PROFESSIONALISATION IN SOCIAL WORK
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PROFESSIONAL
SOCIALISATION OF SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS IN A
UNIVERSITY AND TECHNICAL COLLEGE TRAINING COURSE

by

Brian Jeremy Heraud, B.Sc(Sociology), London

Thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the FACULTY OF ECONOMICS

of the

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JUNE 1972
ABSTRACT

The processes of professionalisation and professional socialisation are examined both generally and in the context of an occupation undergoing professionalisation – namely social work. The way in which commitment to a profession develops amongst students in training, including changes in the conceptions which students have of the profession and situations which are important in bringing about change, is examined. There is a comparison of students in different educational institutions, a University and a Technical College, and with different educational backgrounds. The goals and structure of the institutions, including their teaching staff, are also discussed.

The value of a number of models or typologies of professional socialisation, in particular the 'process' model, in suggesting approaches to the research and in distinguishing levels of analysis, are considered.

A questionnaire survey was carried out in two training courses and students were interviewed at the beginning and end of their courses. Amongst other things material was collected on the social characteristics and background of students, motivations for entry to social work, experiences on the course and aspects of identification with the profession. Information was also obtained from documentary sources and informal interviews with staff on the organisation and control of training, the curriculum and college courses, selection procedures and the characteristics of teaching staff.
On the basis of this data it was possible to identify and distinguish between certain structural variables (such as student selection) and situations in which socialisation took place (such as role playing) and to suggest which variables were of greatest importance in socialisation. The information also threw some light on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the various models and typologies under discussion and suggested how these might be developed and improved.

Finally the data from the research is used in a discussion of some of the contemporary problems in social work training and education.

Note: This research was assisted by a grant from the University of London Central Research Fund.
Chapter headings

Part I - Introduction

Chapter 1 Introduction page 8
2 Methods of research 24
3 Professionalisation and professional socialisation; general introduction 41
4 Professionalisation and professional socialisation in social work 72

Part II - The structure of the socialising programme

Chapter 5 The organisation and control of social work education page 102
6 Professional organisation and identity of staff 120
7 Structure and content of the college courses 155
8 Selection of students 174
9 Social characteristics of students 198

Part III - The process of socialisation

Chapter 10 Playing the role of the professional page 225
11 Role models 238
12 Coaching and criticism 256
13 The process of doctrinal conversion 274
14 Aspects of professional socialisation 293

Part IV - Conclusion

Chapter 15 The research courses and their students page 317
16 Contemporary issues in social work education 343
List of tables and diagrams

Table 1 Comparison of research course students and other students
Table 2 Professionalisation scale score of professional associations
Table 3 Modes of professional socialisation
Table 4 Socialising functions and their properties
Table 5 Numbers of social workers with main kinds of qualifications
Table 6 Output from social work courses in England and Wales, 1967 and estimates for 1968
Table 7 Sex distribution of teaching staff
Table 8 Academic qualifications of teaching staff
Table 9 Professional qualifications of teaching staff
Table 10 Main teaching subjects of college staff
Table 11 Curricula of college courses
Table 12 Applicants for the research courses
Table 13 Age distribution of students
Table 14 Sex distribution of students
Table 15 Social class background of students
Table 16 Terminal age of education of fathers of students
Table 17 Social class origins of male and female students
Table 18 Previous educational qualifications of students
Table 19 Previous occupational experience of students
Table 20 Length of previous experience in social work
Table 21 Distribution of types of response to question on career choice
Table 22 Age at which decision to enter social work taken
Table 23 Frequency with which role models identified
Table 24 Identity of role models
Table 25 Conversion experiences
List of tables and diagrams (continued)

Table 26 Professional self images of students at beginning and end of course page 295
Table 27 Professional self images of students in relation to previous social work experience 296
Table 28 Professional self image and class origins 297
Table 29 Professional self images of beginning students in different role relationships 298
Table 30 Professional self images and attributed self images of finishing students in different role relationships 299
Table 31 Membership of social work and other professional associations 302
Table 32 Professional association membership and previous social work experience 304
Table 33 Career commitment 306
Table 34 Career commitment and previous social work experience 307
Table 35 Difference in status between University and Technical College course 310
Table 36 Professional identification and class origin 310
Table 37 Aspects of professional identification; University and Technical College students 313

Diagram I Properties of host institution and staff page 57

Appendices

Appendix I Interview guides for social work students page 361
Appendix II Interview guides for college teachers and supervisors 370
Appendix III Bibliography 375
"What happens to (the chooser of a professional occupation) between commitment and final acceptance into professional colleagueship is an important part of his life and a process which a society dependent on professions should understand."

CHAPTER I

Introduction

"They tell us their aim is to change us; at the moment a very strong feeling going around that not going to change any of us. Quite a few of us who say we don't want to be changed - want to develop our skills but don't want to be changed." (1st year Technical College student). (1)

This study is concerned with the process of professionalisation in an occupation, in particular with professional training and education. This has involved both empirical research in the context of a particular occupation and a critical analysis of some of the concepts, theories and models in use in the sociological study of professionalisation and professional socialisation. These two points are related in the sense that an attempt has been made to ground a critical discussion of the concepts in the experience of empirical research.

Initially, it is important to state as clearly as possible the way in which the problem of the research was originally conceived. One reason for this is that the various methods or techniques of research which were used (to be discussed more fully in Chapter II), can only be understood in the light of this starting point. Thus particular methods or techniques are implied by the kind of theoretical positions taken up by the writer, in such a way that it is not really possible to separate out 'theories' from 'methods of research'.

The original way in which the 'problem' of the research was seen involved the question of 'what happens to people as they pass through socialising experiences related to a particular profession and within different types of educational organisation?'. Hence there was an emphasis on the following kinds of questions:-
1. In what way (if at all) does 'commitment' to a particular occupation develop during training, what other changes occur and what situations are important in producing such changes?

2. What goals, either explicit or implicit, do the educational organisations involved in training for an occupation pursue, in what way are these goals pursued and how are the different elements in such organisations (curricula, teaching methods, etc.) inter-related?

3. What are the unintended, as well as the intended, consequences of professional training for those involved?

Enlarging on some of the above points, one of the major objectives has been to designate processes usually described as 'training' or 'education' as 'socialisation', in particular as a feature of 'adult socialisation'. The former terms, particularly 'training', are the more frequently used in studies of the professions, in particular by those who are closely concerned with the administration of professional training. Such studies typically conceptualise the training process as an 'input-output' system for the purpose of assessing the 'efficiency' of any particular programme. This would tend to lead away from the more complex set of issues posed by the concept 'socialisation', although the latter concept is a necessity for a specifically sociological account of professional training or education.

This research is therefore not addressed primarily to the administrator (although it may have relevant implications), but rather to the exploration of some of the complexities of 'socialisation' in its sociological form, with reference to that part of the adult life cycle which is involved with the assumption of an occupational or professional role.
The quotation at the head of this Chapter, apart from indicating the initial focus of the research on 'socialisation', is also indicative of a second major concern. The 'they' of the first sentence is suggestive of the presence in the students' environment of a group of teachers or educators who represent in various ways the occupation and its culture. The occupational culture is represented to students not only by teachers (or 'socialisers' as they will be described), but also by such structural arrangements as the selection process, the curricula and the various agencies in which the work of the profession actually goes on.

In some cases (as with social work) this collectivity refers to an occupation in the process of taking on some of the commonly recognised attributes of a profession. Thus students are not only moving through socialising experiences, but are involved with an occupational culture which itself is undergoing rapid change. The professionalisation of an occupation has a close bearing on socialisation. For example one basis for professionalisation is the full time involvement of practitioners in the occupation. What is done full time is also presumably that which is transmitted to students, but the question arises as to what precisely is done full time. Again, in a professionalising occupation it may be that 'professionalisation' itself is taught, as well as skills, values and ideals of service, in the form of discussion of such questions as 'is this occupation a profession?'. The two central conceptual issues of the research, professionalisation and professional socialisation, are therefore closely related in the sense that the former in effect 'sets the stage' for the latter.

These questions and issues did not preclude others, and indeed were framed in the belief that what could best be done with limited resources in an exploratory study of this kind was the refinement and extension of such questions.
The kinds of general sociological orientation which were brought to the research initially included the notion that the changes under review were the function of a particular structure organised by particular individuals and groups with specific ends or goals in view. It was also held that phenomena such as changes in professional self concepts and the structures which have produced such changes, were directly observable and capable of quantification through empirical research. The best known example of this approach in the field of professional socialisation is the study of medical education by Merton and his colleagues. Marsland has also recently presented a comprehensive model of this kind of approach. (These approaches are briefly reviewed in Chapter III.)

As the research progressed, in particular as a result of the experience of conducting the early interviews, other ways of exploring some of the questions and issues above emerged. For example, respondents were only too willing to talk about their experiences in their own way and it appeared important to focus more explicitly on what was of importance and interest to the actors involved in the situation which was the subject of the research. Thus instead of 'structures' and 'processes' being investigated on a 'taken for granted' level there was an attempt to understand these structures from the point of view of key actors involved, and as resulting from their patterns of interaction.

The importance of the theories of action and interaction (in the context of the study of professional socialisation) has been put in this way by Becker:

"We studied what was of interest to the people we were investigating because we felt that in this way we would uncover the basic dimensions of the (medical) school as a social organisation and of the students' progress through it as a social psychological phenomenon. We made the assumption that, on analysis, the
major concerns of the people we studied would reveal such basic dimensions and that we could learn most by concentrating on these concerns. This meant that we began our study by looking for and inquiring about what concerned medical students and faculty and following up the connections of these matters with each other and with still other phenomena." (5)

Implicit in this idea is the attempt to portray 'how it looks' to people passing through a particular organisation, rather than focussing on formal aspects of the organisation's structure and goals. This appears a relatively neglected area in the study of organisations and professions. Whilst the literature of professions such as social work is full of discussions of 'what social work is or ought to be' from the point of view of the practising professional, there is very little discussion of, or research into, 'how it looks' to students (or clients) in their contacts with professional culture. (6) The approach taken in some parts of the thesis seeks to redress the balance.

Another theoretical concern of the research was with situations which seemed to be matters of group tension or conflict. If one of the objects of research is to uncover the expectations surrounding the behaviour of social actors, then one method may be the study of situations where these expectations are violated or frustrated. It may be easier to see 'how things work' when there is a situation of conflict than when things are going smoothly; in the latter situation expectations may be taken for granted. (7) An additional reason for this interest was the desire to work with a model of the professions which emphasised conflict and competition rather than the more traditional view of professions as communities of like-minded people. (8)
Situations of conflict and tensions were also of particular importance in initially sensitising the writer to some of the problems of professionalisation during periods spent as a teacher in a college department of social work training. These situations included conflicts between students and teachers, between members of the teaching staff, between teaching staff and individuals or groups outside the training organisation, such as practitioners and training administrators. In terms of professionalisation as such, some of the sources of conflict include that between the professionalising occupation and other, more established, professions which act as reference groups and pass judgement on its claims, and between the demands of the professionalising occupation and various needs of individuals seeking entry to the occupation and being socialised by it. The quotation at the head of the Chapter expresses this latter kind of conflict.

A framework for research incorporating such concepts as action, interaction and conflict has been suggested (apart from the pioneering work of Becker and his associates)\(^{(10)}\) by Bucher and Strauss,\(^{(11)}\) Bucher,\(^{(12)}\) Olsen and Whittaker\(^{(13)}\) and a number of others, and again this work is briefly reviewed in Chapter III.

Clearly what is implied by a critical comparison of differing approaches to the research problem (which is one of the aims of the thesis) is a discussion of the adequacy of the concepts commonly used by sociologists in this field.\(^{(14)}\) For example, it is important to note the kinds of concepts that sociologists have employed in this field, approaches that have been emphasised or neglected, including the kind of model that sociologists have of actors involved in the professionalising process.

One further issue which deserves mention in a preliminary discussion is the relationship of training or socialisation to future professional practice. One reason why the field of training or
education in a particular profession is an area for conflict between different interests is because it is felt that this process holds the key to future practice and to changes in practice. On the other hand there are those who suggest that variations in practice are unrelated to training. Whilst this study has not followed students into practice it has been possible to say something about the interaction which goes on between a student's experience of formal training and practice during that training, as well of course as other consequences of training unrelated to practice.

This study has been mainly involved with one professionalising occupation, but it may nevertheless have some wider implications for other occupations undergoing a similar process. Where possible, comparisons have been made at relevant points with research findings in such occupations as nursing and teaching, as well as with the more established professions, and an attempt has been made to suggest what are the common and differing features of professionalisation in such situations. Clearly, however, one individual cannot hope to range in any detail over more than one occupation except in a very general way through the use of broad indices. There is a good deal to be said for a depth study of a particular occupation, or a particular process in an occupation, and the trend of sociological work in this field has taken this form. There is also some doubt about the comparability of different occupations or professions, which implies that care must be taken in making comparisons and that detailed studies of specific occupational situations are an important initial approach.

Turning to the substantive area of the study, namely professional education and training in social work, there were a number of reasons for the choice of social work. Amongst the occupations that have begun to take on some of the characteristics
of a profession, social work appears to be one of those that has progressed furthest in this direction both in Britain and the United States. In Britain in particular the professionalisation of social work appears to have accelerated markedly in the last decade. The analysis of the causes and consequences of such changes, and of their relationship to wider social processes, has not yet progressed beyond a series of general outlines. A study of social work training is therefore an attempt to begin to fill in part of that general picture, for developments in training (either as causes or consequences of professionalisation) have constituted important aspects of these changes. For the present purpose, it is important to note three major landmarks in the recent history of social work which appear important in relation to professionalisation.

First, in 1959 the Report of the Younghusband Committee recommended the extension of professional training to a middle range of social workers in local authority health and welfare services. This training would take place in educational institutions outside the universities. The Report was also important because it created a national body for the administration and planning of social work education (the Council for Training in Social Work) and a staff college for the training of teachers and senior administrators (the National Institute for Social Work Training). The Report was also a major contributor to the discussion of the purpose and nature of training for social work.

A second development was the Report of the Seebohm Committee in 1968. With its recommendations for drastic changes in the organisation of social work in local authorities and its important discussion of the role of social work in modern society, the Report might be seen as the 'professional charter' of social work. Both Reports were produced by officially appointed committees, hence emphasising the important part played by State recognition in the development of a profession.
Finally in 1970 a number of specialist professional associations representing different areas of social work practice, and each with its own history and identity, came together to form one professional association, the British Association of Social Workers. These events and their consequences contain at least some of the 'thrust' necessary for professionalisation, although it is clear that social work has still to meet in full some of the generally accepted criteria for professional status, such as a fully trained corps of workers (further discussion in Chapter IV).

Certainly one of the main consequences of the events noted above, in particular the Younghusband Report, has been a considerable increase in the number of social work students, courses of training and social work teachers. Training for those who were about to become, or were already, social workers dates from the latter 19th century, when forms of apprenticeship training were given in some voluntary agencies. The first independent training institution was founded in 1903 (the School of Sociology in London, later to become part of the London School of Economics) but by 1946 there were still only two University departments with courses of full professional training. In 1950 the number of students entering courses of professional training in British universities was less than 100. By 1962 this had increased to over 300 and the number of courses to 13, and by 1968 it was estimated that nearly 1,100 students were emerging from all courses of professional training (in both universities and other institutions) in England and Wales.

The most important development in the last ten years has been the establishment of courses and departments outside the universities, which now produce the majority of trained workers. There have also been a number of new types of courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level, including both university and polytechnic (Council for National Academic Awards) degree courses, which combine basic education with professional training.
Another development has been the founding of an Association of Social Work Teachers, an indication that a separate and distinctive segment of the profession devoted to training has emerged.

More generally, there has also been an increase in the number of those employed and described by the Census as 'social workers', although in many cases these have been untrained entrants. However, because of changes in the Census classification it is somewhat difficult to make comparisons over the years. (29)

The increase in student numbers, and in courses of various kinds, has therefore been very considerable and may even accelerate in the future with increased demands for trained workers. There seemed every reason for focussing the research on recent developments in social work training, if only to subject to some discussion a particular aspect of social policy, together with its implications and consequences (both intended and unintended), which otherwise appeared to be uncritically accepted in the general hurly burly accompanying change. As Titmushas remarked, one of the most general responses to any social problem is to call for more social workers. (30)

Rarely is there any attempt to understand what this might mean, from the point of view of the student or client, in terms of training or practice. For example, one of the processes beneath the surface of such increases in the output of trained workers, in social work as in other fields, is the ideological influences on students of the whole training situation in which they are involved but which are rarely expressed formally in training programmes or curricula or by teachers. For this reason alone a sociological study of social work training is justified, if only, as Halmos terms it, "to push out the frontiers of the students understanding by holding up a mirror to the whole situation in which student and tutor find themselves". (31)
Apart from the general study of the professional socialisation process in social work, a further objective of the study was to compare this process in two contrasting settings, one a University course for graduate students, the other a course for non-graduates in a Technical College. The latter type of course had developed as a result of the recommendations of the Younghusband Committee. The research is therefore in part a study of the results of a particular policy decision.

