the pre-determined communities. Public education in Germany from 1763 to the early decades of the twentieth century was compulsory within either denominational or confessional schools engaging hierarchical structures led by religious leaders, which echoed monarchical and autocratic methods of governance. The struggle to decrease the influence of religious education is an example of the decoupling of youth from the dominant discourse of the Church and bourgeoisie leaders of Germany:

> Social Democrats favoured a definition of culture as a set of non-political texts and practices, whose meanings were always determined in the extra-cultural spheres of economic and social life. This is visible in the dominant strategy of raising workers to the level of 'culture' and in the opposing strategy, emanating from radical members of the party leadership like Schulz and Clara Zetkin, of attempting to develop specifically proletarian educational and cultural values. In the latter case, Schulz and Zetkin argued during the 1906 party congress in Mannheim that 'In view of its historical mission, the proletariat cannot simply take over the intellectual culture of the bourgeoisie; rather, it must re-valuate (*umwerten*) the latter according to its own perspective.' (Sweeney, 2003, p. 181)

While public education did not undergo a dramatic shift in practice until the rise of Nazi Germany, and subsequent recovery efforts, this cultural shift did have a profound effect on the ideology of the

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working class in Germany. Theories of education began to emerge which lauded public education as a potential solution to the social problem. Emerging discussions on how to best engage in society used words such as 'pedagogy' as both an entity that could reform society and as a curricular means with which to educate in mathematics and sciences. Nonetheless, while formal educational curricula were embraced as necessary methodology for mass public education, more emotive methods of cultural and social interventions than the schoolhouse were recognised as being necessary, resulting in a social-pedagogical lens of social change: social pedagogy. While social pedagogy and the formal pedagogies of schools complemented one another at times, they were ultimately developed into separate praxes (Dollinger, 2007).

When these pedagogical backgrounds are examined, one can begin to understand why pedagogies *for* and pedagogies *of* social needs developed within Germany that did not develop concurrently in America, despite shared intellectual discourse, mass immigration and frequent travel between the countries.

In the US, science was *the* answer to education; science could provide the best formula to calculate a 'how-to' means of caring for people, while the humanities were overlooked, labelled as 'soft sciences' or discarded altogether as sentimental or wasteful. The men who wrote the original US Constitution were scientists, interested in building the country as a social experiment, rather than as a means of caring for those who lived on US soil. In Germany, however, the humanities and sciences were considered equally important for cultural development (as a part of national pride of the time). Therefore, while in both countries social work as a mathematical, methodological concept developed as a means of addressing the social question (Courtney, 1994), in Germany pedagogy kept a firm grasp on the idea of culture and social care as not only important but necessary for a new world. It was this grasp on the humanities and care for others which built the foundation for the unique development of social pedagogy in Germany, which would not be followed in America for more than a century.

As stated previously, social care work methodologies developed in parallel in these countries, resulting in sister practices of social work and social pedagogy in Germany, and social work alone, sans social pedagogy, within the US. As Schugurensky (2016) has frequently noted, in the past 20 years, academic researchers and care work professionals in the US have begun to recognise the lack of, and evaluate the necessity for, social pedagogical practices within the modern US. This is important, as:

> social pedagogy could be used ... to empower oppressed groups and contribute to social transformation ... These traditions tend to work primarily with the most marginalized members of society, have a holistic approach to learning, are oriented towards community building, draw on the experience and knowledge of participants, connect the curriculum to local problems, encourage a dialogical relationship between educators and learners, and acknowledge that, in order to be effective in the long run, pedagogical interventions must be accompanied by justice-oriented policies. (Schugurensky and Silver, 2013, pp. 2–3)

The increasing global movement towards the emancipation of oppressed peoples through more inclusive social care work practices, coupled with ever-growing desires for transnational definitions and understandings of prevalent practices and methodologies, indicates a need for a deeper exploration into the shared understandings and movements which support the growth and evolution of social pedagogical practices and philosophies worldwide.

Notes

[1]I believe we are losing a lot of great information and knowledge by giving German influence an 'American Pie Wash' of history. I hope that an article like this, as well as subsequent studies, can help not only to illuminate more clearly the discursive history of social pedagogy (which may, in turn, help to build more cohesive theory and define philosophies surrounding the discipline and praxis of social pedagogy), but also bring to light the many wonderful academic parallels and contributions which exist between the countries in an effort to bridge the gap of knowledge.

[2]An ideology that would, within a few decades, be coined as 'rugged individualism'.

[3]To include, but certainly not limited to, Charles Darwin (1809–82), Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), James Bryce (1838–1922), Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59), Jacob Burckhardt (1818–97), Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), Karl Popper (1902–94), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and Margaret Fuller (1810–50).

[4]Despite later philosophical movements challenging and changing this schema, the overarching influence of Rousseau's thinking persists in much of the ideology surrounding social care work in the Western world.
[5]The term 'US American' is used in this paper to specifically refer to residents or citizens in the United States, rather than elsewhere on the American continent.
[6]It is crucial to note here that this trope regarding government help is not reflective of land grants, schooling opportunities or other social efforts offered at the time. In fact, several historians argue that these aids and interventions have been deliberately skewed in the public eye. Nonetheless, this belief or understanding certainly seems to permeate the frontier literature and mythology from the time and, as such, produces an interesting, misguided 'truth' in the statement.
[7]'"Rugged individualism" – extolled by Herbert Hoover during his presidential campaign in 1928 – was associated with traditional American values such as personal freedom, capitalism, and limited government' (Lukes, n.d., n.p.).
[8]Despite later criticisms of Bosanquet's work, he was quite influential in his time, and his work cannot be dismissed within historical contexts.
[9]Translations of *Der Untertan* have been referred to as poorly done and difficult. For English translation of *Der Untertan*, see Roche (1986).
[10]Grey refers here to 'Americans' as those residing in the US – it is not the author's intention to promote exclusion, but rather to give a direct and accurate quote.
[11]While this article makes no attempts to theorise the work of social pedagogy, it recognises the term 'social pedagogy' as used in Sandermann and Neumann (2014) as encompassing many of the same frameworks for social care work in general to which I frequently refer.
[12]References such as this to the 'citizens' of/in America are solely meant to refer to those granted legal citizenship and are clearly and obviously lacking acknowledgement of the 'second America' of the enslaved and newly emancipated populations in the US. This lack is intentional; this topic deserves to be handled by experts in this field. In short, the history of 'second America' is too broad to be covered in this article.
[13]The US government was *already* using enslaved people as 'capital', and so the change was, culturally, insidiously small. While America 'freed' enslaved people following the Civil War, they were 'freed' at the cost of wage-slavery – which is also true and worth noting of peasants in feudal systems in Germany.

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Appendix 2
Paper 2

The Tapestry of Social Care Work History: A Pointillism Approach

Abstract

This paper postulates that the understood 'early history' of social care work must be re-evaluated using methodology intended to deconstruct, decolonize, and delineate historical events from the current, common patriarchal influence of modern teachings. This paper disagrees with a history of social care work that too narrowly focuses on several male theorists of social care work but only a few pioneering female practitioners, resulting in a gendered bias of social care history. Previous historical methodologies have left social care work bereft of inclusivity and without a thorough investigation of the epistemological base of social care work(s) prior to professionalization. A more advanced history of social care work requires a new approach to historical documents which attempts to build or construct a more inclusive historical base of social care work. The Pointillism Approach offers a step-by-step model with which social care work historians can reanalyze and reinterpret important events in the development of social care work by evaluating not only hegemonic paradigms of care-work foundations.

Keywords

Social work, social care work, social pedagogy, sociology, inclusivity, antenarrative history, feminism, collective consciousness, internal bias

Introduction

> "I draw on this method, because along with some feminists, I wish to challenge conventional research methods, epistemologies, pedagogical practices and writing style … I believe that the implication for feminist research is not only a contribution to both theory development, method and writing style, but also to pedagogy – how can we engage with the material, how can we learn, and what can we learn from these women?" (Williams 2020a pp. 67 - 68).

While it is commonly understood that *social work* as praxis began in the United States, England, and German-speaking Europe in the late 19th century with the Charity Organization Societies and friendly visitors, (Chamberlayne, 1988; Trattner, 1999; Katz, 1996; Agnew, 2004; Hering, 2014) this paper postulates that *social care work* as a generalized theory developed much more broadly, eventually producing professional praxes which encompass social work, social pedagogy, community development work, childcare and education work, intervention work, etc.; and that while *social care work* may be considered 'a thin concept' (Cameron, Moss, Petrie 2021), these deficiencies in the definition or strength of the phrase are a result of lack of interdisciplinary understandings of care work through history, which has resulted in an incomplete and untheorized epistemic base.

This paper postulates that the taught history of social care work – to include social work, social pedagogy, adult education, early childhood education, prison reform, addiction care, and more – is reductive and somewhat fragmented. This paper disagrees with a history of social care work that too narrowly focuses on several male theorists of social care work but only a few pioneering female practitioners, resulting in a gendered bias within the historical narrative. The understood 'early history' of social care work must be re-evaluated using methodology intended to deconstruct, decolonize, and delineate historical events from the

current, common patriarchal influence of modern teachings. As with many disciplines and professions, the history of social care work has been greatly reduced and minimized in modern teaching so that its current framework reflects primarily male influence. (It must be noted here that the use of 'male' and 'female' as identifiers is not intended to exclude individuals on the gender spectrum, but is merely intended as use to portray the paradigm of gender binary commonly recognized through historical narratives of the time; 'men' and 'women' are used in this paper to refer to those mentioned as they have been previously identified during the time in history in which they are presented.) Researchers must be careful of the influence of internal bias or collective consciousness as a result of patriarchal influences on the historical narratives which reflect the epistemic base of social care works. In fact, as King (2012) reminds us,

> "The ideal of 'scientific' historical writing on the part of disinterested professionals was never impartial" as the "…normative nineteenth-century vision of historical production, as Bonnie Smith has persuasively argued, framed not only the type of history worth writing and determined its research methods, it also elected a chosen few – privileged, elite males – to be its most capable practitioners. Historical research and writing was 'manly' work, and women were dismissed as incapable or uninterested in its pursuit" (p. 18).

In this paper I will briefly problematize the common use of methodologies such as frame analysis, critical discourse analysis, and social movement theory as a means of constructing epistemological bases of social care works, and instead encourage the reader to engage in a more cross-disciplinary, inclusive means of re-analyzing 'known' historical 'facts' and reimagining epistemic narratives. Pulling from Kristin Williams' (2020) feminist critical historiography and Kathrin Braun's (2015) work on the analysis of framing, the Pointillism Approach introduces a map by which analysts may *re*-evaluate texts, discourses, and events in the timeframe which predate the professionalization of social work and social pedagogy that have contributed to an early epistemic of social care work.

The Taught History of Social Care Work as Problematic

Sociology has historically been understood as the study of social problems, social relations, and social interactions. How the development of sociology as an academic discipline has been taught has generally framed the epistemic understandings of many praxes of social care work(s), and is a narrative that holds incredible influence over how the early development of social care work is understood. In the great paradox of human reasoning, how early social care work is understood holds incredible influence over how it *continues* to be perpetuated and understood. This historical narrative of care works cannot be fully considered without acknowledgement of influence from sociology as an academic discipline. Prior to the establishment of the disciplines in Western culture, terms relating to social care work - such as social work, social pedagogy, and sociology - began to shift and diverge from country to country, conceptualized relative to the culture and needs of the practice area. "This beginning period was followed by a paradigm 'based on [the] authority of expert consensus and tradition'" (Jindra, 2017, p. 6), established primarily in German-speaking Europe. However, the wording of '*expert consensus'* matters when the acknowledged 'experts' in question are too often predominately men and include little to no indication of the contribution of women within the field.

Ellwood (2019/1913) wrote in one of the first, and certainly one of the most well-known textbooks of sociology, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*: “It has been largely the agitations of the socialists and other radical social reformers which have called attention to the need of a scientific understanding of human society. The socialists and other radical reformers, in other words, have very largely set the problem which sociology attempts to solve," (pp.13 – 14).

In addition, Schwartz (1997) argued that:

> "…’industrial problems, political problems, educational problems, and all other social problems must be viewed from the collective or social standpoint rather than simply as detached problems by themselves.’ The urge to achieve such a standpoint rendered one a sociologist, not a socialist.” (p. 288)

And that:

> “One could argue that the individuation of ‘social problems,’ often at the hands of *activist Anglo-American* women, ran in parallel with a feminized concern for society’s multiple effects upon a sensitive self in need of healing and harmony” (Schwartz, 1997, p. 287; emphases added).

This language of “Anglo-American women” and “other radicals” offers little insight into *who* comprised these populations of women, and how or why their work contributed to social care work in a much greater capacity than currently appears. The history of social care work is not exempt from the phenomena “…that women receive little or no attention in traditional history writing, but even among radical and socialist historians they are all too often mentioned as an afterthought if at all, tagged on rather than present in their own right,” (Alexander & Davin, 1976, p. 4). As recently as 2022, texts have been published with bold, but perhaps not entirely factual, statements which acknowledge that, “…the social work profession was slow to take up feminist theory” (Epstein et al., 2022, p77). The seeming ‘ultimate’ goal of these texts, intended to encourage and facilitate feminist theories of social work, are necessary, important, and fully supported within this paper. However, statements such as these, innocuously made, continue to echo the neo-liberal agenda of social work education as they fail to recognize major events and contributors to the discourse and foundation of social care work.

If, as noted by Miehls and Moffat (2000), “The development of the social work identity has been long held as a central component in the training of social work students (Reynolds, 1942; Towle, 1952; Bandler, 1960; Kaplan, 1991; Memmot and Brennan, 1998)” (p. 340), then the perception of the individuals responsible for writing the texts which are now upheld as the 'archives' of social care work must be critically considered. Those reading and interpreting said archives are also influenced by their perceptions (Ben-Zeev, 1988). When both those writing and those reading are too similar in background, education, experience, and other socio-economic and political markers, the analyses provided become nothing more than an 'echo chamber' which reproduces hegemonic narratives (Smith, 1974). The stories people tell regarding how social care work has developed – the epistemics people accept and reproduce – continue to affect the development of social care work. Resources written by those who perceived the world in a different manner than the hegemonic elite who controlled the writing, publishing, and teaching of texts – which would ultimately culminate in new professions - were too often ignored and discredited, limiting even the possibility of rigorous

and useful analysis (Lutz, 1990). This is problematic as a history built with limited narratives brings disadvantages for a truly evolved discipline.

To illustrate this point, take for example, Albion Small and George Vincent, prominent figures in the historical development of sociology as a recognized discipline (Buxton & Turner, 1992, p. 382). "Albion Small was a central figure in the organization of the [American Sociological Association] and therefore his views on women are particularly relevant" (Deegan 1981, p. 15). Small notably believed that a woman's place was in the home, that women should not be taught to compete, personally or professionally, and that women should not be allowed to be breadwinners (Deegan, 1981, p.15). With such bigotry gatekeeping the burgeoning professions in social care work - which were often either lent credibility or labeled as nonsensical at the whims of 'modern' sociologists - it's no surprise that women working in the field of social care work (often in areas which could be considered 'applied sociology') were not to be considered 'sociologists.'

It is important to note that this misogyny and erasure is not limited to the annals of history, but exist still in works like Peter Burke's *History and Social Theory*, which is considered an important classroom text. Nevertheless, as Ahlkvist (2007) notes in his critique of Burke's work:

> "Despite its strengths, there are two aspects of Burke's book that sociology instructors should be concerned about. First, there is little discussion of women as either the producers or subjects of social theory and historical research. Second, Burke's preference for brief summaries of a large number of historical studies from various times and places over more detailed discussions of a smaller number of cases may frustrate sociologists who are likely to be unfamiliar with at least some of these historical examples" (p. 193).

These aspects, that of women as producers of social theory and missing diversity show a distinct lack of social sustainability in the historical narratives of both sociology and social work, which have been perpetuated from the late nineteenth century and persist today.

Small's classifications of 'sociologist' clearly pre-date Schwartz's definition by over a century, but the point can be clearly argued that these understandings of who could be a 'sociologist', what was 'applied sociology', and who could be considered a 'social worker' were assigned, in part, as a result of the power paradigms of the time, echoed through history. This in spite of the fact that the women of the first conference of the International Congress of Women met in 1888, and published hundreds of pages of meeting minutes which showed a clear debate regarding the 'social problems' as viewed from a 'collective standpoint' 6 years prior to Small and Vincent's publication of the 1894 textbook *An Introduction to the Study of Society (Schwartz, 1997; ICW Report, 1888)*.

Problematizing Methodology

Methodology matters

Current methodologies and approaches to how historical narratives are written are not impervious to these patriarchal, exclusive imprints. Previous historical narratives regarding the development of social care work have been heretofore bereft of inclusivity and without a thorough investigation of the epistemological base of social care works prior to professionalization. A more advanced history of social care work requires a new approach to historical documents which attempts to build or construct a more inclusive historical base of

social care work. In agreement with Anastas' (2014) postulation that there is more than one possible contemporary epistemology that can support a 'science of social work' (p. 573), historians must explore a broader inclusion of events which occurred in history, parallel to that of Jane Addams' settlement house movements and literary achievements, Mary Richmond's compendium literary and practical works, and Alice Salomon's educational outreach efforts. While the history and work of these women should not be understated, the narrative surrounding their work is often reductive, both limiting history to these 'primary' actors, and overly romanticizing their contributions (they did all and enough).