There were two main reasons for the decision to make the study a comparative one. Firstly it seemed important to include in the study more than one socialising setting in order to provide, amongst other things, for variations in organisational structure, in the socialising programme and the perspectives of the staff. Secondly the Technical College courses represented a relatively new form of training in social work outside the control of the universities for students who had no previous experience of higher education, and who were in some cases older than their university counterparts. Clearly this training also carried with it the prospect of professional status in social work for those without university education or training.

The controversy which surrounded, and still surrounds, the introduction of these courses (discussed in Chapter IV) stems largely from the challenge they represent to the idea of a profession which bases its claims to professional status on a university trained and mainly graduate body of workers. This also raises a more general issue of the development of higher education in Britain since the 1960s, particularly the growth of a system of higher education outside the universities which is supposedly equal in status to the universities but performs functions more closely tied to the occupational system than the universities. This research therefore examines the implications of the development of the so called 'binary system' of higher education for a particular occupation undergoing professionalisation.
It seemed particularly important, therefore, to contrast the two kinds of training and to pose certain questions about the new courses and their relationship with those that existed or were being developed in the universities. For example, it is suggested that the middle class origins and educational experience of social workers predispose them to work with a set of values which are different from those held by working class clients; but do students with no previous experience of higher education and possibly with working class backgrounds differ in their orientation from those with middle class and university backgrounds? Again, what might be the effect of different socialising institutions and programmes on these orientations? The two types of course also differ in the sense that university professional courses follow basic social science degree or diploma qualifications and thus concentrate mainly on professional training in a one year period, whilst non-university courses attempt to extend students' basic education (in the social sciences and other subjects) and at the same time combine this with professional training. What effects do these variations have, in terms of students' professional values and identity, as well as knowledge, skills and capacities to perform professionally?

So far there has been very little research on any of these issues. Younghusband estimates that over £1 million per year is spent on the education of social workers, "yet we have little more than inspired guesses or strongly held views about the answers to such questions as these and many others".

Clearly, an important aspect of the sociological analysis of social work is the study of social work training, the process of socialisation into the profession, the cultures of different training courses and the educational institutions which contain them. This is an important pre-requisite for the development of a
Similarly, there has been the need to subject to similar analysis the colleges and departments of education, their socialising programmes and relationships with the wider society, in order to develop an adequate sociology of education.

Plan of the thesis

The thesis is arranged in four parts. In Part I, apart from the introduction to the study given in this chapter, there are chapters on the design of the study and the methods of research used, on trends in the sociology of the professions and professional socialisation, and on the development of social work as a profession including professional socialisation.

In Part II the structure of the socialising programme is described, including external control of the college courses, the organisation and identity of the teaching staff, the structure of the college courses, the selection of students, and the social characteristics of the students.

In Part III various aspects of the process of socialisation are discussed, including role playing, role models, coaching criticism and evaluation, the process of doctrinal conversion and professional identification.

Part IV consists of a concluding discussion, including both a general analysis of the findings of the study for theories and models of professional socialisation, and a more specific discussion of the relevance of the study for current issues and problems in social work training.
References Chapter I

1. Interview No. C.20.


4. D. Marsland, An exploration of professional socialisation; the college of education and the school teachers role; paper at 5th Annual Conference of Society for Research into higher education, 1969.


7. H. Becker, op.cit.


10. H. Becker, op.cit.

11. R. Bucher & A. Strauss, op.cit.


14. V. Olesen & E. Whittaker, op.cit. 1970


16. Ibid.


22. One exception is the Probation Officers, who have retained their own Association.


24. E. Younghusband, The employment and training of social workers, Carnegie U.K. Trust, 1947 and K. Jones, The teaching of social studies in British Universities, Occasional Papers in Social Administration, No.12, Godicote Press, 1964; the distinction between 'full' professional training and a degree or certificate course in social studies is an important one and is discussed further in Chapter IV.

25. K. Jones, op.cit.

26. Ibid.

27. Seebohm Report (1968), Appendix H, pt.III, op.cit. By the academic year 1971-72 there were 70 training courses in Britain (40 in universities) with approximately 3000 students; B. Butler and J. Cook, Social work - Seebohm and before, Times Higher Educational Supplement, March 10th, 1972.


29. The number of those described in the Census as 'social welfare workers' increased from 7,300 in 1931, to 22,100 in 1951 and to 38,000 in 1961. Males made up 52%, 56% and 55% of this total in the respective years, which is an interesting commentary on the view that social work is a 'female dominated' profession. Source: Census 1971 Occupation Tables.


35. E. Youngusband, Education for social work, (1968); since this estimate total student numbers have risen considerably.

36. P. Leonard (1968) op. cit.

37. For an attempt at this kind of analysis see W. Taylor, Society and the education of teachers, Faber and Faber, London, 1969.
CHAPTER II

Design of Study

The field of professional socialisation presents research workers with a number of difficult problems. For example, how to gain access to often jealously guarded organisations in which socialisation takes place and to the groups moving through such socialising situations? Again, faced with the complexity of these situations, on what kind of issues and questions to concentrate possibly limited resources, and what methods of data collection to employ?

These issues were somewhat simplified by the fact that the research was to be undertaken by one person who held a full time academic appointment for the duration of the study, and who therefore operated with severely limited resources of both time and money (the research was assisted by a small grant from the University of London Central Research Fund). This meant that there were considerable limitations on the scope of the research, as well as on the methods of obtaining information that could be used. Obviously not all aspects of socialising situations could be studied and a number of choices had to be made as to the allocation of scarce resources. A method involving lengthy time periods, such as participant observation, was also impossible although the general sociological orientation suggested in the previous chapter implies the use of this method.

One issue which necessitated a real choice was the alternative of an extensive study of social work courses, possibly involving a representative sample of all professional training courses in Britain, or an intensive study of a smaller number of cases. Examples of extensive studies by single-handed research workers are those by Jones(1) of Social Studies Departments in British universities and Sheyfe(2) study of professional socialisation in Schools of Social Work in the United States.
There were a number of reasons for choosing an intensive rather than extensive study. In an area where there has been very little research of any kind the type of enquiry involved is inevitably exploratory. Although it is important to have knowledge of the general category of events or situations with which the research is dealing, of primary importance in the early stages is the kind of knowledge which can be gained only from an intensive study of a small number of cases. This leads to a different methodology from that of surveys and to different results. There is no attempt to study a representative sample of cases and to produce general factual statements about such a sample which are intended to refer to the wider universe. Instead a small number of cases are chosen with no necessary concern for their representativeness, but which will provide the opportunity for research in depth. The cases may even be chosen for their convenience and accessibility to the researcher. One feature of this type of study is that there is some kind of face to face contact between researcher (and his co-workers) and the research subject, rather than working with interviewers or administering a questionnaire by post.

The advantages of this kind of material include the fact that it is possible in such a study to explore the meaning attached to situations by key actors, which is very difficult in survey type research. (It is also arguable that the subjectivity of key actors is of primary importance in any kind of study.) Another advantage of the intensive case study of an organisation is that it provides (as with the study of the individual personality) the best means for revealing the inter-relatedness of parts of a system. Studies of individual colleges, departments or courses enable us to gain some idea of how distinctive elements such as curricula, teaching staff, methods of teaching and assessment are inter-related, and how the 'final product' of such a system (if there is one) emerges. Colleges and courses also do not exist in a vacuum and this method also enables the researcher to understand something of the very subtle
relationship between the colleges as subcultures and the outside world which has brought them into existence and whose needs they serve or purport to serve. Finally, the single case (or small number of cases) is useful in indicating a general conceptual category or property, which can be confirmed (or otherwise) by further study. As Glaser and Strauss (5) suggest in their discussion of the generation of theory

"the pressure is not on the sociologist to 'know the whole field' or to have all the facts 'from a careful random sample'. His job is not to provide a perfect description of an area, but to develop a theory that accounts for much of the relevant behaviour".

For all these reasons it was decided to seek a small number of courses for study in depth. It was also important, to fulfil one of the major objectives of the research, to choose courses in colleges in both the University and non-University sectors of higher education. The choice of college was also limited to London, because the writer's full time employment was there. Eventually the choice of the two courses was a fairly simple one. The Technical College was chosen because the writer previously held a part-time teaching post there and had built up a good relationship with the teaching staff, who were research oriented and who also seemed likely to offer co-operation in the research. The choice of University course was also based on ease of access and convenience of location. Clearly the actual locations of the colleges must remain anonymous.

In the research Tech. (the term 'research' will be used to denote the two colleges in which the research was carried out) there are a wide variety of courses ranging from 'O' level of the G.C.E. to degree level. There is an emphasis on day release and part time students. The research course is located in the Department of Applied Social Studies, which is entirely given over to social work training of various kinds, as well as health visiting and district nursing training. The
Department has 90 students and 10 staff, the research course comprising 40 students (in two years) and 5 staff. In the research University there is a broad range of traditional academic degree and higher degree courses in the arts, sciences and social sciences. The research course was administratively part of a Department of Sociology in which there were about 200 undergraduate and graduate students and about 40 staff, including sociologists, historians, economists and other specialists. The research course comprised 18 students and two full time tutors.

Although the representativeness of each course is not of importance in an exploratory study of this kind, it is possible to compare some features of the research courses with what is known about other courses in the same category. (Table 1 below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparisons of students in research colleges and all students in same category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Age of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Tech. students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 25+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 25+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Sex of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Tech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Previous experience of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% seconded from local authority social work departments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Tech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These comparisons show considerable similarities between students in the research colleges and all students in the same category in the country, although the comparison with all university social work students is some 8 years earlier.

Apart from the limitation of the study to the two selected courses it was also clear that the study had to be limited in the sense that not everything about the two courses could be treated as equally important. For example, one important involvement of students was in practical work in social work agencies outside the college setting. One possibility was to study this involvement in detail, by interviewing students and their supervisors in the agencies. With fifty or more agencies involved in various parts of London and elsewhere this would have proved a tremendous task for one person and it was decided to limit the study mainly to the college setting, the passage of students through this setting and their relationships with teachers. This would not exclude some general discussion of the importance of the relationship between the college and the agencies and of student experiences in their role as apprentice social workers. Some information about the agencies was available (e.g. social characteristics of staff, main functions of agency) and where this was missing (in the case of the research University) this was made up by a mailed questionnaire administered by the writer (see Appendix). Questions about practical work were also included in the staff and student interviews.

There was, however, another reason for concentrating on the college setting. This focus allowed for a detailed analysis of the progress of individuals through a particular kind of organisational structure, namely the educational institution, to which very little attention has been given by sociologists in Britain. Focus on the college setting also allows for a discussion of how knowledge related to a particular professional practice is conceptualised, transmitted and controlled by forces inside and outside the organisation.
It was also decided to limit the interviewing of the teaching staff to the full time tutors in social work and teachers of Human Growth and Development. The reason for this was the large number of part time teachers who taught for perhaps an hour or two a week for part of the course and who would be extremely difficult to contact. Their involvement also appeared peripheral. Tutors and Human Growth and Development teachers taught throughout the courses and appeared to stand out as important figures on the course. The importance of this course had already been revealed by interviews with students. Also by interviewing these teachers it was possible to gain some idea of the influence exerted by various psychiatric theories on training for social work, and thus on social work practice.

A certain amount of information was available in college records about those teachers not interviewed, as well as supervisors, and this has been used in the following discussion.

Another issue raised by the way in which the problem of the research was initially seen is that of method and type of data collection. The fact that the area of research was relatively unexplored meant that the methods of data collection had to be as unstructured and wide ranging as possible. The methods used had to allow for the discovery of variables rather than assuming their existence. Therefore the main tool of research, the interview, contained mostly open ended questions and a minimum of questions in which respondents were asked to choose between alternative answers to a particular question. This type of question was also dictated by another theoretical commitment, that is that students should be allowed as much as possible to speak for themselves, and that the study should be oriented to the points of view of those going through the socialisation process and to what seemed important to these individuals.

In order to obtain as wide a variety of data as possible three main sources of information were used: (i) documentary information; (ii) autobiographical information and (iii) information obtained from interviews:
Apart from the information to be collected in the course of the study, any study of an institution or organisation must take into account the fact that there will already exist various kinds of data about the institution and its personnel. In the case of schools of professional training and education these may include various 'official records' on such matters as the social and educational characteristics of students, details of students' progress through the courses (grade marks, written evaluation, etc.) and entry into occupations, as well as 'official statements' of the aims or purposes of the schools or courses, or of the relationship between such schools, the host institutions (such as universities) in which they are located and national or international organisations which function as accrediting or financing agents for such schools.

Such material has a twofold significance for the sociologist. (a) it can be effectively utilised in the sociological study of such institutions and related to data collected by sociologists, i.e. performance in entrance examinations and grades obtained during course can be related to data on changes in attitudes and orientations to the course; (b) such information is also important because it constitutes part of the 'environment' in which students and staff find themselves, and symbolises the cultural basis of this environment. For example, systems of grading and examination are a representation of the need of the professions involved to check on the competence of those who are admitted to full membership. Only in this way can professions obtain freedom from outside or lay control and the status which goes with such freedom. However, systems of examination may vary from profession to profession, in particular in relation to the kind of knowledge utilised. These variations may greatly influence the nature of the environment in which students and staff find themselves. Again, official statements of the purposes and aims of courses, or of the institutions or bodies involved in administration, are
important sources of data on the culture of such professions. Thus official records and statements are, of themselves, important kinds of sociological data and in what follows will be examined partly from this standpoint.

(ii) autobiographical information

Another type of data which is felt to be important in this study are autobiographical accounts of experiences of those involved in the process under discussion - namely students and teachers in schools of professional training. Whilst the study is based primarily on semi-structured interviews with students and teachers there are a number of reasons why the 'actors' own account is of importance in this kind of study. The main problem of questionnaire and interview based research is that however much attempts are made to allow the respondent freedom of expression, (i.e. through semi-structured schedules) the prior preparation of a questionnaire and the structure of the interview situation (which has come into being on the initiative of the sociologist and in which he normally occupies a superior status position) creates a particular kind of social situation and generates a particular kind of data. This may be described as conventional 'sociologists' data'. (12) The autobiographies (or life histories) which are recorded or expressed in the first person, and not translated into the 'language' of the sociologist, place emphasis on the interpretations or explanations people give of their own experience or behaviour rather than the interpretations of the sociologist. As Becker suggests:

"to understand why someone behaves as he does you must understand how it looked to him, what he thought he had to contend with, what alternatives he had open to him; you can only understand ... commonly invoked explanations of behaviour by seeing them from the actor's point of view".
More specifically, some of the advantages of this method are (a) it may function to test the assumptions that investigators inevitably bring to the object of their study; thus studies of institutions often make assumptions about the processes (such as 'adult socialisation') which are believed to take place, but have difficulty in getting to the nature of such experiences, or even raising questions about the nature of this experience. Thus autobiographical accounts can tell us a good deal about the subjective aspect of institutional processes: (b) in the absence of participant observation autobiographical studies are of particular value in any research investigating the nature of processes over time. It is possible to administer questionnaires to people at two points in their life (as has been done in this study) and to infer an underlying process of change from differences in their answers. Essentially, however, this is an interpretation of what occurs to the actors involved and has significance only if the observer has penetrated the imagery of those involved, as may occur in participant observation. Life histories can however supply this accuracy and can provide an invaluable check upon the kinds of interpretation being made. More particularly they can "describe those crucial interactive episodes in which new lines of individual and collective activity are forged, in which new aspects of the self are brought into being". (14)

These methods, in particular the autobiographical method, can be criticised in a number of ways. Although there is some connection between the story an autobiographer will tell and the account which could be rendered by an observer, the former will tell only part of the story and will select his material so as to present us with a view of himself which he wishes to convey. The sociologist who gathers a 'life history' may be able to get around this by focussing the subject on issues he (the subject) may find trivial or distasteful but which may be of great sociological significance.
But although this approach emphasises the value of the person's own story, there is still the danger that the sociologists' own perspective will prevail.

Where possible the material gained from interviews with students and teachers has been supplemented by the few published autobiographical accounts that have been discovered in the literature. These have been used in a number of ways, both as a check on the importance of some of the major issues that seemed to be emerging from the analysis of interviews, and as a source of further questions. Apart from personal accounts there have been an increasing number of critical articles and commentaries on social work courses (and other forms of professional training, such as teacher training) by students and staff which is part of the more general controversy about higher education which has gathered momentum in the last few years. Where possible, use has also been made of this kind of material, although most of it came to hand in the final stages of the research.

(iii) The interviewing procedure.