Interpretation of historical data must be ontological, ethnographical, and biographical. If empirical data is "…anything for which a science has a protocol of decidability" (Fuchs & Plass 1999, p. 271) then there is not yet an agreed upon methodology (protocol of decidability) for reconstructive social care work history. By re-analyzing normative understandings of the development of the professionalization of sociology, social work, social pedagogy, and other social care work fields, the narrative of social work reconstructs into a more inclusive picture. An inclusive reconstruction of the history, and subsequent development of epistemology, requires that normative understandings of the development of the professionalization of sociology, social work, social pedagogy, and other social care work fields, be re-analysed and, when necessary, refuted. However, this is equally true regarding empirical understandings of social care work as even the most mundane description of a historical event carries the weight of the perception, bias and experiences of those making the claims. This paper is not intended as a review or critique of the following methodologies, per se, but rather a quick problematization of these methods as single-use approaches to the development of a new narrative of social care work.

Frame Analysis

One methodology frequently used for assessing important events is that of frame analysis, an important tool for unpacking relations between a historical event and how that event is understood in later times. While this method can be a powerful complement to archival research, ultimately the point is to determine what factors about or within an event constitute meaning in a historical setting. However, what is considered 'important' to any one researcher is subjective, rendering frame analysis subject to potential problems in accuracy and validity. In essence, frames are based on perspectives, and perspective alone cannot be used or determined as valid in analysis of historical events – there must be a deeper, or possibly a less subjective, means of analyzing such moments. Again, who is lauded as an 'expert' matters greatly here. This is to say that while a frame analysis can absolutely supplement the construction of a historical narrative, the repetition of hegemonic perspectives, which simply reproduce analyses, can become dangerous. To illustrate with Pointillist art theory, one may say: a field of blue dots gives the image of 'blue' without depth, but the addition of green, yellow, or white dots can bring the viewer to imagine water or clear skies. The picture cannot be completed without the blue dot, but other colors are absolutely necessary, even when not the primary focus of the viewer. This is also true regarding the relation of one analysis to another; it is the complement of many approaches which produces the greater clarity.

Critical Discourse Analysis

While discourse analysis is also critically important, the often-used method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be limiting. CDA aims to interpret past realities rather than hold space for a plurality of interpretations possible within the reality of historical memories.

CDA is a necessary tool for historical analysis as, "…social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning. As discourse analysts, then, our task is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality." (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 3) Howevver, while the *narrative* may be interpreted using CDA, the *story* cannot be told through this method alone. This is to say that critical discourse analysis, by narrowing its scope too often to written texts, often fails to recognize the "cultural memory" derived from oral traditions and storytelling easily overlooked in text analysis. Historians may be able to interpret what 'happened' during the event, from the text, but what additional data is needed to understand the emotions, impetus, and thought behind the identified actions? Thus, while it is critically important to analyze the texts available, as a methodology for furthering insight and inclusivity within the field of social care work history, discourse analysis is also both useful and limited.

As Repina (2017) argues, "The content of the collective memory changes in accordance with the social context and practical priorities" (p. 334), which means that the relationship between the discourse reported and the 'reality' presented in modern histories of social care work are unreliably marred as a result of current social understandings of the male-dominated development and professionalization of social care work fields. In addition, discourse analysis, by the sheer nature of the methodology, lends to a narrative chronotype which is "the construction of plot and order" (Czarniawska 1997, p.11) and becomes, by default, reductive.

Organization and Social Movement Theory (framing analysis within social movement theory)

Social movement analysis also cannot offer a full and inclusive view of the impact of important events on or within the developing epistemology of social care work. History-theorists have argued 'traditional' social movement theory as problematic even within normative analyses of historical events. However, it is especially important when dealing with feminist reconstruction to note the class reductionism in Marxism for analysis of collective action. "Marxism's class reductionism presumed that the most significant social actors will be defined by class relationships rooted in the process of production and that all other social identities are secondary at best in constituting collective actors" (Buechler, 1995, p. 442).

As "gendered notions were woven into the very fabric of the research process itself" (King 2012, p.18), it seems quite clear that traditional social movement theory is problematic for inclusive historical analysis. 'Newer' social movement theories were meant to offer a less exclusive methodology by, ironically, including more analysis of symbolic actions, processes, values, and social constructions in the development of social movements. However, these means of analyses, while well intentioned, are still exclusive of the women inherent in the myriad of social movements (Foreman 1998 & 2016). Nonetheless, analysis regarding the organization of important events in social care work history can offer a deeper understanding of the process behind the work, and potentially some insight into the thought behind the action.

A Pointillism approach to epistemology

Why Pointillism?

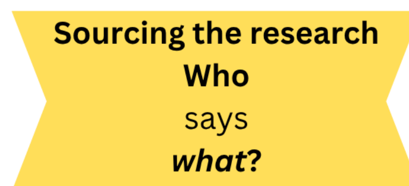
> "Do you see? We have only two choices. We can believe, stubbornly, that the picture on the wall is whole. Or we can imagine Seurat as a boy, holding a fresh brush in his hand, thinking, 'I will show them how easily they are tricked,' then narrowing the tip with his mouth." (Gehrke, 2002, p. 684)

Pointillist Art was developed by the famous Impressionist era artist, Georges Seurat, as a means of pushing the development of art with the addition of scientific theory (Venturi, 1941). Pointillism engaged theories of color, refraction, and perception, offering viewers a means of reconstructing and re-analyzing art. Although“… a simplistic system of optical mixture, based on the primary colors alone, was never Seurat’s goal” (Broude, 1974, 581), the mechanics of the method act as a powerful analogy for approaching historical research and analysis. The Pointillism Approach to social care work history is a model of antenarrative, post-positivist historical reconstruction built with the intention of challenging current accepted paradigms of leadership or epistemology upheld in modern teachings of social care work development. The Pointillism Approach is not intended to replace methodologies but rather act as a model that may encourage and guide reflective practices which offer more inclusive and critical analyses of historical events through a compendium of methodologies and approaches to narrative-building.

“Impressionists were well aware that what they painted was not reality, but *the appearance of reality*.” (Venturi, 1941, p.36) Historians are often aware of the same. ‘History’ is an intangible fluid entity of ‘truth’ which assumes much and reproduces even more. Thus, while it is necessary that we learn and teach from our history in humanity, it is dangerous to teach that which has not been challenged, as it may propagate ideologies which are more hurtful than helpful. The Pointillism Approach offers a step-by-step model with which social care work historians can reanalyze and reinterpret important events in the development of social care work by evaluating not only hegemonic paradigms of care-work foundations, but also their personal biases and modern societal norms which influence and control our understandings of ‘truth’.

Critical historiography, antenarrative histories, and the Pointillism Approach

Sourcing the research

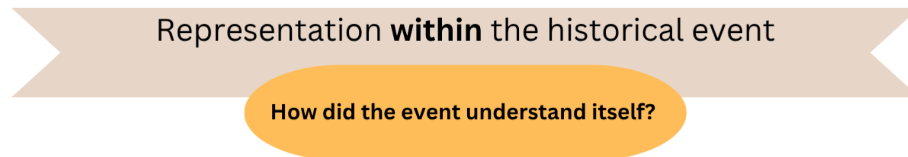


Pointillism Approach: Sourcing the research

Critical historiography requires that researchers first broaden their understanding of 'acceptable' sources – as already reflected in the increasing acceptability of ethnographic sources within social science fields. This acceptability of 'other' or 'new' sources is pertinent to building a more epistemically valid understanding of social care work. Many historical analyses begin with an 'event', whether this be a conference, a biography (or autobiography), an archeological discovery, or other 'significant' instance in history. The sources gathered are subjectively obtained, but ought to offer representation within historical events which refers to immediate, primary sources that describe, explain, or illustrate a critical event. An epistemological understanding of epistemics, however, requires that researchers critically engage from a more representational model of constructivism. “Taken all together, the primary frameworks of a particular social group constitute a central element of its culture…" (Goffman 1974, p. 27). Thus, the framing *of* an event influences the understood epistemic,

which then affects the historical framing *surrounding* said event. Braun (2015) reminds the reader, however, of, "the possibility that dominant frames may precede and shape actors' perceptions, self-understandings and identities in ways that are not wholly transparent to them" (p. 449).

Representation within historical event



Pointillism Approach: Step 1

Naturally, primary sources are not always available. When this is the case, researchers must begin to apply a critical lens immediately, questioning their use of sources, the source authors or publishers, and the ready availability of sources. This is to say that the source(s) used must reflect a diverse population, differing voices, and perhaps 'ought' to be less readily accessible; readily accessible sources are the result of a pushed or previously accepted narrative, perpetuating the hegemonic ideal rather than examining a concurrent historical possibility. The argument that one must be careful not to simply echo or reproduce knowledge, but must consistently question and evaluate 'truth', is not singular to this paper (Cluxton & Horst, 2019; Teich, 2015; Williams, 2020). When 'knowledge' is simply reproduced, contingencies for broader understanding close. Primary source(s), then, become paramount as a means to offer a starting point to analyze *how* an event was represented at the time, by voices directly involved or directly watching said event (primary or secondary sources). This 'representation within' may include a singular source, such as an official event report, or several sources, such as a compilation of articles, biographies and autobiographies, and other pieces of data, that offer a Pointillist approach to storyline construction.