Most of the data on which the study is based has been collected by interviews with students and teachers of the two selected research courses. In the case of the students the aim was to obtain an idea of whether changes had taken place during the period of the course and, if so, of what kind. This necessitated interviewing students before or at the beginning and at the completion of their courses (there was also the possibility of an interview at some intermediate stage). Two alternatives were open. One was to interview and obtain information about the same group of students over a period of time (an intensive study). This is a longitudinal design and has also been described as the 'panel technique', (this was employed by Merton et al(15) in their study of 'The Student Physician'). Alternatively, different groups of students at different stages in a course may be studied, a 'cross sectional(or extensive) design', (this was used by Becker et al(16) in their study 'Boys in White').
There are advantages and disadvantages to both types of design. In the former case it is at least certain that the differences between those entering and those leaving a course are differences in the same people and not due to the fact that they are different people. But the researcher knows only one group and one set of socialising circumstances and both may be untypical, particularly in a situation where patterns of recruitment and socialising procedures are unstable. Other disadvantages of the longitudinal (or intensive) method are the time involved in following up one group over a course lasting several years, and the problems of studying a particular group of students over a lengthy period, in which familiarity may develop between researcher and research subjects, and students may become 'sensitized' to what they believe are the requirements of the researcher.

The advantages of both methods appear fairly evenly balanced. In the case of a study of the development of specific perspectives and values towards a particular profession, it appeared that differences between successive groups would probably have little effect on how they experienced the socialisation process. It therefore seemed unnecessary to base the whole study on the follow up of the same groups, and the extra expenditure of time involved did not seem to warrant this effort. For the Technical College study a cross sectional design was adopted and all students in the early stages of the first year of their course were interviewed in the autumn of 1967, followed by interviews with students at the end of their second year in the summer of 1968. In the case of the University course it was possible to follow up the same group of students (from 1967 to 1968) for the length of their course.

A great deal of work went into the preparation of the two student questionnaires (for beginning and end of course), and the staff questionnaire. Before the final versions emerged there were at least two drafts of the questionnaires which were discussed in detail with the thesis supervisor, other sociologists and social work teachers.
The major difficulty about piloting the questionnaires was to find an appropriate group on which to base this operation. Students on professional courses are somewhat jealously guarded by their teachers and access is exceptionally difficult. Because there were a small number of students and staff on the two research courses it also seemed inappropriate to mount an initial pilot study of any magnitude using this resource because of the 'wastage' in scarce research subjects this would entail. Instead it was decided to prepare a questionnaire which could be modified in the light of the experience of the first half a dozen interviews, but where the material from these interviews would be sufficiently comparable with the remaining interviews to be included in the main analysis. (Final interview schedules appear in Appendix 1.)

Because the proposed subject matter of the research, professional socialisation in social work, is a largely unexplored, as well as complex, area it appeared that a formal interview situation was inappropriate. In formal interviewing the sequence, wording and order of questions are worked out beforehand in order to maximise reliability and to ensure that answers to questions are comparable and capable of being combined into aggregates; in informal interviewing the aim is to address the problem of the validity of responses through a more flexible approach. Here the interviewer is free to ask additional questions than those already decided upon, to probe and follow up answers with supplementary questions. The conduct of the interview is largely in his hands. By comparison, in formal interviewing the process is pre-determined and interviewers are given precise instructions on how to proceed.

There are various types of informal interview, ranging from an entirely non-directive approach to what has been termed the guided or focussed interview, which was used in this study. In the latter, whilst most of the questions are open and designed to encourage the respondent to talk freely about each topic, there is a set list of
topics which is covered systematically and guides each interview. Certain information is required from each respondent but they have plenty of opportunity to express themselves at length on the topic. The interviewer introduces each topic area with a question or statement, but is then free to explore and probe, and may also change the order of questions.

Apart from basic demographic data about each student (sex, age, father's occupation, education, etc.), the questionnaires (or more appropriately interview guides) were structured around the following topics which previous research on professional socialisation suggested as important.

**Interview guide for students.**

Career decisions; professional self concepts; images of social work; attitudes/problems about course and practical work; role models; professional identification; student culture; conversion experiences.

**Interview guide for staff.**

Career decisions; student selection; main responsibilities on course; professional activities outside course; professional identification and specialisation; problems of transition from practice to teaching; expectations of students; assessment of students; theoretical orientation; aims of training and rationale of teaching programme.

All 78 interviews with students and staff were carried out by the writer, mainly at the research colleges but occasionally elsewhere. All the staff interviews and 10% of student interviews (seven in all) were tape recorded. The high cost of tape recording made it impossible to record all student interviews, but it appeared better to tape some rather than none. The taping of interviews in an exploratory study of this kind has several advantages. If the interview is recorded only in writing then the interviewer has to be selective about what he records. This appears a particular problem.
with an exploratory study because it is important to obtain as complete a record as possible of everything said by respondent and interviewer, as any response may prove significant. It also afforded some insight into a respondent's feelings as they were revealed by his mode of expression. If questions are 'open ended' it is particularly difficult for the interviewer to select the most relevant or significant passages in the response. Tape recording also relieves the interviewer of the distraction of writing down responses and means he can concentrate on what the respondent is saying, and on how to respond to this. Tape recording did not appear to be intrusive in the interview situation. The transcribed tapes proved invaluable in the analysis of the interviews.

Problems of the research design.

Several problems of research design have already been noted, including that of deciding between an 'intensive' and an 'extensive' study. A second problem relates to the degree of confidence that can be placed on what respondents said in interviews. In the first place every effort was made to make it clear that the researcher was in no way connected in any official capacity with the educational institutions in which the research was proceeding, and that anything a respondent said was entirely confidential. Each questionnaire was numbered and students' names were known only for the purpose of arranging a time for the interview. (Extracts from staff and student interviews are referred to throughout the thesis by number.) Therefore there was no possibility of anything that was said being related to a particular individual. An introductory talk was given to each group of students prior to the interviewing in which these points were stressed and in which I introduced myself as a postgraduate student of London University preparing a higher degree thesis on social work education.

Clearly worries about confidentiality existed in the minds of a few students; one prefaced his remarks in the interview by asking, "Will this get to the tutors?". However, it was clear that there was
no reason why any respondent should hold back information or opinions, and there is no reason to think that the material obtained was affected by this form of non-response. All students in the appropriate groups in the two colleges agreed to be interviewed and (with the exception of one student who dropped out of the course prior to the second interview) were interviewed.

Another problem of any study which seeks to understand the impact of a particular socialising situation on individuals passing through it is to distinguish the impact of this setting (whether undergraduate college, professional school, etc.) from that of the social milieu outside this environment, but which nevertheless might be assumed to have an impact on values and attitudes. For example, there is a problem in distinguishing the sources of such changes in young college students who are exposed to the college culture but who are also maturing and changing as part of the process of growing up in an industrial society. What is needed, therefore, is a comparison not only across the years of a course but between those exposed and not exposed to a particular socialising environment.

But there are various reasons for thinking that in the case of socialisation to a specific professional milieu it is unlikely that the perspectives and values which may develop towards this profession could have developed outside the influence of a particular training programme and a particular educational institution. The fact that some of those students preparing for the professions are also older than the general college population, and may have passed through the crucial stages of early personality development, also suggests that the impact of socialisation to a particular profession will stand apart from other life experiences. This impact is also enhanced where knowledge of the profession is at a minimum prior to entry, as may be the case where there has been little exposure of the general population to the work of the profession, (this may be less the case in teaching or nursing). In some cases, as in social work, while there may be
little exposure of the general population to the work of the profession, it is not uncommon for students to have previous experience of practice prior to training, and therefore to have experienced 'anticipatory socialisation' into their occupational role. The problem of the control of influences outside the socialising environment is in general more acute for the younger college or university population, or for professions where socialisation normally takes place in late adolescence (e.g. teaching or nursing) and appears inextricably interwoven with socialisation into adult society. For those reasons, it appeared that the extra work involved did not justify obtaining a control group, apart from the difficulty of locating an appropriate group and of controlling for all variables. But the experience of the research indicated that this is not a problem that can be entirely disregarded even in socialisation which takes place to a very specific professional culture, in many cases in later adult life; this point will be discussed further elsewhere in the thesis.
References Chapter II


3. An example of this kind of study is Bott's research into conjugal relationships; she describes the rationale of the study in this way:

   "Our task was not to test hypotheses but to develop them and to be sure that they were appropriate to the field material .... intensive comparative study of a small number of groups requires a different method from that of surveys ... no attempt is made to produce general factual statements about a wide population of families by studying a sample." E. Bott, *Family and social network*, Tavistock Publications, London, 1957.


7. K. Jones, op.cit.


14. Ibid.

15. Merton, op.cit.


17. Ibid.


CHAPTER III

Professionalization and Professional Socialisation

An Introduction

1. Professionalization

The movement of occupations towards professional status is one of the most important features of modern industrial societies, and vitally affects the work activities of modern man. The basis for the movement is the concept 'profession', which provides an abstract model of the form of occupational organisation which would result if an occupational group became completely professionalised.

There have been many attempts to define a profession and, whilst few writers cite the same characteristics, the range of characteristics is limited and there is considerable overlap amongst them. This implies a broad common denominator or set of typical characteristics of a profession. (1)

This thesis is not concerned directly with such characteristics, rather with the process by which they are acquired. Professionalization refers therefore to the dynamic process whereby occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession, even though some of these may not move very far in this direction. It follows that these crucial characteristics constitute specifiable criteria of professionalization. (2)

The emphasis on professionalization as a dynamic process involving changes in the characteristics of occupations avoids the question of discussing whether this or that occupation is 'really a profession'. As Hughes (3) has suggested this last question is an unfruitful one, and it is more important to ask the question 'what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people'?
Two main approaches have been taken to this question, the historical and the analytical. An illustration of the former is Wiles" attempt to outline the natural history of professionalization. He suggests that a typical process of professionalization can be identified: people start performing the occupation full time, a system of training is established with an academic connection with the universities, a professional association is founded, first at a local then at a national level, and finally a legal monopoly of the skill is sought together with a code of ethics. As far as his sample of eighteen occupations (some ancient, others more recent) goes, and it is not representative, there is some confirmation of a typical historical process with stages in the order listed, only 25% of the dates of first reaching each stage being out of sequence. Deviations from this sequence occur, in part, because of power struggles within occupations, and the more marginal professions often get out of sequence by, for example, proclaiming codes of ethics before the basis in knowledge and organisation has been achieved. The more established professions were more likely to follow the sequence than the marginal professions or those which had not established themselves fully.

There is also a sequence of events within each stage. In the case of training the first people to enter schools for this purpose are likely to be those already at work in the occupation. As time goes on, and as the occupation and its schools become better known, younger people are recruited at the same age as for other professional schools. The training school may start as a purely vocational institution with no connections with universities or other recognised institutions of higher education, and without the tradition, culture and organisation of these institutions. In time the training schools may seek and gain a link with universities, some of which may also seek to incorporate professional training and compete for students.
The development continues in the direction of a recognised academic culture, with standard terms of study, academic degrees, eventually higher degrees, research in fields considered proper to the profession and a growing corps of teachers who form a separate elite from the professional rank and file. The earlier teachers may have little conventional academic training or qualifications and may instead be enthusiastic leaders of a movement or protagonists of a new technique, who are more linked to the occupational than the academic world. The initial lines of study laid down by these pioneers may be considered so sacred that any change is regarded as heresy. Eventually, levels of entry to training will increase, requiring earlier commitment on the part of the student. Length of training will also increase and training of a standardized and recognised kind will become effectively the only licence to work at the occupation.

The analytical approach attempts to establish the essential attributes of professional behaviour rather than any sequence of events. Thus Goode attempts to distinguish between the core, generating traits or characteristics of a profession, and those which are derived from such traits and are predictable outcomes of them. The two central generating traits are held to be (i) a basic body of abstract knowledge and (ii) the ideal of service. Both contain a number of sub-dimensions and each can be seen as a continuum; thus occupations can be distributed between the professional and non-professional ends of the continuum. Some of the dimensions include the capacity to organise abstract knowledge into a codified body of principles which are capable of being applied to the problems of society and which can actually solve such problems. Again, the profession should also be exclusively concerned with attempting to solve problems through possession of knowledge not possessed by others, and should also help to create, organise and transmit such
knowledge. The service ideal implies that the solutions the profession arrives at should be based on clients' needs rather than the needs or interests of the profession or even of society. Sub-dimensions include the primacy of professional over client in deciding the means to the solution of clients' problems, the requirement of real sacrifices by professional aspirants, including a lengthy period of professional education in which the privileges of adult life are deferred, and the threat of opposition of laymen or society to the ideals and values of the profession.

Again, Goode suggests that professionalization is a transactional process in which members of an occupation, other related occupations and the wider society are involved. These transactions take place within the three market of prestige, income and power. Thus a professionalising occupation has to offer reasons why it should be granted more prestige than in the past, or more prestige than other competing occupations. If transactions in this area are successful this can lead to increased income and power. Competition between occupations and the evaluation of claims to professional status by other occupations and professions provide a means by which such claims can be accepted by the wider society.

The core elements outlined above generate the other traits of a profession by raising the prestige, income or power of a particular occupation above that of others. These derived traits include greater autonomy than is granted to other occupations and a common identity among members.

The idea of a professional continuum (or continua), and the possibility of scaling these quantitatively, has been pursued by Hickson and Thomas. This has the advantages of summarising degrees of professionalization and of comparability between occupations. As 'qualifying associations' occupy a key position in the system of professional organisation, these were considered the most useful units
**TABLE 2**

Professionalization Scale Scores of Professional Associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifying Association (n = 43)</th>
<th>Prof.* Age as Scale at No. of members (in hundreds)</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College of Obstetricians &amp; Gynaecologists</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal College of Physicians of London</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal College of Surgeons of England</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of General Practitioners</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Civil Engineers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Society</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Institute of British Architects</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution of Electrical Engineers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Planning Institute</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inns of Court</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution of Mechanical Engineers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Chartered Accountants</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartered Institute of Secretaries</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Aeronautical Society</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Marine Engineers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Physics and the Physical Society</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartered Society of Physiotherapists</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartered Auctioneers &amp; Estate Agents Institute</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Quantity Surveyors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution of Production Engineers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Metallurgists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical Society</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Certified &amp; Corporate Accountants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Institute</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Medical Social Work</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of Chiropodists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Institute of Chemistry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Transport</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Biology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Bankers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Association</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Welding</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Institute of Naval Architects</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of Radiographers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartered Insurance Institute</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporation of Secretaries</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising Association</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution of Railway Signal Engineers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Marketing &amp; Sales Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution of Works Managers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Institute of Management</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Company Accountants</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>0-13</th>
<th>15-667</th>
<th>5-604</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Computed by scoring one for each scale item possessed.

Source: Hickson and Thomas, op cit.
with which to begin the measurement of professionalisation.
A sample of 43 associations was drawn and a set of definitions
of professional activities was assembled, such as training and
education, skill based on theoretical knowledge, etc., by which
it was hoped to discriminate between associations and develop a
professionalisation continuum. Eventually associations were
ordered in terms of their possession of 13 items and scored by
the number of items each possessed (see Table 2). Of the most
ancient and status full professions (9) only medicine and law
were represented, but the four medical bodies took the first
four places and the legal associations were also in the top ten
places, (scores ranging from all 13 items scored to 9 items). By
comparison the medical auxiliary professions, such as physiotherapists
(7), pharmacists (6) and medical social workers (5) scored much
lower, suggesting that the scale does successfully discriminate
between associations on the basis of the status and prestige of
the professions involved. (10) The differences between the scores
of the more recently professionalised medical groups and their
more established medical associates, as well as the lower scores
of associations in fields such as management, point to a connection
between longevity and professionalisation and underline Wilensky's
thesis relating to the historical development of the professions.
The British material in fact supported the hypothesis 'that
professionalisation score varies positively with age of qualifying
association'. Again the historical trend suggested by Wilensky is
also broadly supported by frequency of occurrence of items among
the associations; thus the most frequent items concern training
and education, the possession of a Royal Charter signifying a
fully developed national association, then rules surrounding
professional behaviour, such as prohibitions on advertising,
undercutting and codes of ethics. This is broadly in line with
the progression over time charted by Wilensky.
Apart from providing some way of measuring degrees of professionalization, this research opens up possibilities such as:

- The greater refinement of such concepts as 'professional organisation',
- The exploration of the issue of whether the professionalization process is the same everywhere, and the relationship between professionalization and bureaucratisation.

Another general feature of the professionalization process which is important in the present context is that of differentiation within an occupation or profession. Modern professions are, in reality, complex social institutions which select people of different skills, often from different social strata, and organise them into different levels of operation. This means that each level is sensitive to events and contingencies which are not shared in the profession as a whole. These problems are highlighted during periods of professional change. Thus there may be many different kinds of resistances to change within a profession. For many members the current set of work practices may fit in well with what they want and have been trained for. Drastic changes may challenge the feeling of comfort at having attained success or recognition, and may invite competition and require new educational or socialisation processes. Thus any organised profession includes resistances to change, or 'institutional inertia', which functions to protect the occupational culture.