"I believe that making history actually happens in the present and it is a practice which should not only chase so-called facts, but examine their context, examine what has been collected, who collected it, and why it was collected and held as important or significant" (Williams 2020 p. 62). This context is the representational canvas of the Pointillism approach. As documentation from the past, primary source representation(s) of an event reside(s) in a perpetual state, thus, analysis must begin at the source point. The nearer to primary sources, the more powerful the voice of representation becomes. It is important that researchers be critically aware of *who* says *what*. Centering representation, the researcher then begins to apply Braun's pillars of perception, organization, and interpretation, which are inherent in how people "represent their knowledge of the world" (Braun 2015, p.445). However, as stated above, simple analysis of these pillars is not solely sufficient for an inclusive analysis. Williams' approach through feminist critical historiography must be applied, as well.

Applying Feminist Critical Historiography to Braun's pillars

I present an example of a researcher wishing to explore an event through a framework of a more traditional discourse analysis. Let me assume for a moment that the researcher is

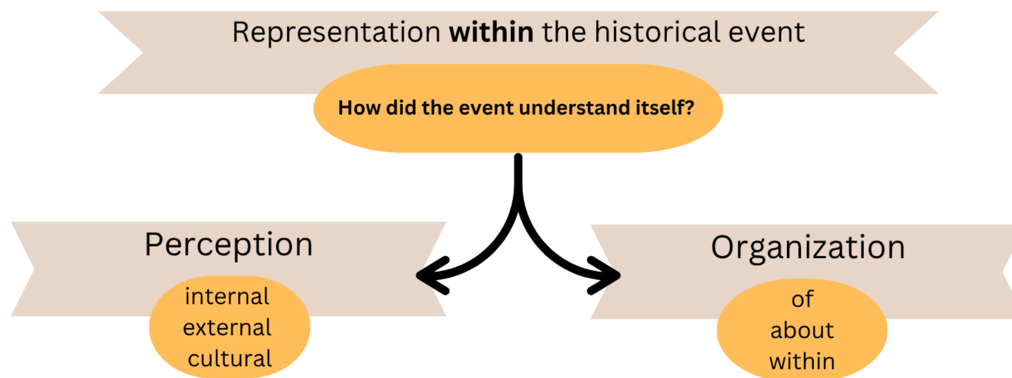
determined and interested in examining the number of times the phrase 'women's work' appears within a particular document. Naturally, it is quite possible to simply count these words and assign meaning to the number found. A network analysis may even examine the primary source for the number of times the phrase 'women's work' and the word 'social' appear within the same sentences in said document and assign meaning to these findings. However, while it is of course *possible* to assign a word to a 'value' and count the number of times said word appears, and to empirically quantify that word, one cannot then *'prove'* what was meant by it. A rigorous historian may next attempt to analyze the meaning of said word by tracing its usage and understanding through history, assigning action to the word or phrases analyzed. Through this example of language analysis, the entire document is then assigned as the 'representation within'. The extrapolated data must then be analyzed through lenses which focus specifically on the perception, organization, interpretation, and representation of the data.

This application is applied in many small steps, as outlined first by Williams (2020b), and complemented by the model provided within this paper. Williams (2020b) states that, "feminist theorists need to be aware of the hidden subjectivities which are discursively at work to produce so-called normative (male) knowledge and patriarchal power relations" (pp. 242-243). In her dissertation (2020a), Williams offers a new approach to historical analysis which she coins as *ficto-feminism*, stating that, "ficto-feminism offers scholars the means to study lost female figures of significance, surface their lost lessons and contributions, uncover the discourses, which hide them from view, and rhetorically challenge the limited domain of current study with a defiantly feminist lens" (p. 7). This paper presents Williams' *feminist critical historiography* as relevant for a developmental understanding of the epistemology of early social care work.

First, the researcher must apply a critical feminist historiographical lens by: reflecting on possible personal bias; ensuring that the language being applied to conclusions and discussions embodies the voice of the actors taken from within the primary source – as well as considering the native language background, environment, and life situations which may have influenced that voice; and by offering an interrogation of power in each application. So, for example, when counting the number of times the phrase women's work is applied within a source, it must also be noted *who* used the phrase and *what* the phrase means to them (when possible to discover), and why the phrase was used. From this deconstruction, the analyst then gathers new or different bits of information – dots of color for the canvas – with which to begin construction of an *antenarrative* historiographical record.

The idea of antenarrative writing was inspired by the language of 'living story', which argues that story, unlike narrative, "has no borderlines" (Jørgensen 2011, p. 288). This is absolutely vital, as storytelling, as opposed to narrative reproduction, "means to uphold the unfinished and open character of interpretations" (Jørgensen 2011, p.284). To write an antenarrative is not to write an anti-narrative – a story with no clear line of argumentation or chronological application – but to paint a clearer picture of an already existing narrative by offering parallel lines of argumentation, open-ended possibilities for alternative movements, and a recognition of the inability to construct a full or absolute unbiased 'truth' in narrative.

<u>Pointillism Approach: Step 2</u>



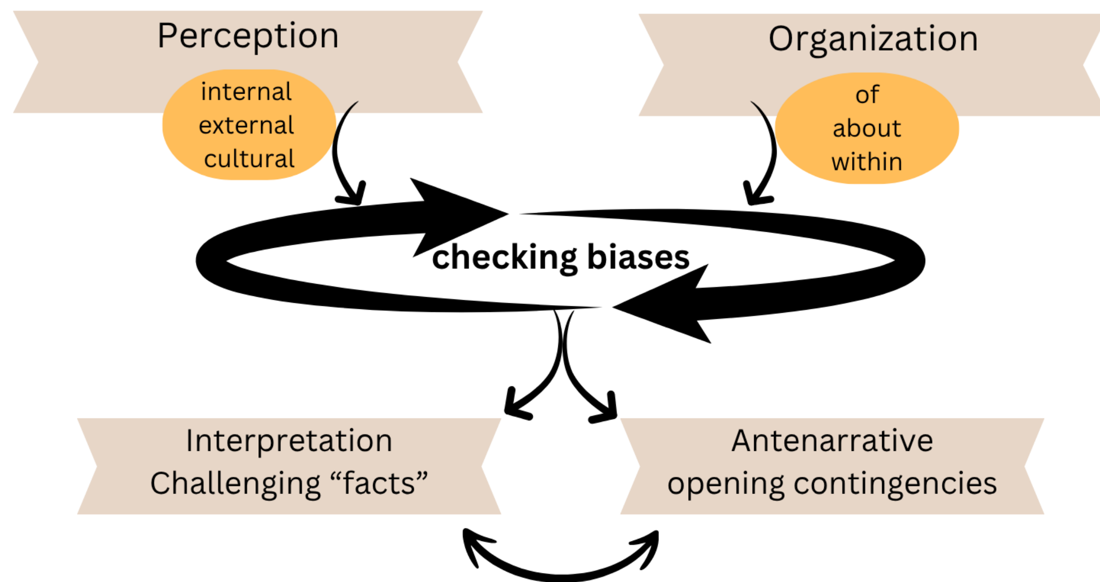
Perception

Perception of the meaning of each word or phrase would need to be analyzed not only with a critical lens regarding each individual use of the word within the text and by the actors, but *also* with a careful 'examination of one's own position' by the researcher. This requires humility and self-reflection. In addition, researchers must consider how the meaning of the phrase or word is perceived through their personal bias, and why that perception is present. Perhaps the researcher considers 'women's work' to be a phrase which denotes a demeaning of worth or effort. While this is a modern, socially accepted understanding of the phrase, such modern bias cannot be reasonably applied within interpretation of historical data. There are moments in history where 'women's work' was considered as positive and constructive engagement with the local society, to include several aspects of care work which are today professional fields of care. Additionally, when considering global linguistic variety, claims to understand or assign 'meaning' to any given word or phrase become nothing short of hubris. Therefore, the variability for analysis using the assigned phrases or words as data used to illustrate a given value or social construction is too great to be reliable.

Organization

Continuing with this example, researchers must also reflect on their own organizational practices. Researchers must reflect on the reason(s) that certain organizational research models were chosen, the ideology behind the organization of one's research, and the chronology of research expectations. For example, a researcher may reflect on their justification for setting the boundary of 'women's work' and 'social' as needing to occur within the same sentence. They may ask what internal bias, prior experience, or assumed knowledge led the researcher to the determination that 'women's work' and 'social' may be closely enough related to one another to be analyzed in the manner determined. Every decision holds internal bias and, as such, every decision must be reflected upon.

Clearly, one cannot assess every word of a large corpus; selection is always subjective. Application of Williams' *feminist critical historiography* requires that reflection on practices be applied for every decision, which continues to interrogate power and engage in discursive understandings of how each analysis has been conducted, to disrupt normative thinking and hegemonic regurgitation. It is important to note that this is not a linear recommendation, but rather a circular movement of reflection, or hermeneutic circle (Macdonald & Pinar, 1995; Van de Ven & Chateau, 2025; Putra, 2023). Reflecting on one's perception may bring organization into question, and vice versa. Thus, this process must be revisited several times to ensure that biases are understood and accounted for within the best ability of the researcher before interpretation begins. Pointillism Approach: Step 3

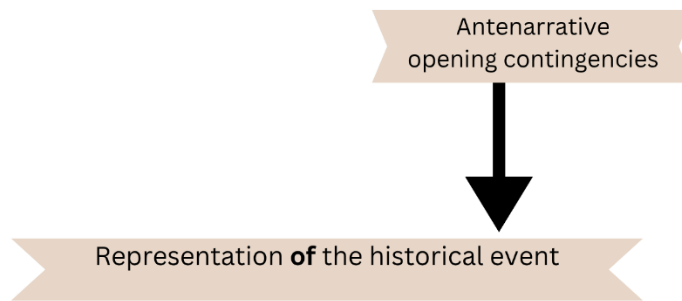


Interpretation

The newly critiqued perceptions, reflected on the organizational structure of the research, and vice versa, offer space for new understandings of events. Collected results must always be interpreted by the researcher, and placed into a storyline, report, or narrative – the most crucial aspect of any research. Interpretation of 'findings' requires a critical use of reflexivity. "The reflexivity element in auto-ethnography is about taking a critical perspective on our own process of writing, knowledge production and on our own position with respect to the subject of inquiry" (Styhre and Tienari, 2013 - as found in Williams,2020b). The intention of personal reflection regarding the perception and organization of data is to assist the researcher in critically engaged interpretations of findings. This interpretation of findings then becomes, through writing, the new *representation of* the historical event being analyzed. This representation matters a great deal as it adds to the corpus of knowledge and can be an important tool in disrupting the hegemonic normative narrative.*Representation of*

This reconstructive interpretive storyline writing may best occur within the above-mentioned antenarrative analysis framework in which the author resists placing events in a linear history as a before/middle/end sort of history but rather establishing an idea of the historical story which allows for multiple 'truths' and understandings to happen simultaneously, eliminating the possibility (and need) for one truth. It is here that the Pointillism analogy resurfaces. It is not necessary to brush findings together to build a new color of truth; each individual point is important and necessary. Once the canvas is covered, a picture emerges while maintaining the integrity of each individual dot. However, while there is the possibility of either more or alternative truth regarding the development of social care works through history, it remains necessary that the points of reference which illuminate these truths remain methodologically controlled and transparent in the scientific community. It is for this reason that I postulate the Pointillism Model as a potential approach to restructuring and reanalyzing the impact of events and people on this development.

Pointillism Approach: Step 4

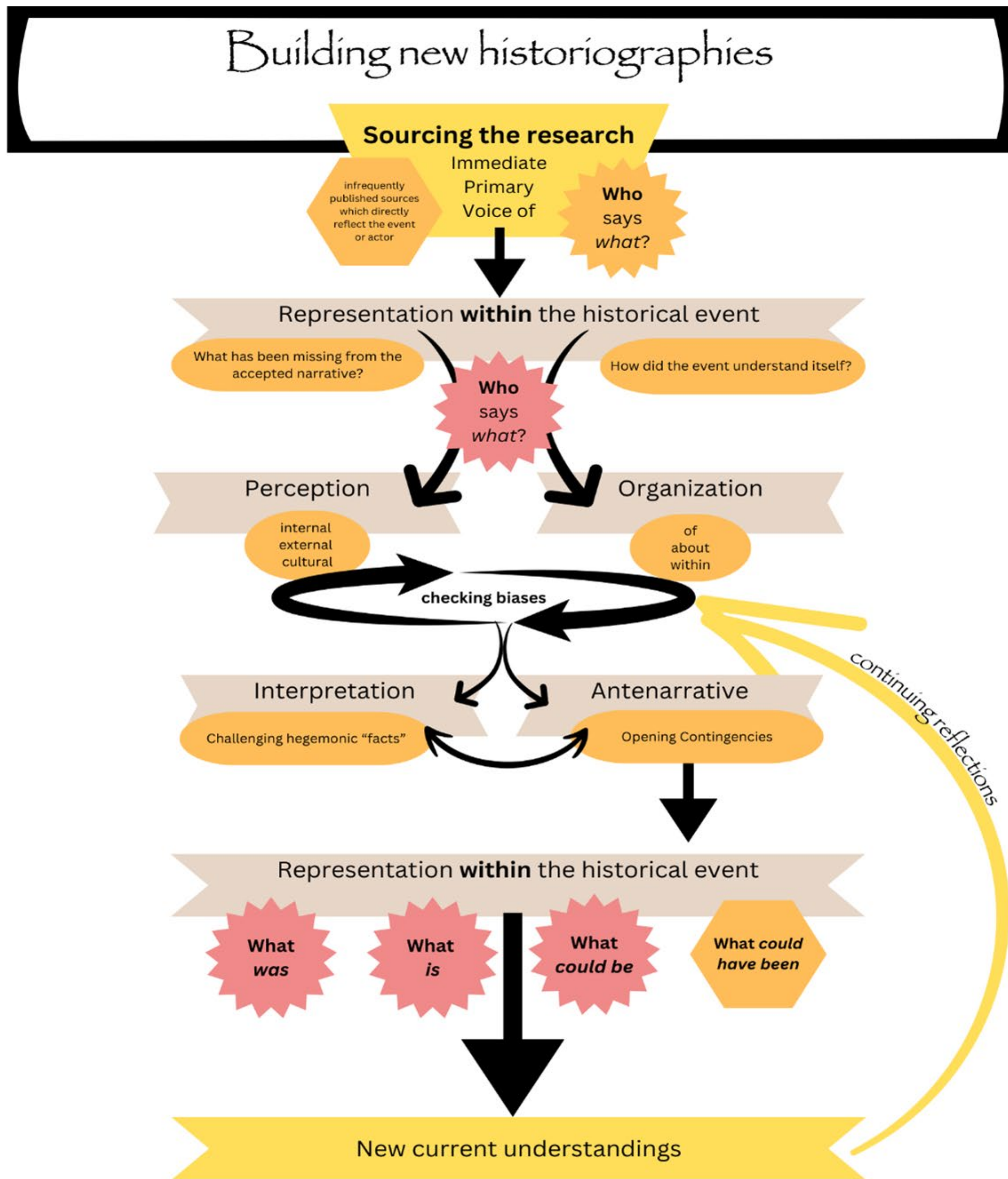


The 'New' Historical Epistemology

This concept of a freedom to reimagine must be held firmly as findings are interpreted and shared, building a new framework which upholds the representation of the historical event being reviewed. "To emphasize the story instead of narrative means to uphold the unfinished and open character of interpretations" (Jørgensen 2011, p. 284). It is the compilation of dotted colors on a canvas of history which enables theorists to begin to establish a larger picture regarding the epistemology of social care work. Perhaps 'blue' dots emerge most clearly, as in Paul Signac's *The Port of Rotterdam* or the 'orange' of Henri-Edmond Cross' *Les pins* catches the eye. However, despite the orange domination, the blue in *Les pins* remains visible and obvious; the truth remains within, unblended, untainted, and worthy of closer review. This is no less true for the findings and interpretations of historical events. Rather, directly opposing the theory-ladder of prior social work history means disrupting the narrative and beginning to dot the canvas of history with colorful stories, intent on building a more cohesive picture without tainting the purity of the story simply to offer 'aid' to the viewer. It is important to also note Williams' (2020b) acknowledgment that inclusivity requires historians make a conscious and deliberate attempt to make space for "non-traditional voices in theory while acknowledging the challenges that come from speaking for others." (p. 243) This sort of disruptive thinking is vital in reconstructing the history of social care work and teasing out an appropriately representative epistemology of care.

The language of one modern social work is reflected in one such event, the International Congress of Women of 1888 (Report, 1888). Participants of the ICW 1888 clearly stated their desire to "view from the collective or social standpoint" (Schwartz 1997, p.228) the problems facing society. Yet, the ICW 1888 event remains relatively unknown and underappreciated as a significant event in the development of social care work. Therefore, the ICW 1888 may act as a case-study to situate the history of social care work within the well-documented phenomena of excluding women's voices, works and contributions within several various fields throughout history (See: Repina 2017; Williams, 2020). Re-evaluation may offer a vastly different understanding of the early epistemologies and ideologies of social care work, which may in turn change the trajectory of current teaching and, as such, current epistemic of 'carework.'