Another source of differentiation lies in the fact that different levels in a particular profession may have more in common with members of other professions; some psychiatrists find more in common with social scientists than with medical colleagues. This again poses difficult problems of intra-professional unity and understanding.
The issue of change within a profession suggests the following kinds of questions: who is aware of the need for change, how have they become aware, of what needs are they aware, and of which needs are they unaware or insensitive? These questions also arise in relation to the forms of change advocated. Again, is the sponsorship for change from outside the profession, i.e. in the client public, or another profession; or is it from within the profession? If so, does this emanate from rank and file, professional associations or training institutions? Some of these questions will be taken up in succeeding chapters.

2. The study of professional socialisation.

Most of the early studies in professional socialisation were concerned with particular socialising situations and with highlighting certain aspects of those situations which appeared of greatest importance. Thus Horton et al. investigated such issues as the acquisition of professional identity and ways of coping with uncertainty, and Becker et al. were concerned mainly with student culture in the medical school and its role in determining direction and levels of work. The discontinuities between professional training and later practice, or 'reality shock' as it has been termed, have been revealed through studies of teachers and army cadets. Essentially, such studies have raised particular problems associated with socialisation rather than attempting to outline in any thorough-going way a more general approach, or lay the foundations for defining and theorising about the general phenomenon of professional socialisation.

If any 'model' of the professional socialisation process is suggested by these approaches (with the obvious exception of Becker's study), it is that of a direct and largely un-mediated transmission of values, attitudes and skills from knowledgeable and expert professionals to aspirants who are seen in the role of neutral 'empty vessels' and
who come over a period of time to learn a professional role which includes appropriate values, attitudes and skills.\(^{(15)}\) It is also important to note the more general model of a profession on which this is based. This is a mainly functionalist model in which a profession is seen as a relatively homogeneous 'community' where members share identity, values, definition of role and interests.\(^{(16)}\)

Although there is room in this model for variation, differentiation and even conflict, the basis is a common core to which newcomers are socialised. Because of the high prestige and power of the professions, and the opportunity for exploitation of the wider society this gives, socialisation and social control are of particular importance in order to ensure the fulfillment of role obligations. A profession must therefore "put its recruits through a set of adult socialisation processes and maintain procedures for continuing social controls over the practicing professional ... professions almost isolate their recruits from important lay contacts for several years, furnish new ego ideals and reference groups, impress upon the recruit his absolute social dependence upon the profession for his further advancement and punish him for inappropriate attitudes or behaviour".\(^{(17)}\)

One implication of this approach is that one of the aims of the socialisation process is to turn out 'products' who are similar to, or may in the future become similar to, the socialisers in their playing of the professional role, and that this should make up an important criterion for judging the 'success' of socialisation.

Recently attempts have been made to develop more general models of the professional socialisation process. Firstly, within the general framework of structural-functional analysis, and with particular reference to the professional socialisation of the teacher, Marsland\(^{(18)}\) has offered an interpretation of professional training and education as a social system. The process can be viewed as:
"a complex of interactions and attitudes characterised by a determinate social structure and culture which in its coherency and its conflicts alike provides a crucial environment for learning by and change in the students who pass through it.”
In reality this is a sub-system of the wider system made up of the professional field of activity and its associated institutions and organisations.

One of the most important tasks of analysis is to specify the crucial dimensions of the particular professional role under discussion and to study changes in trainees' orientations to these dimensions during training. The dimensions can be measured along axes which include professional commitment/detachment, organisational commitment/detachment, career/vocational orientation, progressive/traditionalist. Secondly, it is necessary to specify sources of changes in trainees conceptions of the professional role, that is independent or intervening variables. These may include demographic variables (age, sex, social class, etc.), attitudinal variables (attitudes towards the various components of the social system of professional socialisation), interactional variables (indices of participation in that system) and personality variables (introversion, authoritarianism, etc.). These variables are also inter-related, in the sense that one may give rise to or provide the basis for another.

An example of the relationship between, for example, demographic variables and changes in role orientations of trainees is that (in Marsland's study of teachers in training) higher increases in commitments to teaching as a career are associated with working class family background.

Out of the various relationships between variables in the system of professional socialisation, Marsland suggests a series of modes of socialisation, which are in effect sociological routes through this system.
TABLE 3

Modes of Professional Socialisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Model</th>
<th>Identity Cryst.</th>
<th>Prof. Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td>IC</td>
<td>(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional socialisation</td>
<td>Late IC</td>
<td>Partial I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Apprentice socialisation</td>
<td>Early IC</td>
<td>Complete I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Independent socialisation</td>
<td>Nil RM</td>
<td>Nil I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Anticipatory socialisation</td>
<td>Joint RM</td>
<td>Partial or complete I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Marsland, op. cit.

The variables which make up the typology are role model identification, or presence and absence of and variation in adoption by trainees of models for their professional development, and professional identity, the extent to which students identify themselves as professionals and the timing of this identification. The key difference is between professional and apprentice socialisation. The former implies that role models will be selected from the teaching staff of the socialising institution, that identity crystallisation will be a late development and will be only partial. Apprentice socialisation implies the selection of role models from practitioners and the early development of full commitment to the professional role. One implication of this distinction is that in the latter traditionalism and the influence of practice institutions may be at their maximum, whilst in the former students are shielded from the influence of the field and there is scope for the opening up of students consideration of the nature and objectives of the profession, and thus for the development of progressivism.

Briefly, anticipatory socialisation refers to the development of professional identity prior to professional training, together with a mixed or joint role model. Independent socialisation refers to a route through the system which leaves the student largely free of its influence, with the exception of the influence of fellow students...
Clearly not all students follow exactly these routes and there are a variety of criticisms to be made of the model. However, this appears useful as a 'sensitizing' device in the analysis of anything as complex as the social system of professional socialisation.

A second attempt to develop a more general model of the professional socialisation process has taken as its starting point the view that the problem of professional or occupational socialisation is part of the more general problem of adult socialisation. Clearly the socialisation experiences of childhood are insufficient for the assumption of all the roles of later years and socialisation is a continuous process throughout life. For example, the child cannot be fully socialised for future occupational roles both because of the complexity of many of these roles and because most children enter occupations different from those of their parents, rendering the main agent of child socialisation, the family, inadequate for this purpose. Thus anticipatory socialisation, or the assumption of the values of the group to which one aspires to belong, is somewhat unusual in the occupational sphere. In some societies family influences may play a more important part in socialisation to the occupational sphere, for example where (as in Britain) a good deal of mobility is between adjacent occupational statuses and there is a high degree of self-recruitment in some occupations. Another example is the military service where there may be an early exposure of the child to an occupational culture within a specific institutional context.

One major issue is the degree to which the adult personality can undergo change, and the character of these changes. The demands made upon the adult personality can vary from little more than an expansion of existing skills or an addition to knowledge to a complete discontinuity between earlier learning and the requirements of the present. Brim (22) suggests that in spite of the new demands of marriage, family, work and mobility that the individual has to
cope with, a durability or continuity of personality is the more frequent experience.

Thus during the years of 'becoming a professional', or of re-socialisation from layman to professional status, developmental socialisation, or the acquisition of a role in adult society, is also proceeding. These two processes do not necessarily go on harmoniously and the lateral, or 'life' roles, may blend quite uncomfortably with roles in professional education. These lateral roles have often been ignored in studies of professional socialisation, possibly because the traditional professions which have been studied, such as law, medicine, the military, have recruited mainly males for whom the lateral roles were seen as comparatively unimportant by comparison with the professional or occupational roles. In other professional or semi-professional situations where female recruitment is important or predominant, such as nursing and social work, the importance of lateral roles is more obvious.

Professional socialisation may therefore be described as multi-dimensional in character in that it accompanies other forms of socialisation and is not exclusive of other role relationships. Within the professional socialisation process, apart from role relationships with teachers, students will also have relationships with patients/clients/pupils, from whom they may acquire ideas, attitudes and ways of behaving attributed to the profession by such "non official" actors. These multiple agents of socialisation may also function by viewing the student and acting towards him in ways other than that in which the student would like to view himself, or which teachers would have the student view himself.

Thus the student may be seen as occupying a position at the centre of a number of role relationships, to which the term 'role set' has been given by Merton. Whilst each social position or status, and the role attached to it, will interact in a particularly significant way with one particular position or a
narrow range of other positions (such as student/teacher and supervisor), the situation is, in fact, much more complex. The role set is thus the complex of role relationships in which individuals are involved by occupying a particular social position. The influence of individuals in the student's role set does not only make itself felt during the years of professional schooling; another important issue is the learning that goes on before and after the years of institutional training which have specific relevance for the professional role. Studies of lawyers and school teachers (26) confirm the importance of role learning that takes place after the institutional years, and of army cadets in the years before training. (27)

Professional socialisation is also multi-dimensional in the sense that during this process the student also experiences a shift in his inner world, and acquires a new view of the 'self', at the same time as the outer world is changing through changing role performance. Whilst these phenomenological aspects of the socialisation process are, in theory, at work in all situations of professional education, in some professions (particularly psychoanalysis and social work) the growth of 'awareness of self' is seen as fundamental to the whole learning process and to carrying out the professional role. (28)

Again, although the student is officially subordinate to the teacher in professional education, and has no overt control of the processes by which he is selected and over the actual socialising programme through which he passes, this does not mean that he has no power to shape his own role and take an active part in his own education. Recent studies have suggested that students assess the demands of teachers, develop strategies in relation to these demands and behave in ways which are felt to be congruent with what teachers require. (29) This active, or 'existential', view of
the student's career is in sharp contrast to the previous view of
the student as a passive 'recipient' of teaching. In an era of
student participation and student power, even the more formal processes
of the professional school, such as selection of students and even
teachers, the teaching programme and methods of teaching, may be
much more open to student control than ever before.

The general view suggested by these writers is that the
students progress through the socialising institution should be
regarded as raising a number of complex issues. The students differ
on entry and start from different positions. Students differ in the
extent to which they assimilate core values and display different
rates and levels of progress. This is related to the multiple agents
of socialisation with which the student is in contact. Finally the
student may drop out, or deviate in some major way, from the career
path in the socialising institution, a situation which perhaps
throws more light than anything else on the central processes of
that institution.

By comparison the previous, less 'problem centred', view of
professional socialisation appears to see the student as arriving
at the doors of the socialising institution without the encumbrances
of belonging to particular sex, age or class groupings, and without
ever having given much thought to his future professional role.
Each socialising institution is seen as being much like any other.
Students are seen as having few relationships, apart from those with
professional teachers, with others (such as parents, friends, clients,
etc.), and teachers are themselves totally immersed in the professional
community. The student progresses through the institution from a
position of layman to that of 'professional' by imbibing the values,
behaviour and viewpoints of the profession and passes into the
professional world where little more change is possible.
This approach gives rise to a range of rather different questions, such as 'what is the effect of professional education on the student?'; what kind of professional role do the students learn?'; 'how much of the profession's values do students acquire?'

As already suggested in the introductory chapter, an attempt will be made in this study to give some attention to both kinds of approach in the belief that attempts should now be made to widen existing approaches to the problem of professional socialisation, including some analysis of the conceptual adequacy of existing approaches.

Finally, there is the problem of how any particular set of socialising experiences has an impact on trainees, or of how socialisation actually occurs. One attempt to answer this question, as well as to extend some of the theoretical developments already noted into a more comprehensive model, is that of Bucher. (30) The explanation of how socialisation occurs must take account of two general classes of variables.

Firstly, there are variables related to the formal organisations (or socialising institutions) in which training programmes are based (see Diagram I). This is the 'stage' upon which the 'play' involving actual socialising processes takes place; the two principal elements which set the stage are (i) the host institution and (ii) its staff, both of which have a number of major properties (Section I of Diagram) and which will also have consequences for the socialisation process (Section II of Diagram).

Secondly, there are a series of experiences encountered by the trainee and which are embedded in the socialising situations, which may be referred to as 'mechanisms of socialisation' or 'socialising functions', and which are in effect descriptions of what socialising experiences do to bring about socialisation (see Table IV). Thus there are certain critical events in the socialisation process which, again, have important properties which require explication.
**Section I - Properties of Host Institution and Staff**

**Parent Institution**

**Affiliated Institutions**

**Host Institution**

**Staff**

**Professional Community**

**Professional Organisation**

**Professional Identity and Segmentalisation of Staff**

**Selection Process**

**Peer Interaction**

**Trainee Cohort**

**Structure of Training Programme**

**Section II - Structural Consequences of Properties**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediating variables</th>
<th>Consequences.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timing of events and activities</strong></td>
<td><strong>A. Role playing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 reality of roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 clarity and consensus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 centrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 range of activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>b. Internalisation of work modes and behaviour</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audiences (staff, peers, clients, self)</strong></td>
<td><strong>B. Provision of models</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 number of models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 similarity/dissimilarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 social distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 closeness to activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>c. Identification with models</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Validation, or non validation</strong></td>
<td><strong>C. Coaching and criticism</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 personal-impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 congruent-contradictory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 closeness to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 central-peripheral values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>d. Internalisation of standards and habits of self evaluation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trainee control over events and activities</strong></td>
<td><strong>D. Transitional rites</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 scheduled-non scheduled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 desirable-non desirable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 clarity (mutuality of awareness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 reversible - non reversible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 alone or collectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 voluntary-involuntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>e. Movement of identity towards professional status</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conversion experiences</strong></td>
<td><strong>E. Conversion experiences</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sudden-protracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 sharable-non sharable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 closeness to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>f. Affective involvement</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bucher (1969) op.cit.
The relationship between the two sets of variables is that the host institution and its staff will give rise to specific mechanisms (or socialising functions), by determining whether a given mechanism is operative at all, and if so what form it will take. The mechanisms will give rise to socialisation of a particular kind and intensity.

(i) The host institution and its staff. These variables have a number of properties (see Diagram I; the first set of boxes represents the main properties of the formal organisation, the second set the consequences for the socialisation system of variations in these properties). Firstly there are external influences which enter the socialising situation through the host institution and its staff. If the host institution is defined as "that administrative unit most immediately concerned with a particular training programme", then that unit is likely to be part of a larger unit. A medical school may be part of a hospital or university, a social work school part of a college or university. These larger units (or parent institutions) may influence the training programme; for example, where training programmes are part of a university or university department, the staff of the 'parent institution' may attempt to influence the programme along 'academic' lines, or to persuade students to involve themselves with academic concerns or careers, in distinction to what may be the more professional interests of the staff immediately concerned with the socialising programme. Again, there may be a number of affiliations with other institutions which are used as resources for the training programme, for example where social work students receive part of their training in a social work agency. Here, not only may the host institution have little influence over the kind of experiences that trainees have, but the affiliated institution may also require some return of a financial or other kind, which gives it the opportunity for exercising influence over the socialising programme.
Social work courses rely on the agencies to train their students, who will also enter such agencies as fully fledged workers, and they may wish to see students exposed to experiences which are congruent with their requirements. Representatives of such agencies may play a part in such processes as the selection and examination of students and the structuring of the socialisation programme.

The host institution’s staff will also have outside affiliations, in particular with their professional communities. These include relationships within professional associations and with colleagues in other settings, from which professional identity may be derived and which will in turn influence their conception of the training programme. Staff may carry out activities, and work in other institutions, which may have consequences for the training programme; for example, social work teachers frequently maintain small caseloads and have part time appointments in agencies, which allows them to draw for teaching purposes on ‘live’ cases.

Secondly, the host institution and its staff also constitute a professional organisation, or an organisation dominated by professionals, which is probably also a part of a larger professional organisation. In this kind of organisation professionals exercise influence over the direction and operations of the organisation, and over the kinds of training programme which are instituted. But in some circumstances, for example where others accord less than professional status to an occupational group, power in the organisation may pass to other groups. In the case of a social work organisation, where less than full professional status is sometimes accorded to social workers, other influences may be particularly powerful. In the organisation and control of training, both the medical profession and social scientists are, for example, well represented.

Thirdly, there is the key concept of the professional identity of the staff. This refers to the conceptions which members have of (a) the nature of their field – its major problems, boundaries,
theoretical tenets and methods; (b) the mission of the field, or its contributions to professional and human values; (c) the activities proper for members of the profession and (d) the relationship between the professional groups and other groups. Again professional identity will have consequences for the socialising programme.

Finally, a related property is the segmentalisation of the professional staff within the host and affiliated institutions. Thus there is not just one professional identity; professions appear rather loosely co-ordinated segments, or groupings of people who share a professional identity and a common professional fate. The extent to which professions are characterised by a common professional identity appears, in fact, rather limited. In medicine not only are there recognised specialities but also distinctions within recognised specialities, such as in pathology or psychiatry. In social work a distinction has been recognised between 'therapists' and 'reformists', and which will be the basis of some of the discussion in succeeding chapters. Thus host institutions may be dominated by one segment or another or have a mixture of segments represented. In any case the segmental character of the staff will have considerable consequences for the training programme.