Pointillism Approach Model



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Appendix 3
Paper 3

Title: The International Congress of Women and the Pointillism Approach: An antenarrative approach to the early history of social care work

[Submitted to the Irish Journal of Social Studies on 17 June, 2025]

Abstract

Often, the developmental history of social care work is taught as being somewhat limited to a Church-to-Social-Work pipeline. As a result, praxes of social care are limited in their representation as 'snapshots' in history. Current publications which deal with the history of social work/ social care follow a 'great men' method of historical pedagogy. Thus, the ideas from a particular individual or hegemonic group permeates the narrative and has thereby severely limited common perceptions of the history of social care work. The Pointillism Approach is a model which presents a new approach to the ways in which the histories regarding the development of social care works are understood, analyzed, and thus presented as fact in formal educational settings. The Pointillism Approach offers a new method with which to entertain the possibility of multiple 'truths,' and construct a new antenarrative of the development of social care work. This paper presents the ICW 1888 Report as a sample, wherein a Pointillism Approach can be used to reanalyze a previously forgotten, but arguably critical, moment in the history of social care work. Taken from one of the first – and largest – international meetings of professional women of the time, transcription minutes from the ICW 1888 offer social workers, pedagogues, historians, and others a powerful tool with which to analyze the discourse and movements that supported the later development of social care work fields, such as social work, reform and addiction work, and early childhood education.

Keywords

Social care work, Antenarrative history, International Congress of Women, Feminist approach, Critical historical analysis

Introduction

The myth of the 'great man'

In many English and German-speaking countries, the history of social care work is taught as being somewhat limited to a Church-to-Social-Work pipeline, and has mostly been reduced to having "origins in the late 19th century" (Abramovitz, 1998). As a result, praxes of social care, while recognized as charity, welfare, or community work, are still limited in their representation as 'snapshots' in history. While church-led charity work, Elizabethan Poor Laws, Charity Organization Societies, and the 'professionalization' of social work and sociology, are regularly mentioned when it comes to discussing the history of social work (Specht & Courtney, 1994; Katz, 1996; Trattner, 1999; Agnew, 2004), these snapshots lack an understanding of the importance of interdisciplinary contributions. In the historical

narrative of social care work, the development of the many different praxes of social care work have been over-categorized. While these prominent narratives of professionalization of social care work are not *in*accurate, they do predominantly underestimate the meaning and importance of holistic contributions and humanitarian approaches regarding the individual care of people. Debates raged in academic circles as concepts of professionalization took hold in the early twentieth century. One such debate took place regarding the validity of social work as a profession. In his article Is Social Work a Profession? (1884), and again, 31 years later, in a speech to the National Conferences of Charities and Correction in Baltimore in 1915, Flexner stated that social work did not meet the scientific parameters to be considered a 'profession' (Austin, 1983, p.360).

> "…the issue that social workers should be recognized as professionals was becoming critical. Individual and family rehabilitation problems that social workers dealt with frequently involved collaboration with doctors and lawyers, who often viewed the social workers as at best well-intentioned volunteer amateurs. Their understanding of family and community dynamics was often ignored, both because they were usually women and because they were not viewed as professional equals" (Austin, 1983, p. 360).

Social work was not Flexner's only target; he took umbrage with holistic and non-quantifiable approaches to care on a large scale.

> "In 1910, the American Medical Association prompted the commissioning of the Flexner Report to assess the quality of medical schools in the United States and to establish accreditation criteria to ensure higher quality and consistent training of the health care workforce… As a result of this report, many schools that followed medical models that weren't based on laboratory science, including almost all naturopathic colleges and other nonbiomedical schools, were shut down, and the practices of alternative practitioners were eliminated or restricted..." (Tippens, et al., 2012, p. 258).

Despite his self-proclaimed lack of "competency to undertake the discussion" (Flexner, 1884) due to his "limited acquaintance with social work literature and social workers" (Austin, 1983, p. 363), Flexner's argument that social work could not be seen as a profession took such strong hold that echoes of his arguments can be found in 'modern' publications (see: Specht and Courtney, 1994, p.60). This lasting reception, and consequences of Flexner's arguments, offer a prime example of the dangers of mono-vocal, single-person, 'hero' or 'great-man' (Boring, 1950, Arenas, 2017) assignations of knowledge.

Despite the "… spectacular period of development over the preceding twenty-five years" (Austin, 1983, p.358), to include formal training for women which led to the establishment of a variety of social welfare organizations and institutions, this minimization of the effect and necessity of social work resulted also in a great reduction of the interest and, subsequently, the historical narrative of social care work. It is important to note that this reduction may also be the result of a patriarchal, neo-liberal influence which limited both university access and access to paid professions for women in the late 19th and early 20th century. Such manifestations are not unusual in academic debates, as "the game in academia is to create a narrative from so many stories, and retell the narrative not the stories in academic circles" (Boje, 2001, p.8). Many publications which deal with the history of social work/ social care

(Specht & Courtney, 1994; Katz, 1996; Trattner, 1999; Agnew, 2004; Hering & Münchmeier, 2014,) highlight overly familiar names within the field of social care work - such as Natorp, Hegel, Dewey, and others- perpetuating the myth of primarily male contributions to the development of the praxes, illustrating that the current narrative of social care work appears to follow Carlyle's 'great men' method of historical pedagogy (Rotenstreich, 1971).

"Underlying Carlyle's line of reasoning – so the argument behind such an objection might run – is the definition of the great man as an author of change" (Rotenstreich, 1971, p.144) Many social care work historians also embrace the 'case-study' method of analysis, which Boje (2014) claims as "prenarrated to trap students into obvious endings" (p. 8). The disciplines of psychology and sociology seem especially susceptible to the trope of the hero (Specht & Courtney, 1994). This 'great men' approach offers "sequential, single-voiced stories" (Boje, 2014, p.9) that fail to engage with full contributions of the variety of people supporting social change developments, resulting in the production of single-outcome narratives, led by individual thinkers or writers. This matters greatly as, "narratives construct centers that marginalize or exclude" (Boje, 2014, p.22). Patriarchal erasure of contributive voices is one of many systemic exercises of power which must be analyzed and questioned in the attempt to construct anti-oppressive practices in many areas of social care work. Limited narratives result in the epistemic reduction of social care work from a rich tapestry of social change efforts, led by individuals with many genders and backgrounds, to a singular social movement (suffrage), or to the ideas from a particular individual or hegemonic group, and thereby limit the epistemic base to hegemonic narratives.

If, as Lyotard & Brügger (2001) argue, the "narratives of legitimation… have become untrustworthy" (p.78), it follows that previously accepted histories must be critically reanalyzed and challenged from a more interdisciplinary perspective. In order to engage anti-oppressive practices in social care work, the epistemic base of these practices must be challenged.

To add historical points or events - some which may blur the picture further, some which may clarify the image - is to re-situate the event in historical understanding, removing the narrative center, lessening the great-man trope, and enabling the proverbial eye to wander, to refocus and see the image from different perspectives and understandings. "To maintain a centre takes enormous energy" (Boje, 2014, p.23), and is not always constructive. However, reconstructive, resituating, ante-narrative historical analyses can be quite beneficial for the decolonization and minimization of unquestioning patriarchal influence.

'Progress,' as a political-philosophical concept with which to define social movement, is often understood as the natural end-product of a quantifiable, linear progression, which often fails to explore or expose alternate possible outcomes or ideologies (Itay, 2008; Dodd, 1934; Tilley, et.al, 2018). Building a fuller, more critically descriptive, idea of social care work history requires establishing an understanding of possible 'alternative' bases of social care work. While the "…Seneca Falls-to-suffrage narrative" (Hewitt, 2012 p. 659) is not an *in*accurate construction of either the suffrage or social care work development narratives – it's limitations *as* a narrative have removed all but the importance of the Suffrage Movement, leaving little room to recognize adjacent movements in social care work, an important aspect of the Seneca Falls and, later, ICW 1888 conventions. In fact, in agreement with modern critique of the 'wave theory' (Harnois, 2008) as an unreliable discursive historical narrative,

it seems that presentism, "…a view of the past dominated by present-day attitudes" (Reger, 2017,p. 195), has reduced the history of not only feminism, but also limiting the contributions of women to the development of social care work as being pertinent only to the suffragette movement and nothing more.