The most important of the consequences of variations in the properties of the host institution and its staff (shown in Section II of the diagram) is that the shape of the training programme may be a direct function of the professional identity of staff and the resources of the host institution. It is, however, difficult to determine the extent to which staff have formulated a goal for every aspect of the training programme. Because of the need to represent the programme in the best possible light, the interview or questionnaire situation might force staff members to produce a rationale for all aspects of the programme, when in fact none exists. It is equally arguable that the opposite response ('I wonder what is the point of doing that?') may be elicited. In any case this should be noted as one of the methodological problems of this kind of enquiry.
There are two qualifications to the view that the training programme reflects the professional identity of the staff. Firstly, not all experiences that trainees have are 'programmed'. It has already been suggested that if trainees spend part of their time in affiliated institutions then the experiences in these situations are outside the control of the staff. Again, trainees may be programming experiences for themselves in the trainee peer group. Thus the training programme must include such experiences, which are outside the control of the staff. Secondly, if the staff are to be regarded as, in theory at least, representing different segments, then there will be divergent views about key socialising processes, such as what kind of candidates should be selected, for what should they be trained, how this should be accomplished and how staff-trainee interaction should proceed.

A second important consequence of variations in the host institution and staff is the working of the selection process. This may reflect the segmental identifications of staff but will also have other variations. Each host institution will seek candidates who have moved through an accepted series of experiences on their way to selection; these may vary from sponsorship by staff or other professionals to selection from an anonymous national pool. Again, each institution will have a drawing power of its own, an ability to attract valued candidates, which will in part be based on its staff's reputation.

A final consequence of the characteristics of host institution and staff, as well as the way the training programme is organised, is the structure and influence of the trainee peer group. The programme may encourage a horizontally organised peer group consisting of all persons who entered at the same time, or a vertical peer group consisting of more than one cohort. The former case characterises the medical student and the student nurse, although in the clinical years medical students are in touch with junior doctors who were recent students, while the latter case is less often seen or, if it is, may
have little more than ceremonial significance unless opportunities for meaningful interaction are present. Again the programme may prevent a peer group of any kind from developing where, for example, trainees are moved singly or in very small groups through a number of settings (as in social work). This is particularly the case where institutions rely on affiliated institutions for many of the experiences which are deemed important.

To summarise, the structural variables which set the stage for the socialisation process consist of a host institution, which is likely to be part of a larger parent institution and have relations with affiliated institutions, and a staff which work within the host institution, which have relations to an outside professional community and who have a professional, and possibly segmented, identity. From these primary variables, other variables are derived, including the shape of the training programme, the selection process and peer group structure.

(ii) 'Mechanisms of socialisation' or socialising functions.

Situational variables.

The emphasis now shifts to the situational or interactional level and to a number of major concepts. The most important can be called 'socialising functions' (described earlier as 'mechanisms of socialisation'), which are actual activities and events in which trainees take part as they pass through the training programme. These include playing the role of the professional, relationships with role models, coaching and criticism, etc. (See Table IV).

However, it is insufficient to say that doing these things is important to socialisation because it is necessary to specify what it is about these experiences that has an impact on the trainee. Therefore there is the need to take the analysis a step further back and to identify the properties within each situation, which may vary from situation to situation and which together add up to a situation taken.
being more or less important. Thus for role playing to be an important socialising situation it is necessary for the roles played to have reality, clarity, to be central to professional values and to include a range of activities considered important. Each socialising function will have certain consequences which, again, will vary in terms of the properties of socialising functions. Thus role playing may lead to the internalisation of work modes and behaviour, but this will depend on the strength of the properties which role playing comprises.

Finally, what may be classed as mediating variables can be distinguished which apply to all socialising functions and constitute in effect a series of questions that can be posed about each. For example, the timing of events can be crucial in determining their impact and it is necessary to ask whether an event is recurrent, at what stage in the socialisation process a particular event occurs, etc. Again, each event involving trainees implies some audience, which may be staff, peers or clients, with the trainee reflecting on his performance at the same time. The audience may be seen as validating or not validating the trainee's performance. Thus one important question arising when analysing socialising functions is 'who are the audience, what do they mean to the trainee and do they validate his activity?'.

As these socialising functions will be explored in some depth in later chapters in relation to data on social work trainees, little more detail will be given here except to discuss as an example the first important function, playing the role of the professional. It has long been recognised that this is important in professional socialisation and education. However, whether trainees are really playing a professional role may have a different impact than if they are merely 'playing at' role playing. Real role playing involves making important decisions and bearing responsibility for actions taken. In medical school students do not have real responsibility
and are mainly 'going through the motions', although there may be times when real responsibilities are in fact thrust upon the student; by comparison the social work students who are the subjects of this research assume responsibility for clients almost from the start of their training and take their place alongside other workers in the agency, although with closer supervision and smaller caseloads. It may be that supervisors are 'stage managing' the operation but students may still feel they really are playing professional roles.

Other properties of role playing include the degree of clarity and consensus amongst staff about the roles to be played. If trainees are unclear about what to do, then role playing may have less impact on them; in social work training lack of clarity appears to arise in situations where the ideals of casework are emphasised by teaching staff but are impossible to act upon because of the type of service or agency in which the student finds himself. Again there may be a lack of consensus between staff (e.g. therapy vs. reform, casework vs. community work) about what the social worker should be doing. Also, trainees may be assigned to roles which are central and highly valued, or ones which are peripheral and which result in the trainee being kept away from highly valued activities. Finally, the range of roles the trainee is called upon to play may vary and may easily exclude those which could have an effect on professional identity; one example is that administrative roles that trainees may be called upon to play later in their careers are often omitted, although attempts are often made to familiarise trainees with this area through the teaching of administrative theory.

Thus, taking the socialising function of role playing as an example, trainees may acquire a shared and strong sense of professional identity when there are opportunities for real responsibility in playing professional roles, where these are highly valued and central, where there is clarity and consensus over activities to
be performed and where a range of valued roles are available.

Although it is difficult to envisage a situation representing the complete reverse of these circumstances, there may be contrasting situations likely to turn out professionals holding a diversity of professional values, or showing ambivalent or confused professional identities and career orientation if responsibility for role playing is diluted in various ways (by overdose supervision for example), if there is conflict and lack of clarity about the activities of the profession, if the trainee does not play central and highly valued roles and if the range of these is limited.

As with the more traditional approach to professional socialisation, it is important to discuss the general model of the professions on which some of these more recent attempts to conceptualise this process are based. By comparison to the structural-functionalist approach, which takes as its main task the study of the coherence or homogeneity of particular professions and the details of their structure and organisation, the 'process' or 'emergent' approach takes as a starting point the idea of professions as loose amalgamations of groups or segments of differing identities, values and interests. But these are not simple variations or differences, rather coalitions which develop in opposition to each other. Thus Bucher and Strauss attempted to "develop the idea of professions as loose amalgamations or segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular time in history". The 'process' model may be seen as supplementing or providing an alternative to the functionalist model; in either case its advantage is that it extends the area for research and allows a wide range of questions to be asked. In the case of professional socialisation, the process is not seen just as a matter of the transmission of professional culture and techniques by a homogeneous group of professionals all agreed on their task. Attention is also focussed on a potential clash of
opinions amongst socialisers, where segments are in conflict over students and student allegiance is the prize. From the students' point of view, there is the necessity of finding a way through what may be a variety of conflicting models and making commitments which will have significance for future professional careers. Again if segments are to survive they must recruit candidates who are potential successors. Thus recruitment is another potential battleground where segments will attempt to choose candidates who will provide appropriate raw material or will attempt to gain control of the process of recruitment in order to achieve this.

Thus because of the fluid and dynamic character of professions as suggested here, the socialisation process itself is much less rigid than is generally believed; for example it is misleading to use as a criterion of effective socialisation the extent to which the 'products' of the system are like their teachers. In undertaking the present research into professional socialisation, in which there has so far been very little research, there seem good reasons for emphasising this more comprehensive set of approaches to the subject. In an area where little is known one of the aims of an exploratory study such as this should presumably be to ask questions over as wide an area as possible, rather than being restrictive in scope. Thus it seemed important to focus on some aspects of the general structure in which socialisation went on, including the host institutions and their staff, their relations to outside bodies, and the consequences of variation in this structure for the selection process and the socialising programme. This then serves as an introduction to the various situations experienced by students which have the effect of socialising them to their future role in the profession.
References Chapter III

1. G.L. Millerson, The qualifying associations, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1964 has brought together many of the elements used by writers on the subject. M. Cogan, Toward a definition of Profession, Harvard Educational Review, Vol.22, Winter 1953 offers the following definition: a profession is a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department of learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding. This understanding and these abilities are applied to the vital practical affairs of man. The practices of the profession are modified by knowledge of a generalised nature and by the accumulated wisdom and experience of mankind, which serve to correct the errors of specialism. The profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client.

2. H. Vollmer & D. Mills (eds.) Professionalisation, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1966; professionalism refers to an ideology and association activities that can be found in many and diverse occupational groups where members aspire to professional status.


7. D. Hickson & M. Thomas, Professionalisation in Britain, Sociology, Vol.3, No.1, 1969. For another attempt to construct a continuum involving the elements of systematic theory, authority recognised by clientele, community sanction and approval of authority, a code of ethics and professional culture see E. Greenwood, Attributes of a profession, Social Work (U.S.), Vol.2, No.3, 1957 (also in Vollmer & Mills, op. cit.)

8. G. Millerson, op.cit; qualifying associations can be distinguished from three other types of occupational association, the Prestige Association, the Study Association and the Occupational Association. By comparison the qualifying association aims to examine and qualify individuals wishing to practice in the subject, which vastly expands the role of an association in a profession.

9. The clergy, military, law and medicine.


15. Merton, op. cit; defines professional socialisation as referring to: 'the processes through which (the medical student) develops his professional self, with its characteristic values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills, fusing these into a more or less consistent set of dispositions which govern his behaviour in a wide variety of professional (and extra-professional) situations. In considering the 'socialisation of the medical student', then we consider the processes by which neophytes come to acquire, in patterned but selective fashion the attitudes and values, skills, knowledge, and way of life established in the professional sub-culture'.


17. Ibid.


22. O. Brim in J. Clausen, op. cit.


24. Ibid.


27. J. Lovell, op. cit.


29. See particularly H. Becker et al, op. cit; part II Student culture in the freshman year and part III Student culture in the clinical years and F. Davis, Professional socialisation as subjective experience - the case of student nurses, in H. Becker (ed.) Institutions and the person, University of Chicago Press, 1968.


34. E. Freidson, *Profession of medicine*, Dodd, Head, New York, 1970, suggests that the medical profession has an important role to play in this respect.


40. Ibid.

41. Although attempts at control may be made by the host institution, for example by visits of social work tutors to students in agency placements or of college of education lecturers to students on teaching practice in schools.

42. R. Bucher (1969) *op. cit.*

43. R. Bucher (1966); the term 'mechanism' was also used by Merton, *op. cit.* (1957).

44. W.J. Goode (1957) *op. cit.*


46. Ibid.

71

A theoretical analysis of social work, on the one hand, as a professional discipline, and its relation to social work and exact a number of questions of which some doubt exists in social work, and which are not an "answer" or a "rational" reason. 

In comparing social work with his "social work" in the aggregate, there was too many points of agreement and too few of disagreement, in any other way than as a profession, affecting the practice within the professional hierarchy, between the professions. In which social work has particularly strong are its claims as a systematic theory, knowledge and skills, the development of a professional culture (including a career concept) and the transcendence of values through education and training.
CHAPTER IV

Professionalization and professional socialisation in social work

1. Professionalization in social work.

This chapter takes up a number of the issues raised in preceding chapters, especially Chapter III, including professionalization, professional differentiation, professional education and socialisation, with specific reference to social work.

The question of the recognition of social work as a profession is a recurrent theme in social work literature and one about which there is much controversy. In chapter I it was noted that in the last decade several important steps had been taken in the direction of professional status by British social workers, the most recent of which had been the establishment of a unified national association (in 1970). The comparable development of a national association in the United States in 1955 is generally regarded as a milestone in the professionalization of social work there. (1)

Controversy about the professional claims of social work, from within social work as well as from outside (particularly in professions which are related to social work) has taken a number of forms. Firstly it has been suggested that social work has either attained professional status or is without doubt about to attain this status, or is on the move from a 'lower' to a 'higher' professional status. Greenwood, (2) in comparing social work with his 'ideal type' model of the professions (outlined in Chapter III, footnote 7) suggests that social work has too many points of congruence with this model to be classified in any other way than as a profession, although it is seeking to rise within the professional hierarchy. Amongst the attributes in which social work is particularly strong are its claims to systematic theory, knowledge and skills, the development of a professional culture (including a career concept) and the transmission of values through education and training.
The knowledge base is also emphasised by Goode as one of the important attributes by which social work will shortly gain professional status. Predicting that social work, together with other semi-proessions such as marital counselling and city planning, will achieve full professional status over the next generation, Goode states that:

"for the past generation social work has moved steadily toward acceptance as a profession. It has done so primarily because training standards have risen substantially and its knowledge base has widened and deepened. Not only have social work schools utilised the newest scientific knowledge from sociology, psychology and psychiatry, but they have also been carrying out research programmes of their own."

Goode's account of professionalization (see Chapter III) suggests that aspiring professions are involved in 'transactions' in the markets of prestige, income and power. Social workers have been able to offer more on the prestige market than in the past and have been evaluated more highly by other profession and occupations. Again, they have been favoured because there is no very strongly entrenched opposition; thus the occupation which is most likely to be in competition with social work, the psychiatrists, do not (in the American context) take exception to social workers' claims to carry out psycho-therapy and do not compete for clients. Social work is thus accepted by this important reference group and its claims are validated in the eyes of the wider public. By comparison an occupation such as librarianship fails, according to Goode, because (amongst other things) its most important reference group (university teachers) are unlikely to accept that its knowledge base meets the specified requirements. (4)

However it is the issue of knowledge and technique, and social workers' exclusive claim to competence in certain areas, that
has given rise to much controversy. One of the earliest critics
was Flexner (1915). Whilst conceding that social work possessed
some of the criteria that distinguished professions from occupations,
such as being a non-routine and non mechanical activity and
possessing a code of ethics, he could not accept that there was a
definable knowledge base or a technique or method which could be
transmitted by an educational programme.

Although the potential knowledge base for social work has
grown considerably since the period in which Flexner wrote, it is
still one of the uncertainties and dilemmas facing social work. As
Wilensky suggests, there has been vacillation between knowledge based
on the ministry, where this consists mainly of beliefs, and on
medicine, where some knowledge has been tested and validated, as the
model for professionalism. Both have their insecurities, as also
has knowledge based on social science. Here there are disagreements
and rival schools of thought, and social workers have only been able
to effect rather a limited 'professional rationalisation' of this
kind of knowledge in practice. Again, social workers have in the
past (particularly 1920-60) chosen psychiatry, and in particular
psycho-analysis, as a professional model rather than sociology or
psychology. This has meant that social work, and in particular
the method that has been most influenced by psycho-analysis, social
casework, have been drawn into the more general controversy surrounding
psycho-analysis. Where a more sociological approach has been
adopted (e.g. in work of Mary Richmond in the early 20th century)
social problems have still been seen in terms of 'individuals', 'cases'
and their 'situations' rather than as related to social structures of
particular societies. It is doubtful that social work knowledge
claims sufficient respect from other professions to be an entirely
sound basis for professional claims.
Another problem centres on the establishment by social workers of a clear area in which they, and no other profession, have exclusive technical competence. Thus the development of formal training programmes, codes of ethics and other strategies will not be fully successful unless an area of exclusive competence can be shown.\(^{(12)}\) But the area of social workers activities, including the client's financial, personal and social problems, is enormously wide and in theory no human problems are excluded. Clearly others work in these fields in a wide variety of situations (including laymen) and it is difficult for any group to claim a monopoly of such practices.\(^{(13)}\) As Flexner suggested, the social worker's activities appear in many cases of a mediating nature, functioning to bring more specialised services to bear on particular problems, the responsibility for which rests on these services rather than on social work. Social work is thus less a field of work in itself but rather an aspect of a number of other fields.\(^{(14)}\)

Another important limitation to professionalization in social work is the extent to which social work activities go on within complex organisations. Such activities may therefore be part of an organisational hierarchy in which control may be in the hands of laymen. Thus the kind of professional organisations in which many social workers (and other workers of a comparable status) may find themselves may be described as 'semi-professional';\(^{(15)}\) because of the number of untrained workers in such organisations it appears that social workers are not necessarily in possession of knowledge and theory not possessed by laymen, and this opens the way for lay control.

A final problem relates not so much to the limitations which appear to surround the possibility of professionalization in social work but to what some of the implications of professionalization might be. Thus in attempting to gain a profession, social workers may have forfeited a mission, and have weakened the 'social' in social work.\(^{(16)}\) This implies that the early concern of social work with
reform has proved incompatible with the search for professional status, that 'cause' has been deserted in favour of 'function'.(17) Thus by concentrating on the development of skills and on inner professional development and re-organisation, there has been a dulling in the element of dedication to human service.