As recently as 2022 statements have been published to push the narrative that "the social work profession was slow to take up feminist theory" (Epstein et al, 2022, p.77). However, this paper postulates that 'feminist theory' is, in fact, a primary framework of social care work that has been erased through shifting group loyalties (i.e. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. Wave Feminism) and patriarchal gatekeeping. I hope to make the point that the goals of the women called 'Suffragettes', later often labeled as "First Wave Feminists", were neither narrow (Hewitt, 2012), nor purely political (Sabbarwal, 2000, pp 267-268) but were actually quite expansive in their hopes for societal change in response to the social problems of the time. Feminist theory embraces multivocality (Snyder, 2008, p175). Multivocality is not only an important tool with which to analyze literature, but a necessary component of antenarrative and reconstructive historical research (Preston, 1994, Bakhtin, 1981). By building a story in which, "there is no standard text, no hegemonic meaning" (Preston, 1994, p. 31), multivocality (Snyder, 2008), is another necessary component of antenarrative, reconstructive historical research. "Antenarrative captures the attempt to free stories from linear beginning middle and end narratives" (Jørgensen, 2011, p.1), recognizing narrative as an "attempt to monopolize truth" (Jørgensen, 2011, p. 4). This approach to a more inclusive history is necessary "in order to resituate the relationship between narrative and story and create the basis for a more democratic relationship between the many different voices in language. (Jørgensen, 2011, p.4)

This paper presents the ICW 1888 Report as a sample of an important but overlooked moment in the development of social care work. Taken from one of the first – and largest to-date – international meetings of women, transcription minutes from the ICW 1888 offer social workers, pedagogues, historians, and other researchers a powerful tool with which to analyze the discourse and movements that supported the later development of social care work fields, such as social work, reform and addiction work, and early childhood education.

The current framework presented in previous historiography of the International Council of Women, convened in 1888 in Washington, D.C. (Report, 1888) limits the meaning of this gathering as a point in the development of the suffragette movement; framing which has resulted in a failed understanding of the diversity of the advocates and practitioners in attendance. Rather, the conference represents a significant event in the development of what has become various fields within modern social care work. It is the gaps *between* these noted moments in historical engagement, the liminal spaces, that offer a richer narrative.

The Pointillism Approach - so named in homage to the Impressionist era of science in art – offers a new method with which to encourage multivocal engagement and entertain the possibility of multiple 'truths' through the construction of an antenarrative story of the development of social care work. The goal is to recognize limitations of narrative histories and remove those limitations *without* removing the fullness of current historical understandings. It is not a means of erasure, nor of deconstruction, but one of enrichment which will clarify the picture, because what has been constructed is as important as what is *not yet* constructed.

Using this approach requires that each historical representation *within* and/or given *of* a document or event must be considered as a dot on the canvas, rather than as a complete picture, or ultimate 'truth'.

> "I believe that *making history* actually happens in the present and it is a practice which should not only chase *so-called facts*, but examine their context, examine what has been collected, who collected it, and why it was collected and held as important or significant." (Williams, 2020, p. 62)

This approach is not intended as a postmodern approach to historical analysis, nor a deconstructionist approach to current understandings.

> "For two decades, poststructuralists and some postmodernists and critical theorists have deployed *deconstruction* to declare the death of several other narratology sciences, a move that realist, structuralist and social constructionist narratologies did not notice or elected to ignore… In sum, the main change in narrative sciences has been to pay closer attention to alternatives to narrative analysis… My goal is to embrace narrative analysis alternatives that would tell organization stories differently, that would resituate narrative analysis to rebalance the hierarchical domination of narrative over story" (Boje, 2014, p 17).

I do not wish to *deconstruct* because what has been constructed is as important as what is *not* yet constructed. To paint a clearer picture, we must keep what's there, add as necessary, analyze as possible, and co-construct a newer, fuller, more complete picture – the analysis must continue to circle back in a continuous attempt to enhance the story. For this reason, antenarrative analysis is vital to the Pointillism Approach. "…antenarrative is collective memory before it becomes reified into the story, the consensual narrative. It is before the plots have been agreed to: it is still in a state of coming-to-be, still in flux." (Boje, 2014, p.4) The interpretation or re-interpretation of a document requires that the historian be willing to evaluate the document sans prior biases, outside of personal ideology, and without preconceived narratives of the event or outcome. Thus, once the perception and organization of a document has been determined, it is necessary to write the story 'fresh' – to interpret the data outside of the modern plot, to determine what parts of the story, once freed from the shackles of the current narrative, come to light in a new understanding. "…antenarrative gives attention to the speculative, the ambiguity of sensemaking and guessing as to what is happening in the flow of experience. It answers the question 'what is going on here?'" (Boje, 2014, p.3).

Representation within: *Perception - Organization*

Employing the Pointillism Approach, one must first attempt to extrapolate the representation of the event as 'within'. Both how an event was perceived within the nucleus of the event itself (representation *within*), but also how that perception was personally developed, understood and driven by personal bias or prior learned understandings of the analyst (*interpretation).* The analyst must first explore how the individuals within the event promoted, discussed, and held beliefs about the event, and how or whether these individual doings and thoughts produced a narrative or picture of the event for the larger public, at the time of said event. The analyst must next explore how their findings support or refute

‘modern’ research. The analyst must here strive for subversity, searching for the stories which have not yet been told, rather than confirming what is already ‘known’. It is within this subversiveness that antenarrative storytelling can emerge. Using a small piece of the ICW 1888, I hope to illustrate the machinations of this re-constructive analysis process.

Perception

This analysis can begin by asking questions such as: *Who did the women, hosting and attending the ICW 1888, believe they were? How did they perceive themselves?* Answers to questions are often found most readily in primary source texts, but can be answered with secondary sources, as well. However, tertiary sources are often the tools which result in echo-chamber historical narratives and must be carefully justified. In the case of the ICW 1888, meticulous notes were kept and published. Thus, a first step in analysis of this document is simply a matter of careful reading, which allows the analyst to formulate an understanding that the ICW 1888 may not have been, as is often taught, a ‘suffrage meeting’ (Kern, 1996, 1235) but was intended, and perceived internally, as significantly more:

> “It is, however, neither intended nor desired that the discussion in the International Council shall be limited to questions touching the political rights of women. Formal invitations requesting the appointment of delegates will be issued to representative organizations in every department of women’s work. Literary Clubs, Art and Temperance Unions, Labor Leagues, Missionary, Peace and Moral Purity Societies, Charitable, Professional, Educational and Industrial Associations will thus be offered equal opportunity with Suffrage Societies to be represented in what should be the ablest and most imposing body of women every assembled.” (Report, 1888, p.11)

This rather simple ‘discovery’ alone adds metaphorical paint dots from the ICW 1888 to the figurative canvas of the history of social care work. Thus, information regarding the connection between the historical understanding of the development of social care works and the ICW 1888 must be pursued more. This very neatly offers a quick view of the women of the ICW 1888, who they believed they were, and why they believed they were there, while also offering a simple but effective segue to discuss the point of ‘organization’ within the Pointillism Approach. Deeper within the document is a passage which supports a more in-depth understanding of the self-perception of the congress, but which also offers a bit of information regarding the self-organization of the event:

> “The subjects of Education, Philanthropies, Temperance, Industries, Professions, Organization, Legal Conditions, Social Purity, Political Conditions, and Religion have been discussed.” (Report, 1888, p. 454)

Organization

Perception and Organization are *sine qua non*; thorough analysis of one category cannot occur without the other. The organization of an event or group is often extremely closely related to the perception of the group, as within the group (Stets and Burke, 2000). It is not possible to attempt an understanding of how the ICW 1888 understood *itself* without reviewing the internal and external organization of the event. To begin with, the categorization of subjects to be discussed within the conference offers a clue into the organizational structure and mindset of the group, as the ICW 1888 offers a strong example of early intergroup relational identity (Hogg, et al, 2012).

The next questions which may emerge then become: *How did the ICW 1888 organize themselves as a unit; a community; an event? How did they report that organization?*

Again, the answer is found in the primary source. The ICW 1888 was offered, initially, as a celebration of the fourth decade of the woman suffrage movement. However, it quickly became an intentional, international gathering of women with a set intention to make changes within their societies which were not solely related to suffrage but rather were intended to offer, name, discuss, analyze, and possible solve the 'social questions' of their time.

> "The grand assemblage of women coming from many countries and latitudes proves that the call for such a convention was opportune, while the order and dignity of the proceedings prove the women worthy the occasion. No one doubts now the wisdom of this initiative step nor the added power women have gained over popular thought through this International Council" (note that this is "condensed from the stenographic report made by Mary F. Seymour and her assistants, for the Woman's Tribune, published daily during the council") (Report, 1888, p.10).

Those individuals being categorized or limited to those gendered as 'women' also shows a clear organizational intent and bias. However, this bias and intent is pertinent *only* to those who were identified, or (outwardly) self-identified, as 'woman'. The categorization of women becomes part of the categorization of topics and intent; they are interwoven.

> "It is impossible to over-estimate the far-reaching influence of such a council. An interchange of opinions on the great questions now agitating the world will rouse women to new thought, will intensify their love of liberty, and will give them a realizing sense of the power of combination." (Report, 1888, p.10)

> "In an International Council women may hope to devise new and more effective methods for securing the equality and justice which they have so long and so earnestly sought. Such as council will impress the important lesson that the position of women anywhere affects their position everywhere." (Report, 1888, p. 454)

It is later within the document that one begins to see more clearly the connection between the self-view (*perception within*) and event organization (*organization within*).

> "The principle of division of labor finds novel application in modern life and especially in what, even in a democratic community, may be called the higher social circles. In such circles in the United States men are, by common consent, the guardians of material interests, while women, by the same authority, assume the direction of social (including spiritual) interests." (Report, 1888, p. 62)

Language such as 'division of labor' and 'higher social circles' show clear organizational intent (categorization).

> "We must fight, hand in hand, all prejudices, all injustice, and, as I said in a report presented to our society in 1886: 'the social problems would not be difficult to solve if we applied always and everywhere principles of justice, of morality, of fraternity'." (Report, 1888, p. 91)

With this passage the analysis unfolds in the opposite manner. The self-perception, the 'we', becomes clear and obvious, while the organization of the event is more muddled with phrases

such as 'if *we* applied *always and everywhere'* – which offers an unclear direction, but shows an organizational *intent* (Wright, 2010) for social transformation. The ICW 1888 was intentional in their self-perception and in their organization – each for the purpose of solving the social questions/problems of the day rather than limiting themselves to that of Suffrage. The women of the ICW 1888, by their own statements, intentionally did not limit their meeting to the discussion of the "social, civil, and political rights of women", defined within the Suffrage movement (Harper, 1907, p.56).

This intent is evinced in phrases such as the following (all emphasis added by author):

> "In no work is the higher education, with all of the aspirations which it fosters and all of the latent power which it liberates, *more constantly available than in solving the problems which arise in working with a part of humanity for the good of all of it.*" (Report, 1888, p. 62)
>
> "*Here is practical work for women who are longing for a career.*" (Report, 1888, p. 172, emphasis added)
>
> "If the women of this nation will henceforth give all the thought, the time, the force, the enthusiasm, to the practical work of this life, that they have heretofore expended in speculations and preparations for the future, we might bring sunshine into every home, open the prison doors, transfer all the heavy burdens from the shoulders of men to tireless machinery, and gradually lessen the role-call of the unfortunates. We have thus far had no end of trouble and anxiety about saving the souls of the human family, and heart-rending speculations as to the next sphere of action. Let us concentrate our thoughts henceforth on the best interests of the masses here. Let us look after their bodies, teach them the laws of health and how to live. *The best possible preparation for the next form of existence is to fulfill our duties here*." (Report, 1888, p. 437, emphasis added)

Interpretation – Antenarrative

Once an understanding of the representation within is complete, the analyst may move on to the *Interpretation -Antenarrative* step of the Approach. "Narrative knowing must include those ways of antenarrative analysis of stories told in organizational communities in which the telling of the stories is the currency of knowledge making and knowledge negotiation" (Boje, 2001, p.8). Historical narratives offer linear solutions to the problem of how occurrences follow one another. Antenarrative analysis asks not what *did* happen, but rather what *is* happening. How have previous interpretations influenced modern thinking, and what must be 're-thought' to challenge the current hegemonic narratives? As stated prior, one purpose of this paper is to postulate the ICW 1888 as an important event within the development of social care work. Antenarrative analysis is a vital application for the presentation of this point.

Interpretation requires that the understandings gleaned during the *Perception* <-> *Organization* phase of the Pointillism approach be synthesized into a storyline which accounts for alternative truths, such as the statement that the ICW 1888 was *not* merely a suffrage conference, nor even a meeting *of* Suffragettes, but was rather a social movement event, intentionally constructed to frame and build social care work as an approach to the social questions/ social problems of the time. It is also during this phase in which the analyst

must begin to reflect on their personal biases by asking themselves whether their interpretation is merely a continuation of the current hegemonic narrative, or offers reliable divergences within new storylines. The emergence of reliable, plausible ante-narratives produce new stories which can then be shared as new *representations of* the event. This new representation is then held in comparison to current hegemonic narratives.

Representation of the Historical Event

Once the answer to the question: 'what is going on here' begins to clarify, the analyst must consider how the event *was*, *is*, and *could be* portrayed publicly.

What was: How the event was represented in the modernity of the time

The ICW 1888 offers a simple example of this representation. The Women's Tribune published daily reports (Report, 1888, p. 448) of the council's topics, discussions, speeches, and engagements, not unlike a modern-day tweet thread intended for those who are not able to attend an event.

> "A reporter from the Washington Post assigned to the meeting literally followed delegates from their hotel rooms to the ICW's opening session… In addition, Clara Colby, editor of the Woman's Tribune, relocated the offices of her paper from Beatrice, Nebraska, to Washington, D.C., for the duration of the council… the meeting was marked by yet another technological innovation: a phonographic record of the proceedings was made" (Kern, 1996, p.1237).

What is: Current Representation

From here, the analyst moves on to the next step of the Pointillism Approach – the *current* representation. This step happens both in the past and present. *How* the historical event was represented for and by public perception offers the historian yet another dot on the proverbial canvas. It is at this point that the researcher begins to clarify the picture in relation to what *was.* For example, the women of the ICW 1888 knew what they were doing was important, powerful, and necessary:

> "Almost every one of the eighty women on this programme represents a constituency, an organized constituency of women. Each of these constituencies numbers its members by scores, hundreds, thousands, some of them even by scores and hundreds and thousands. These constituencies are organized to protect and promote moral issues which concern every class of every nationality; to carry forward reforms whose object is to free manhood from the thralldom of sensuality and to arouse womanhood out of its selfish indifference and inertia. In no work is the higher education, with all of the aspirations which it fosters and all of the latent power which it liberates, more constantly available than in solving the problems which arise in working with a part of humanity for the good of all of it." (Report, 1888, p. 62)

However, other more recent historical writings do not seem to reflect the same feelings of progress evident in the initial report of the ICW 1888:

> "Designed to incorporate existing women's groups of every variety – from literary clubs to labor unions – the ICW avoided taking positions on controversial issues,

including women's suffrage, which led to the spinoff of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA, later IAW) in Berlin in 1904" (Rupp, 1996, p. 9).

To further the issue of historical reduction, books such as "Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement" – mentions only the later meetings of the ICW but none of the initial Congress of 1888. Other writers insinuate the first meeting of the ICW was not held until 1915 or claims that international efforts of women ceased during times of trouble. The efforts of the women of the late 19th Century were slowly being erased in the echo-chamber of historical narrative.

> "During World War I, women's participation in the paid labor force increased exponentially, and, because the war prevented travel and diverted organized women to the war effort, *most international women's activities ceased.* However, in 1915, *an* International Congress of Women was held at the Hague in an effort to promote peace among the warring nations" (Fraser, 1999, p. 880, emphasis added).

What could be: Antenarrative storytelling as new representations of events

The ICW 1888 is an event in which participants deliberately and knowingly contributed to the dialogue surrounding several of the narratives of professionalism, methodological approaches, psychological understandings, and sociological interventions of modern social care work. This is to say: *the women of the ICW 1888 were intentionally framing social care work.*

The conference encompassed a gathering of hundreds of activists, professionals, and academics, collectively discussing the social problems of the day – who set forth with an intention to 'solve' said problems by developing best-practice approaches – is similar to university conferences we hold in modern times. This is an important point as, "…generally overlooked is the importance that universities have always had in determining which groups came to be recognized as professions" (Bullough, 1970).

However, women were not allowed in universities. Thus, a substantial number of professional influencers would have been removed as individual markets professionalized. This can be seen in language such as:

> "In America, at the turn of the century, the slum reform movement similarly pooled together the effort of *social reformers and various reform-oriented professionals*." (Larson, 2013, p.59m, emphasis added)

This language minimizes women's contributions. Whether women have been removed as a result of the 'echo chamber' (Smith, 1974) or as a deliberate erasure, the current narrative has failed dismally in acknowledgement of contributors to the field.

Conclusion

The ICW 1888 provides a necessary point of future research for those who wish to explore the early history of social care work. The Pointillism Approach offers a map with which researchers may explore personal bias and challenge hegemonic narratives. The canvas of history must be enhanced with a variety of perspectives and understandings regarding the contributions of women in the field of social care, as, "…social work education often fails to incorporate gender as an analytical category, even though most of the people that use social

work services are women, a majority of social workers are women, and women have had throughout history a significant role in the establishment of social work as a profession" (Leskosek, 2009, p.9). Within the review of the development of social work, social work theory, and the epistemology of social care work in general, the voices of women and marginalized groups must be acknowledged, teased out from obscurity, and added to the canvas as a means of more clearly defining the picture.

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