This issue has been raised afresh in Britain by the publication of the Seebohm Report,(18) which, by virtue of the organisational reforms it proposes, can be described as the social workers' 'professional charter'. Whilst these proposals may lead to improvements in service to clients there is also a danger of 'rigor professionis', (19) that is, the unification of services may lead to further bureaucratisation, a withdrawal of the profession into a concern for the refinement of skills rather than the development of an active concern for the changing needs and expectations of clients and community.

Again, a true service ideal may fail to develop in social work because the latter has (or has taken on) a 'social control' rather than a 'welfare' function, an orientation which may increase with an increase in State involvement in the development of social work. This function can be seen in approaches to problems such as poverty; thus the 'problem' that the social workers' client has is, in many cases, one of poverty, but for various reasons the resources available to the social worker are usually insufficient to deal with this primary problem. However, the welfare state also implies a minimum level of subsistence and broadly humanistic values, so it is necessary for the 'poor' to be 'treated' in some way without changing the social structure and social workers are the obvious group to achieve this, aided by their primary concern for the individual rather than the structure which contains him. (20) Thus social work has become rather a neutral conductor of the demands of an industrial society and therefore faces the charge of having gained greater professional
status, with all that this implies in terms of social status and financial rewards, at the price of forfeiting a traditional concern for the underprivileged.

Commentators have also argued that one of the main limitations to professionalization is that social work appears as much a response to changing needs and problems as the practice of any particular skill. This implies a degree of insecurity for social work and a status which is inevitably less distinctive than in other professions. Social work must seek, as Donnison suggests, to live with the insecurity of a profession devoted chiefly to recognising and meeting human needs rather than seeking the 'esprit de corps' of a profession defined by the skills employed in direct service to clients".

Although a degree of professionalization has clearly occurred in social work, and recent developments may have accelerated this, the professional status of social work is still uncertain. Returning to some of the approaches to professionalization outlined in Chapter III, the social work professional association (the Institute of Medical Social Workers) is, on Hickson and Thomas's scale,(22) one of the lower scoring associations. A number of problems have also been raised in this chapter relating to the extent to which social work possesses the 'generating traits' of professionalization (professional knowledge and the service ideal). Data on the views of other professions and the wider society on the status of social work is scarce, although public knowledge appears at a low level. (23) An alternative to general discussions of how social work measures up to various criteria for professionalization is an analysis of trends in training and education for social work and of the numbers and type of training of those held to be fully qualified.
2. **Education and training in social work.**

Of the 10,466 social workers in the social welfare fields considered by the Seebohm Committee, 41% (4,288) were considered by the Working Party as professionally qualified. (24) (See Table 5).

**TABLE 5:**

**Numbers of social workers with main kinds of qualifications**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Professional Qualifications</th>
<th>Social Science Qualifications</th>
<th>Recognition of Experience</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childrens</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health (L.A.)</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare (L.A.)</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation</td>
<td>2,479</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Services</td>
<td>1,684</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,466</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This Table is adapted from Seebohm Report, Appendix VI, Part II.

In different services the range varied considerably, from 70% in the probation services to 16% amongst welfare workers. A further 10% of all workers had a basic social science qualification only and 8% had a declaration of recognition of experience. These distinctions relate, amongst other things, to differences in the demands of the organisational settings of the services. Thus those social workers functioning in settings (like hospitals and courts) where there is direct contact with recognised professionals have higher percentages of trained workers, by comparison with the lower level of training...
amongst child care and welfare workers who are not in every day contact with other professionals and whose environment can be described as that of a semi-professional organisation. \(^{(25)}\)

In order to appreciate the present situation, and particularly the introduction of a new type of training outside the universities, it is necessary to look briefly at some aspects of the history of social work training. \(^{(26)}\) The institutional basis for this training has moved from the early employers of social workers to the professional associations, and subsequently to the universities and other educational institutions.

It was recognised at an early date, by such bodies as the Charity Organisation Society and the University Settlements, that if social work was to become established as a profession training schemes were required. In the late 19th century schemes of training were established by such bodies based mainly on supervised practical experience. Eventually, to augment this with more academic learning, these bodies began to turn to universities to provide such classes and training became a joint venture. \(^{(27)}\)

By the end of the First World War, which had produced an increased demand for workers of particular kinds, (such as social workers in industry), the initiative had passed to professional associations, particularly the Institutes of Almoners and Industrial Welfare Workers. They established training committees to prescribe courses for new applicants and, as in other professions, membership was restricted to those trained in this way.

These developments also provided a spur to thinking in the Universities about social work training and a Joint University Council for Social Studies was set up in order to establish such courses. Courses in social studies for both undergraduates (2 years) and postgraduates (1 year) were established, combining academic work (mainly oriented towards social economics and social history) and
practical experience in social work agencies. One of the main aims was to raise the academic standards of such studies. Degrees in social studies were also established in some universities. Until the Second World War the two year diploma course was the main method of training for social work, although there were still some specialised courses run by the professional associations such as the Institute of Almoners. The only exception to this was the specialised course in Mental Health started in 1929 at the London School of Economics for those wishing to work with the mentally ill. This was the first fully professional training in a university and was the start of a trend away from the two year social studies course towards more specialised training. The Children's Act of 1948, for example, led to the establishment of child care courses in universities, and other courses of this type included training for probation and almoning.

Gradually pre-professional social studies training has become distinguished from full professional training for a particular branch of social work; the two year diploma courses tried (it was felt by some unsuccessfully) to combine general education with social work training and the new arrangement distinguished these two levels of work. A final development in the professional courses was the bringing together of a number of specialised courses into a so called 'generic' course, of which the first was established (at the London School of Economics) in 1954. This stressed the common basis of all social work in whatever setting it was practised, although practical placements took into account a student's intended career. The university course, which was the subject of this research, is in fact a 'generic' course of this kind combining training for child care and probation. Students on these courses made up over half of all students completing university courses in social work in 1967.
During this period the content of the courses also underwent considerable change, which seems to parallel the distinction between pre-professional and professional courses. Whilst there are common elements running through all the courses, such as the inter-relationship of academic and fieldwork, the concentration of the earlier courses on general 'social' issues, "characterised by a combination of narrow certainty and wide ranging curiosity and activity", has been replaced by a concentration on the specific methods of social work, such as casework, group work and community work, and a greater interest in the application of psychology and psychiatry to social work.


In the post Second World War period the factors governing the demand for social workers were changing rapidly and it became clear that the 'old order' of training and education for social work, by which a limited number of students went through a university type education, could not cope with new demands. The general development of the welfare services in Britain since the Second World War, the increasing need to 'personalise' some of these services and later developments such as the shift in emphasis from institutional to community care in the health and welfare services, all raised questions about the staffing of such services, in particular the training and education of personnel.

At the time of the Younghusband Report less than 5% of social workers in the health and welfare services were qualified, compared to 25% of child care officers and 68% of Probation Officers. Thus a large section of the British social services had developed independently of professional social work. If these services were to be re-modelled in the direction of more personal and less institutional care, more social workers were clearly needed and these should also have professional training. The universities, it was
argued, could not play much part in this expansion because their primary aim was to maintain and increase the standards of existing courses and this could not be done if numbers were drastically increased; their role was seen as the development of advanced courses and the promotion of research. In order to solve the problem a Working Party was appointed in 1955 under the chairmanship of Eileen Younghusband. The Report which followed four years later outlined proposals for a new training structure for social workers in the health and welfare services. It also carried much wider implications for the future of social work training as a whole and for the future of the profession.

The Committee distinguished three categories of need for social work and envisaged three sorts of training to enable workers to deal with such needs. The first category was made up of those clients with straightforward needs who required material help or a periodic visit. Secondly there were those with more complex problems who required systematic help from trained social workers. Thirdly, there were those with problems of special difficulty requiring skilled help by professionally trained and experienced workers.

Against this background of need the Committee distinguished three appropriate sorts of training. For the first category of need the 'welfare assistant' was seen as appropriate; he would receive a systematically planned in-service training of six to eight weeks followed by supervision and guidance under a trained social worker. The other two types of worker, the 'trained' and the 'professionally trained' would have a much longer training; the latter group would be those who were University graduates and who also had a professional social work training on one of the university courses already described.

The innovation of the Report is the suggestion of the middle grade of 'trained social worker', who would deal with the second and third category of problem with appropriate help and advice from the
professionally trained, who in turn would carry a small caseload of problems of special difficulty. The trained worker would receive a full time two year course of related theory and practical work similar to that of a university course, and would undertake this at a College of Further Education and receive a National Certificate in Social Work. In order to secure the effective provision and standard of such courses a National Council for Social Work Training would be set up independently of central government and with its own funds and staff. The Council would award Certificates and also hold a watching brief over recruitment and training for social work in all its aspects. These are the broad outlines of some of the main recommendations of a lengthy and detailed survey of the social work training field.

4. Implications of and reactions to the Report.

The reactions to the Report reveal some of the conflicts and problems surrounding social work and its claims to professional status, discussed in an earlier section. Most commentators recognised the need to develop a trained corps of workers in an important area of the social services hitherto almost untouched by social work methods and ideologies. On the other hand, the training of non-graduates, or those without some kind of university qualification, in institutions outside the universities, and thus the differentiation of a hitherto trained elite of workers, was also seen as constituting a threat to the professional claims of social work and to the recognition of that status by other professions.

Thus doubts were expressed both about the capacities of the educational institutions chosen for the new training, and the capacities of the trainees themselves. The Colleges of Further Education were thought to be inadequate because of a specialisation in "dull, examination based 'passing of notes' type" teaching; an alternative locale for the new courses was seen as the University
Extra Mural Departments where standards were high and would be appropriate to a new venture such as the proposed courses. Another problem was raised by the admission to training of students with no previous experience of higher education, and the question arose of "how to teach ideas, hypotheses and the uncertainties of human behaviour to groups of people who may find abstraction difficult and who will press for certainty and 'facts'.\(^{(38)}\) Without the scepticism which is supposed to come from university education, such students would treat the theories and ideas encountered on social work courses as revealed truth with the danger that prejudices which would exist anyway may become justified by jargon and science. A solution to this was to make the courses into a general educational process rather than just sources for technical training.

In wrestling with these problems social workers were forced to consider again an old dilemma - the pursuit of full professional status, implying a body of workers with uniform and probably graduate training, at the price of a broader 'mission', or the pursuit of this latter end at the price of the full esprit de corps of the recognised professions. Thus to extend general training outside the universities, with all the doubts about standards that this implied, "may sound the death knell of the profession".\(^{(39)}\) Another question surrounded the content and status of the university courses - could these in fact be distinguished from other forms of social work training? In attempting to answer such questions, most commentators appeared to accept the inevitability of the 'new order', even at the price of professional martyrdom; thus Waldron stated:--

"we have no alternative but a future in which a larger group of social workers become well trained, outside the universities, to discern more clearly the way in which they help clients with their difficulties in social functioning \(\ldots\) and it could be that the client is the better served by this arrangement, although a gestating profession has aborted".\(^{(40)}\)
Clearly the distinction between two types of trained worker, the 'trained' and the 'professionally trained' made by the Younghusband Committee was an ingenious device to solve this dilemma; in this sense 'full' professional status was reserved for the university trained worker, an interesting illustration of the kind of defences against change employed by the old order in any profession.\(^{(41)}\) But this distinction is obviously quite impracticable, for it seems almost impossible to justify or construct a training programme for social workers outside universities without inculcating many of the attitudes and values which were general in the profession.\(^{(42)}\)

This distinction has also been criticised in another way. Wootton\(^{(43)}\) suggests that the model adopted for the proposed tripartite structure of training and practice was a medical one; thus nurses do much routine work under the supervision of doctors and general practitioners call in the help of consultants in specially difficult cases. The difficulty about the analogy lies in the fundamental differences between the professions. Whereas the medical profession has accumulated a great deal of specialised knowledge, the same cannot be said for social work even when recent advances in social science knowledge are taken into account. Thus 'skills' in social work are difficult to define and even more difficult is the task of dividing up cases into different types to which different levels of skill can be applied. The suggested structure is attributed by Wootton to "the contemporary craze for professionalism" to which the Report gives, in her opinion, unqualified and undiscriminating blessing. An alternative distinction might be made in terms of the actual functions of social workers in different situations;\(^{(44)}\) thus some social workers (such as probation officers) derive authority from a duty to impose the established norms of a community, whilst others help with practical problems and emergencies in which they need to be able to help clients take advantage of the social services. Here the 'skills' required are knowledge of such
services rather than the handling of the 'relationship' between worker and client or the probing into the personality of the latter.

The Younghusband Report, and the training programme which has developed from it in the last decade, appears to be an example of the widening scope of professionalization in which established professions, or occupations such as social work with a well-organized professional element, are making important compromises and concessions to particular needs within the wider society. Such extensions of professionalization have occurred particularly in the United States, where remedial measures intended to remedy racial and social discontent, such as extensions to health, welfare and education services, have been held back by lack of manpower. One way around this is by providing 'new careers' in such services, at entry points and with training and education built in to provide for advancement, for previously disadvantaged and under-educated people. Part of this proposal is to convert former welfare recipients into aides, auxiliaries and trainee dispensers of welfare, and eventually into professionals.

The British situation differs from this in many ways, not least because the opportunities of entry to higher education are so much more restricted than in the U.S., leaving a large unsatisfied demand from those with minimum University entry qualifications, as well as those with less than this, which is partly taken up by training for the professions. A quarter of the Technical College Social Work Students interviewed in the study had minimum University entrance qualifications and over a half had 5 or more Ordinary Level passes in the General Certificate of Education. Less than half of the students in the present study were the sons and daughters of manual workers. However, since the Second World War schemes such as the Younghusband courses, the emergency training schemes for
teachers and more recently the emergency scheme for the training of child care workers, embody a rather similar idea to that of the 'new careers' in the United States. The induction of these new workers takes place under the direction of fully fledged professionals, and thus the new middle range worker may provide a link between the elite professionals and the client groups. The new middle range, or so called "indigenous worker", thus provides a way of enriching the effectiveness of the personal social services. More broadly this implies the translating of class differences and conflicts from the 'exploiter-exploited' stratification to the 'professionally qualified-unqualified' stratification. In this way the professions function to shape a new form of social order. (49)

The present position in social work education (1970)

Since the first Certificate in Social Work courses started in 1961 there has been a considerable growth in the number of students completing courses, from 76 in 1963 to an estimated 470 in 1970. (50) The majority of these students took two year courses, but there were also one year courses for senior and more experienced workers. In 1969 there were 1,900 applicants to the twenty three two year courses in the U.K. (51)

These courses, together with other social work courses which have also been mounted at Colleges of Further Education (mainly in Child Care), have made up an increasing proportion of the output from all courses of training in social work (including universities), and in 1967 accounted for the largest single group of students, 37% of the total (see Table 6). (52) In 1968 it was estimated that this would rise to 44%. In 1967 university students made up 32% of the output from social work courses (26% estimate for 1968), and students in University Extra Mural Departments made up 12% (14% estimate for 1968).
### TABLE 6

**Output from social work courses in England & Wales 1967 and estimates for 1968**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Extramural Departments</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges of Further Education</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (including Home Office, I.M.S.W. &amp; N.I.S.W.T.)</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>997</td>
<td>1094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>%</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Table adapted from Seebohm Report Appendix M, Part III.

The characteristics of the students on all Certificate in Social Work and University Social Work courses are discussed in Chapter IX, where comparisons are made with the students interviewed in this study.

**Socialisation in social work education**

It is also important to review briefly the progress that has been made in the study of the socialisation process in social work education. What little research there has been so far has been mainly based on attempts to measure changes in the value orientations of students over the period of their course, or comparisons between the values held by social workers with differing degrees of training. These enquiries therefore are mainly within the 'empty vessel' approach outlined in previous chapters, in which professional socialisation is seen as a process of handing on values and norms, or professional culture, by knowledgeable professionals to neophytes.
The results of such studies have so far proved rather inconclusive and have come up against a number of problems. There has, for example, been the difficulty in distinguishing the effects of formal training from other socialising experiences; again, within the formal training programme, there has been difficulty in distinguishing between the contribution of classroom teaching and field work.

The author of one American study\(^\text{(53)}\) concludes that social work students become oriented to a set of professional norms which increasingly correspond to those of established professionals during the course of the educational programme. However, there was doubt as to whether this change had been due to the educational process in the school rather than to other influences on students during this period, whether from professional or non-professional sources.

Changes which take place after formal schooling during later work experience have been noted both for social work and law.\(^\text{(54)}\) Meyer and McLeod\(^\text{(55)}\) found that trained social workers scored significantly higher on most of the value dimensions considered important in the literature of social work by comparison to the untrained; however it was difficult to disentangle the effects of training from those of selection for training, in which a group with values already congruent with those of social work may be selected by established social workers.

In the measurement of change the emphasis that has been given to changes in the values held by students is based partly on the belief that the acceptance of professional values legitimises the trainee's new role, and the skills and obligations that go with it. Social work has frequently been described as a heavily value laden profession and therefore the communication of values to neophytes is held to be of considerable importance. As suggested above there is little evidence that this actually occurs or that it can be attributed to particular features of the training process.
One of the few studies which, using values as the differentiating factor, has shown any change is that of Varley. Using four values held to be basic to social work ("equal rights", "service ideal", "psycho-dynamic mindedness" and "universalism") graduating students were shown to have a small, but not statistically significant, increase on their scores over a two year course. The greatest increase was amongst 'dependent' students, defined as young, without much previous exposure to social work, away from home and socially upwardly mobile. These constituted factors which, it is suggested, makes students dependent on the educational culture represented by the social work school. They are thus more influenced by the culture represented by the school than other kinds of students. Younger students, regardless of other factors, showed the greatest value change. Older students showed the smallest change and if they had considerable previous experience in social work there were actual reversals on value scores. Students from upper social classes made the least change, while lower class students made the greatest. One possibility is that these differences reflect the influence of reference groups; upper class students may have more reference groups available to them than lower class students, who are experiencing social mobility and are thus less involved with what were once important groups and more dependent on the educational culture. Again the fact that students with no prior exposure to either social work jobs or trained workers also had more value change than those with exposure or who had known workers suggests again that lack of these kind of reference groups outside the school environment (which provide an alternative to it) may be an important factor in socialisation.

However, studies based on changes in values can be criticised in a number of ways. Because of their abstraction and generality "values" may not be a particularly good indicator of change. As Times
has noted "social work values overlap with or even express those deriving from other sources .... these value dimensions are expressed in a very abstract manner and it might be the case that many other groups besides social workers would espouse the particular emphasis we have been discussing". For example, it has been held that social work expresses mainly what might be described as 'middle class values'; the majority of recruits to the profession are from a middle class milieu and thus exposed to such values throughout life, so would move through training with little change. Least change was in fact noted in the upper and middle class students in Varley's sample. Many other professions or groups besides social workers may share these values. A comparison of the values of social workers and teachers suggested that whilst there were some differences when social workers and secondary teachers were compared, the values of primary school teachers closely resembled those of social workers.

A rather similar point is made by another study of professional socialisation, this time of trainee army cadets, which shows that training had a rather slight impact upon the professional orientations and strategic perspectives of the cadet. In explanation, the author suggests that whilst the professions in general used to be almost 'sacred' in their character and thus strongly differentiated from other social groups, under the impact of modernisation and industrialisation the 'secularisation' of the professions has taken place:-

"the difference between professional groups and other social groups becomes blurred, partly because the conception of professional responsibility diffuses throughout society.

Professional socialisation is no longer consecration to beliefs and values that distinguish the professional group from other groups, but rather a process of adapting the values and beliefs held rather widely in the society to the specialised roles associated with a skilled profession."
Finally, in one of the few British studies (based on attitudes and attitude testing), some changes in the direction consistent with the attitudes expected of social workers were noted. However, on some of the most important dimensions selected (such as the students' ideas of a mature personality, and students' 'self-concepts') students tended not to vary throughout their courses. But support was given for the view that in courses such as social work, where the emphasis is on 'whole person learning', students tend to over-react with exaggerated self disparagement at an intermediate stage in the course, but reverse this trend subsequently, a finding that gives support to the experience of a number of social work teachers who report that courses tend to develop this kind of rhythm.

In attempting to formulate an approach to the research being reported here, it therefore seemed that there were good reasons for not centering much attention on changes over time in students' values. Again, because it was not the intention of carrying out a mainly psychological enquiry, approaches based on changes in 'attitudes' were also not considered.

The negative results of such approaches suggested that it was necessary to view the problem of socialisation in social work from a very different angle and, initially at least, to take a more flexible view of the whole process of socialisation by placing it within a much wider social context, incorporating in particular some of the more recent approaches to professional socialisation discussed in Chapter III. Fortunately two further studies of social work education came to light, whose authors (Landsberg and Shey) had come to broadly similar conclusions and who suggested ways of looking at the problem which were already half formulated in the present research.
If studies of the socialisation process in social work education have had mainly negative results so far, this may have a variety of implications. As already suggested one implication is that socialisation does occur but not as a result of the formal educational process. Because most applicants for social work training already have previous experience in social work,\(^{(64)}\) and in many cases other occupational experience, in addition to the fact that many have middle class origins,\(^{(65)}\) socialisation has already occurred in the sense that students already have experience of work in social work agencies, or have been socialised into middle class values which appear largely to co-incide with those of social work, or have a combination of these two experiences. Thus the admissions process, in which applicants are selected for the courses, and which is lengthy, rigorous and demanding, may function to weed out those whose values are totally out of line with those of the selectors.\(^{(66)}\) This process acts as a 'filter', which attempts to select those already partly socialised, thus simplifying the task of education and training and placing part of the burden of socialisation elsewhere. Again, the admissions process, which may include interviews, group discussions and a lengthy probing of the candidates' orientations to social work (including the views of others on such orientations) involves a foretaste of the educational process itself and in this sense constitutes a model of this process for candidates, and a socialising experience in its own right.\(^{(67)}\) This is described in more detail in Chapter VIII.

Whilst the socialising affects of the educational process may be limited, socialisation may still occur in a variety of ways. The trainee may be exposed to new forms of knowledge and new skills. Again, he may experience situations in which there is an emphasis on the 'self' and on the development of 'self awareness' as a basic pre-requisite for social work practice. Thus the trainee may become
much more aware of 'self' than before training. There may, of course, be considerable variations in the effects of these kinds of experiences and it is necessary to ask how such variations occur.

There may also be a certain amount of 'negative socialisation'.(68) This implies a growing appreciation on the part of the student of such problems as the inadequacy of the knowledge basis of social work, the inadequacy of many practitioners, the manipulation of clients by agencies and the dominance of the agency over the social work school. In general as training progresses a gap opens out between the ideals with which the trainee, in spite of prior socialisation, may have entered the training school and the realities experienced during the course. This gap represents a series of role conflicts in which social workers are involved.(69) One of these is between the profession, represented here by the school, and the agency, or organisational structure in which social work goes on. The nature of this conflict has been discussed frequently(70) but its implications for training have been largely ignored. The relationship that the school has with the agency is of great importance because of the reliance that is placed on practical training; in this sense the school is an arm of the agency and, as has been shown earlier in this chapter, developed historically from the agency. Although the school represents the 'profession' as such rather than the agency, principally because it specialises in the passing on and development of knowledge, it also functions to preserve and reinforce the agency system and in particular protects it from the idealistic and dedicated student by the 'cooling down', 'cooling out' process or by the rejection of the applicant. In this respect the social work professional school is not innovator, leader and guide for the whole profession (unlike some other professions). The profession revolves around the agency, not the school.
A second important conflict in which the trainee is involved is that between the 'humanitarian' values of some neophytes, which the admissions 'filter' has been unsuccessful in locating, and the 'clinical' orientation of both profession and agency. (71) The former implies direct help to relieve suffering, the latter counsels patience and exploration of more hidden needs. For some students, however, the latter is a stratagem for elevating the needs of the agency over those of the client.

For all these reasons the student may reject idealism and learn instead practical and realistic alternatives necessary for survival in the social work school and for practice and advancement in the profession. (72) Student culture is characterised by extreme instrumentalism and the presentation of a 'front' to the 'audience' of teachers and supervisors which hides the students' 'real' views of the training process. These reactions differ in relation to the age, sex, previous experience and social class of student. (73)

In general, again using medicine as a comparison, socialisation in social work training will be less successful than medical training in imparting a sense of professional pride and an identification with the field and its professional norms. (74) Unlike medical students, many social work students do not pass from the status of neophyte to professional during training because so many of them have previous working experience of their chosen profession. For all these reasons research into the effects of social work training is beset by many complications and difficulties that are not met with in other situations.
References Chapter IV


2. Ibid; Meyer also suggests that "the professional status of social work is generally acknowledged", in 'Professionalization and social work today' in E. Thomas (ed.) Behavioural Science on Social Workers, Free Press, New York, 1967.


7. For an account of the problem in relation to social work see J. Hardy, The knowledge base of professionalism with particular reference to social work, Social Work (U.K.), Vol. 27, No. 2, 1970.


9. This has been the basis of a number of criticisms of social work, notably B. Wootton, Social science and social pathology, Allen & Unwin, London, 1959 (a); for an account of the more recent controversy see B.J. Heraud Sociology and social work - perspectives and problems, Pergamon, Oxford, 1970.


14. An essentially similar point is made by Wootton, op.cit.


19. A. Sinfield, Which way for social work?, Fabian Tract 393, 1969


24. Seebohm Report, Appendix H, pt.II; a professional qualification refers to qualification received on training courses leading to recognition of holder as a probation or child care officer, medical social worker, psychiatric social worker and health and welfare worker with Certificate in Social Work. A Declaration of Recognition of Experience is given to experienced workers who are unqualified but who could not be expected to undertake further academic training. In 1950 only 16% of all social workers in the U.S. had a two year graduate training in a school of social work (Wilensky & Lebeaux, op.cit.) and this proportion has probably not increased very much since then (Etzioni, op.cit.).

25. A. Etzioni, (1964) op.cit.


27. Amongst the first courses were the ones at the University of Liverpool and the School of Sociology in London, later part of the London School of Economics.

28. The most recent development is the re-uniting of pre-professional and professional training in four year degree courses which combine a social science basis with full professional training; this type of course originated at Universities of Bath and Bradford and is being developed in degrees of the Council for National Academic Awards.


31. A series of committees investigated the problem including the Cope Committee on Medical Auxiliaries (1951), the McIntosh Committee on social workers in the mental health services (1951), and Younghusband Reports of 1947 and 1952 on the employment and training of social workers and finally the Younghusband Report of 1959 (the Working Party on Social Workers in the local authority health and welfare services), Cmd. H.M.S.O. 1959.

33. Chrichton, op.cit.

34. The terms of reference of the Younghusband Committee were to enquire into "the proper field of work and the recruitment and training of social workers at all levels in the local authorities' health and welfare services .... and in particular whether there is a place for a general purpose social worker with an in-service training as a basic grade".


36. These criticisms were fore-runners of the more general controversy about the development of higher education outside the Universities and the so called 'binary system' of higher education, which has developed since 1965.

37. A.J. Willoocks, op.cit.


40. Ibid.


42. K. McDougall, Thinking aloud about basic social work training, Case Conference, Vol.8, No.10, 1962.

43. B. Wootton, 1959 (b) op.cit.

44. Ibid.


46. This concept was introduced by A. Pearl and F. Riessman, New careers for the poor, Free Press, New York, 1965: cited in P. Halmos, op.cit.

47. For details of class origins and other characteristics of research students see Chapter IX.

48. P. Halmos, op.cit.

49. Ibid.


52. Seebohm Report, Appendix M. Part III.


56. B. Varley, Socialization in social work education, Social Work (U.S.) Vol.8, July, 1963; see also B. Varley, Social work values: changes in value commitments of students from admission to M.S.W. graduation, Education for Social Work, Fall, 1968.


61. Ibid.


64. 75% in the case of Shey's sample, 74% in the case of the authors sample and 65% in the case of all social work students in British universities in 1960 (Jones, The teaching of social studies in British universities, Occasional Papers in Social Administration No.12, Godicote Press, 1964.)

65. 67% of all first year students in U.S. and Canadian Schools of Social Work in 1960 were 'middle class' (A. Pins, Who chooses social work, when and why?, Council on Social Work Education, New York, 1963) and 61% of the students in this study were from non-manual origins.

66. Landsberg, op.cit.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid and Shey, op.cit.

69. Wilensky & Lebeaux, op.cit.

70. Ibid, and Toren, op.cit.

71. Wilensky & Lebeaux, op.cit.
72. Shey, op. cit.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

The structure of the socialisation programme

Introduction

In the first of the two main sections of the thesis, which are the results of research into the two social work courses, the structure of the socialisation programme is discussed in terms of some of the structural variables outlined in Chapter III. These include the organisation and control of the courses, training, the professional organisation and identity of the staff of the training programmes, the structure and contents of the courses themselves and the selection and social conduct of students.
PART II

The structure of the socialising programme

Introduction

In the first of the two main sections of the thesis in which the results of research into the two social work courses are presented, the structure of the socialising programme is discussed in terms of some of the structural variables outlined in Chapter III. These include the organisation and control of social work training, the professional organisation and identity of the staff of the training programmes, the structure and contents of the courses themselves and the selection and social characteristics of students.
CHAPTER V

The organisation and control of social work education

Introduction

Before considering the structure and content of the research courses (as the courses chosen for the research will be described), it is necessary to analyse briefly the context in which the courses developed, in particular the relevant external influences and controls and the consequences of such influences. This is an important issue in attempts to specify the bases of professionalisation and in discussions of claims to professional status. One of the two core characteristics of professions specified by Goode is "a prolonged specialised training in a body of abstract knowledge". This definition does not, however, appear to distinguish between occupations; for example most training is specialised in some way and is in some ways abstract, but in what way is it possible to determine how specialised or abstract a training has to be to qualify as professional? An important distinguishing factor may be the degree of control an occupation has over its training. If what is to be learnt and how this is transmitted is specified elsewhere, for example by another profession or by the State, then the occupation lacks a vital autonomy which established professions such as medicine clearly possess in most societies. Thus Goode excludes nursing from professional status because the bulk of what is learnt during training is ultimately specified by physicians. The issue of control therefore appears to be vital: not only must an occupation help to create its own knowledge, but it "must be the final arbiter in any dispute about what is or is not valid knowledge (and must) largely (control) access to it through control over school admissions, school curriculums and examinations".

The content and duration of training appears, therefore, to be much less critical than the control exercised by the occupation over training. More broadly, it is not the existence of training programmes as such, but the question of the autonomy and control over
training granted to an occupation by the wider society which may decide the fate of an occupation aspiring to professional status.

For these reasons it seems important to ask the question 'who controls social work education?' as a preliminary to a discussion of the contents of such education. It was not the initial purpose of the research to investigate this question in any depth but the issue has appeared of increasing importance, in part because of the changing structure of both practice and training in the aftermath of the Seebohm Report.\(^{(7)}\) In the case of social work there appears to have been a relatively high degree of control over both practice and education by the State and other professions, although the balance of this control has varied over time and between different work settings. The consequent low level of autonomy has been a major barrier to professionalisation.

External influences and controls have been given explicit recognition in Bucher's model of professional socialisation.\(^{(8)}\) They are one of the major properties of the host institution, ('that administrative unit most immediately concerned with a particular training programme'),\(^{(9)}\) and its staff. The host institution and its staff are, in turn, the principal elements which set the stage for the socialisation process. Examples of such external influences are the wider units of which host institutions may be a part (such as hospitals or universities) and institutions which are used as resources for training (such as social work agencies). Staff may also have outside affiliations, for example to 'professional communities'. The larger units of which the host institution is a part may influence the resources, both financial and material, that are available as well as some of the basic decisions concerning the training programme. 'Resource institutions' may involve students in experiences over which host institutions have little control.
The research courses can be viewed as the outcome of a social process in which the participants (representing external interests) have reached a compromise about a particular training programme, and in particular about 'what constitutes knowledge' that is to be passed on by this programme. There have been relatively few attempts to investigate the relationship between educational systems and external controls, particularly the State, but the question of 'who controls' a particular educational programme appears an exceptionally important one in any context. The question is part of the more general question of the social control of professional practice (in particular State control) and the consequences of such control, which again is a relatively neglected area of enquiry. The most important external controls in the case of social work education are:

(i) the State: training courses are financially sponsored by either central or local government and there is an administrative apparatus relevant to each course, controlled by a Training Council representing relevant professional and other interests. The University course was sponsored by two Councils based on the Home Office (the Central Training Council in Child Care and the Probation Advisory and Training Board) and the course at the Technical College was under the control of the Council for Training in Social Work. As a result of the legislation following the Seebohm Report there is to be a single Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work.

(ii) the educational institutions in which each course is located, namely a University and a Technical College, provide physical accommodation and teaching resources for each course. (These institutions will be referred to as the 'research colleges'.)

(iii) social work agencies: students must undertake supervised practical work in social work agencies and this is provided
in a variety of settings, ranging from statutory agencies, such as local authority child care or health and welfare departments, to voluntary agencies, such as Family Welfare Association or Family Service Unit.

(iv) the 'professional communities' to which teaching staff belong: these include the social work profession in general and its occupational sub-divisions. Until recently, and for the duration of the actual research, social workers have been organised into a number of separate professional associations representing the occupational division of labour (Association of Child Care Officers, Institute of Medical Social Work, etc.). Since 1970 the separate Associations have been merged into one British Association of Social Workers which now (with the exception of the Probation Officers) represents the social work profession. The Associations are one source of influence and control on training and usually have special committees on Training. An Association of Social Work Teachers has also recently been established.

The evidence relating to the control of social work education, both from this research and from more general sources, is very incomplete and discussion in this chapter will concentrate mainly on (i) and (ii) above. Chapter VI on the organisation and identity of staff will also deal in part with (iii) and (iv) above.

**The Training Councils**

The Training Councils associated with each of the research courses exercised control in a number of ways. The legislation under which the Home Office Councils were established gives powers to the Home Secretary to contribute to the cost of persons undergoing approved training in child care or probation. The Councils not only meet the costs of students maintenance but sponsor and finance the courses in educational institutions. The Councils also award qualifications to students successfully completing approved courses.
and the award has become recognised as the mark of professional status in the respective fields of practice.

Unlike the Home Office Councils, the Council for Training in Social Work does not finance courses or give grants to students. The courses are financially sponsored by local education authorities responsible for the institutions in which courses are run, together with the local authorities who have seconded students to these courses. Students are either seconded on full pay by their employers (in most cases local authorities) or awarded grants in the usual way by local education authorities. The Council is itself supported by public funds but is not under the direct control of any central government department.

Actual control of the structure and content of the courses takes a variety of forms. To obtain sponsorship by the Home Office the course structure and curriculum must be submitted by the University and must be approved by the Curriculum Committees of both Councils. In order to obtain approval the course must include the teaching of the following elements: social work methods, theories of human growth and development, law for social workers, paediatrics, and courses in the relevant social work settings (i.e. child care and probation). Other courses, such as social administration or sociology, are considered as 'optional extras'. A Training Inspector is appointed for each course, who has the power to inspect the course if necessary. A staff/student ratio of 1:10 is also stipulated and there is also a stipulation that each student must spend a certain minimum of time in fieldwork placements. There is a staff of full time professional advisers, most of whom are social workers.

One additional important form of control exercised by the Home Office is selection of students. Whilst selection of students for the courses has been delegated to the universities and the Home Office no longer interviews such candidates, sponsorship of the candidate by the Home Office is subject to a medical examination.
If the candidates answer to a particular question in the application form indicates, in the opinion of the Home Office Medical Officer, the desirability of a psychiatric examination this will also take place. The University is also asked to inform the Home Office of any candidate who they think should undergo such an examination. The candidate may therefore be rejected on psychiatric grounds (even after selection by a University) and would not therefore be sponsored by the Home Office. (The selection process is discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII.)

Home Office Inspectors also play a part in the selection of candidates for courses. In a study of the selection procedure of eleven Colleges, (17) Home Office Inspectors were members of the final selection board in all eleven cases, and were the chairmen in four cases.

In comparison to the Home Office Training Councils, the Council for Training in Social Work performs broader functions, including the promotion and establishment of national standards of social work training, particularly in the initial stages of the Council's work. (18) Some of the considerations governing approval of courses by the Council were the geographical area of the college, the availability of fieldwork placements and the suitability of the educational institution in providing social work training. The type of institution chosen for the development of social work training outside the university, the colleges of further education, were often inexperienced in this type of training, resulting in a relatively tight control on the part of the Council.

Apart from the choice of the college, the Council reviews all the courses it has sponsored during their first three years and keeps in close contact with the College and the teachers involved through its staff of professional advisers. The College is asked to complete a detailed questionnaire and to supply syllabi, lists of fieldwork placements and fieldwork supervisors as well as other
information including the procedure for selecting students. If the Council is satisfied approval can be offered for a further five intakes; but "if there are matters which cause the Council some concern, approval may be offered for a more limited period during which further discussions with the College take place". (19)

Although the teachers in each College are in theory at liberty to draw up and teach their own syllabus, these have to be submitted to the Council and make up part of the assessment of each course. There is, therefore, an important potential control of the content of teaching through the course assessment.

Again, the Council has specified certain broad subject areas as common to all Certificate in Social Work courses; these are 'The principles and practice of social work', 'Human Growth and Behaviour', 'Social History and structure of Modern Britain' and 'Social Policy and the Social Services'. This imposes a further control of the subject matter which makes up part of the students' education and training; thus certain subject areas are excluded from this list, including major areas of sociology and psychology, although this may not mean that they are excluded from the syllabus presented to students.

Control can also be exercised over the subject areas which are specified. Although, as the Council suggests, there may be "a healthy variation in the way in which subjects are related to each other" (20) in the College courses, control is possible as a result of study groups set up by the Council on particular subjects. One group has already reported on the content of courses on Human Growth and Behaviour, and another group has been established to make a similar study of the teaching of sociology. The extent to which such reports will act as a direct control of teaching in the Colleges is difficult to assess, but it is clear that they could be used by the Council as a kind of yardstick against which to assess syllabuses submitted by Colleges.
The Council have also put pressure on Colleges for a staff/student ratio (of 1 staff to 15 students) on social work courses, which allows for a substantial proportion of the teaching to be of the tutorial/small seminar variety and for changes in physical accommodation to allow for this. This is an important influence on teaching and serves to structure the experiences of students on the courses by allowing for considerable personal contact between tutor and student. The preference for this method of teaching in social work education (and for other professions, such as teaching) has important ideological implications which will be discussed later. It is mentioned here as a further example of the type of control exercised by the Council and the direction which this control takes.

Another important way in which control is exercised by the Councils is through the assessment of students. The Councils function rather differently in this respect. Because of the need to ensure some kind of uniformity in the large number of courses in over 20 colleges scattered throughout Britain, the Council for Training in Social Work has devised a standardised form of assessment. The Council itself awards Certificates to successful candidates on the basis of examinations, a long essay and reports from students' placements. The Council appoints external assessors with a rather similar function to that of the external examiner in a university. The internal college teachers submit questions to the assessors, who have final authority over the examination papers. The final assessment of the student is made by a joint meeting of the assessors and the senior social work tutor of the college. Final recommendations to grant or withhold the 'licence to practice' are made at these meetings. The College can appeal against the recommendations of the assessors to pass or fail a student and the Council may then recommend the reconsideration of the candidate. Whilst there is an attempt to
balance the interests of the colleges and the Council, in reality this would appear to be weighted in favour of the latter. It is the Council rather than the college who appoints the assessors and decides the fate of individual students, as well as deciding the final contents of examination papers. The colleges are at a particular disadvantage in that the college teachers have little representation in the assessment process. They are represented by the social work tutor and this may mean that the interests of other teachers and their subjects (in sociology or social administration) may be excluded.

In comparison, the university awards its own qualification to the student, although the student also obtains a 'letter of recognition' to practice from the Council involved. However, the university appoints its own external examiner and final assessments are made by internal teachers and the external examiner.

This comparison implies that there is in this respect a very much greater degree of external control over colleges of further education than over universities in the matter of social work training. The question of assessment is discussed further in Chapters VI and XII.

Finally, there is the question of the differing interests represented in the membership of the Councils. Youngusband (21) has made the point that the membership of the three Training Councils "gave only marginal recognition to the people doing the job for which the training was provided". This is confirmed by the information that was available about the membership of the Councils. It was possible to identify the occupational affiliations of the membership of two Councils, the Advisory Council for Probation and After Care and the Scottish Advisory Committee to the Council for Training in Social Work. (22) In both cases social work practitioners made up a minority of the membership, 8 out of 20 in the case of the Probation Council and 3 out of 11 in the case of the Scottish Advisory Committee,
the remainder made up by representatives of central or local
government, medicine, law and university or college teaching
staff.

In 1971 the three separate Councils for separate
occupational specialisms in social work were superceded by one
Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work. This
resulted from the comments of the Seebohm Committee on the administration
of social work training. The Report saw the three Councils, "each
advertising for students, each directly or indirectly competing for
teaching staff and field placements, each setting up or promoting
separate courses, sometimes in the same building, adjacent but not
integrated (as) educationally and professionally unsound ... an
indefensible waste of scarce resources which should not continue".(23)
The new Council will be administratively independent of a Government
department but will be financed by the Department of Health and Social
Services(24) and is based on the idea that social workers share basic
skills irrespective of the setting in which they are working, and
therefore should have the same basic training. The membership of the
Council will have a much larger number of social workers than the
previous Councils, and this is an important indication of a potential
increase in the amount of control that social work has over training.(25)

Although the nature of the control exercised by the three
Councils varied from direct financial sponsorship to administrative
and academic control, their influence appears (from the very general
discussion that is possible in the absence of more information) to be
considerable. Such functions as the recognition of courses, course
content, admission and assessment of students are discharged by the
Councils, who essentially represent the interests of the State in its
investment of financial and other resources in the development of a
particular professional practice. The interests of other professions,
such as medicine and law, are also represented, illustrating the
dominant role of other established professions in the movement of an occupation towards professional status.

Each of the training courses under discussion is located in a particular educational institution, with its own teaching staff, culture, traditions and resources. These institutions will inevitably have a substantial impact on the way in which training for an occupation is experienced by the student, and it is to this issue, in particular the relation between the Training Councils and the colleges, that discussion now turns.

The College Setting.

Most professional training for social work takes place within universities and other institutions of higher education, and the courses are staffed by members of such institutions. These courses are therefore part of the system of higher education and subject to the administrative and ideological control and influence of this system.

Social work training was developed within the Social Studies Departments of the universities, although these were often devoted primarily to academic teaching and research, rather than to the task of training for specific occupations. Nevertheless it is possible to identify the 'social training movement' in British universities, which was concerned with the education and general preparation of students who would find their way into the voluntary or statutory social services.

The 'social training movement' posed considerable problems for the universities. One of these involved the control which the social work agencies could impose on the course, because of their part in the training of students. This problem may have become more intense in recent years because the hallmark of professional training (compared to pre-professional courses which may contain some fieldwork) is now seen as practical training under supervision in an agency, over
which the university could exert little control. At the same time, the agency had little control over the content of the university course. As Jones suggests, "Social Studies Departments were asking the universities to accord full recognition to courses to be taken by non matriculated students when half the time of the course would be spent in agencies over which the university had no control; and they were asking the social work agencies to recognise a social studies diploma as a qualification for social work while insisting that half of the training should consist of formal and theoretical education and that the agencies should have no control over the educational programme". (27)

The potential for conflict between social work courses and their setting also derives from the considerable development of the social sciences in the universities in the recent past, a development which has included a greater differentiation of subject areas, such as sociology and social administration, and an increasing methodological sophistication and precision. This movement away from a broader 'social studies' orientation has highlighted the difficulties of the knowledge and methods which are claimed by social worker as the basis of practice and which are imparted to students. These difficulties include the lack of a specifically social scientific basis for knowledge and a reluctance to evaluate the various methods of social work.

Probably the most important problem that educational institutions face in relation to social work training is the sponsorship of this training by the State, represented in various ways by the Training Councils. Although the universities are subject to State control through grants from the Treasury, the universities themselves control the way in which this is spent. British universities therefore enjoy a climate of freedom "that is perhaps unequalled in the world today". (28)
However in the case of social work education, the sponsorship and recognition of courses, as well as such matters as curriculum and student selection, are in a number of ways under the control of bodies outside the universities, although as already shown, university and college teachers are well represented on such bodies. As Younghusband comments, universities may well feel that "academic freedom and recognition of courses are always potentially unhappy bedfellows". Some universities have protested at what they regard as "interference" by training councils and professional associations in their teaching of social work. Social work teachers have not always found a place in the regular establishment of university staff and there have been instances of ad hoc appointments for short periods, conditional upon heavy teaching loads which have left little time for research. The marginal position of social work teachers in universities is also due to the need on the part of the teacher for involvement outside the university, for example with social work practice. Tutors also have responsibilities towards the Training Councils. For all these reasons they may appear to their university colleagues as individuals whose loyalties lie outside the university.

In comparison with the universities the colleges of further education have in the main welcomed the sponsorship of training by the Training Councils. Much of the administrative rationale of social work training has accorded well with the experience and traditions of such colleges in which teaching reflects the needs of various occupational groups, and in which there is often control from outside the colleges. The colleges have, for example, accepted the practice of the Council for Training in Social Work in setting and assessing examination papers and awarding its own certificate, a practice that the universities almost certainly would not have tolerated.
Thus the rationale and ideology of social work training has until recently been scarcely questioned in this setting. There have been no established departments of social studies or sociology, and social work courses have often been fitted into existing departments of economics or business studies or of general studies, and in some cases have formed part of newly constituted departments of social or applied social studies. The only conflict between social work courses and the technical colleges has been the demand of the former for teaching in tutorial or seminar form rather than the more impersonal teaching of the 'tech' tradition; problems have also arisen from the heavy administrative burden which social work courses throw on teaching staff, for which the facilities and teaching hours of the typical Technical College hardly make allowance.

Therefore the development of the 'binary system' in higher education has been of great importance for social work education. This system, by which higher education was to develop in two separate but theoretically equal 'streams', one controlled and financed by the University Grants Committee and by the Universities themselves, the other under the more direct control of the local education authorities and the Department of Education and Science, allowed for the extension of the 'social training movement' outside the universities. In the non university institutions it was possible to avoid many of the problems which this movement posed for the Universities. Again, one of the functions of the binary system was to allow for the more rapid and easy development of training for particular occupations or professions. Thus the advantage of having a number of institutions of higher education under the direct control of central and local government was that these institutions could be utilised to meet short or long term demands for training; one way in which this has been put is that such institutions are more responsive to 'social needs' than the universities. The 'part time' tradition, that
is part time students and the employment of part time teachers, also meant that courses of training which might only be designed to meet a short term need could be staffed by part time staff and would not involve a substantial commitment to the institution. Again, because these institutions are administered by local and central government, there would be a greater likelihood that they would be responsive to the controlling and directing functions of the various Training Councils responsible for the administration of social work education.

The advantage of the 'Technical college' stream in the binary system is that it provides a 'safety valve' by which demands for education and training of various kinds can be met in a relatively efficient and prompt way. In social work, where there has been a recent and intensive drive for professional status through increased educational and training opportunities, the binary system has provided a logical and convenient way of expanding educational opportunities, whilst avoiding the problems and controversies which such a programme would undoubtedly have aroused in the universities.

Conclusion

The question of 'who controls social work education?' is clearly one of considerable complexity and would be very difficult to answer, even if more information were available than is presented in this chapter. For example, the area of formal authority, even if this could be located with any accuracy, is only the starting point of the search for the basis of power because groups or organisations operating at the informal level may be of crucial importance. While the State, through its general influence on the development of social work in Britain, has exercised formal control through the sponsorship and financing of training; it is difficult to assess how far this power extends. Because such training has to go on in educational
institutions an alternative set of influences are brought to bear on this process through such institutions. Because of their control over resources and staff, which are necessary for teaching to occur at all, such institutions may be able to challenge conceptions of how individuals are to be trained for an occupational role. An important feature of educational institutions is their independence and 'encapsulation' from the wider society, largely resulting from the 'private' nature of the classroom teaching situation.

Trainees may therefore have experiences which are not officially programmed and which run contrary to the values of the official training programme. Universities probably represent the extreme of 'independence' and autonomy in this sense.

However, the relationship between State, professional and academic control of social work education might best be described in 'transactional' terms. Younghusband suggests that State control through the Training Councils must be seen not as an imposition but a "joint discussion and consultation between people with a common interest in better professional education".

It has not been possible to say anything about the more informal influences from such groups as social work teachers, practitioners and students, but this influence may be on the increase.

The subject of this chapter will be pursued in the two concluding chapters of the thesis.
References Chapter V


3. In this case the degree of control that the medical profession has over its activities varies in relation to the degree of centralised control that exists in different societies, from a low degree of central control (as in the United States) to higher degrees of control (as in Britain and the U.S.S.R.) - see Freidson, op.cit.


6. Freidson, op.cit.


11. Set up as a result of the Children Act, 1948 and the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, respectively.


13. The concept of a 'professional community' is discussed in more detail in Bucher, op.cit.


15. This information was obtained from reports of the Home Office Training Councils and from interviews with tutors at the research colleges.

16. Recruitment of candidates for probation places on applied social studies courses and certain postgraduate courses, Probation and After Care Department, Home Office, 1967, unpubl.


20. Ibid.


22. The membership of the two Councils was made up in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probation and After Care</th>
<th>Scottish Advisory Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social work profession</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central or local govt.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassifiable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


24. The Privy Council must approve the rules which govern its procedures for the promotion and recognition of courses, another indication of State control.

25. Youngusband, op.cit.


27. Ibid.


29. Youngusband, op.cit.


32. Association of Child Care Officers, op.cit.

33. This term was first introduced by the former Secretary of State for Education, Anthony Crossland in a speech at Woolwich Polytechnic in 1965; for an account see E. Robinson, The new polytechnics, Cornmarket Press, London 1968.

34. Ibid.

35. Banks, op.cit.

36. Youngusband, op.cit.
CHAPTER VI

Professional organisation and identity of staff

Introduction

As the students make their way through the school of social work they face two main influences; one is the course curriculum which defines in part what is learnt by the student, to which may be added the various experiences students have during practical social work in the agencies. Secondly there are the various individuals, who can be termed 'agents of socialisation', with whom the students come into contact in a direct student/teacher relationship. As it seems likely that the curriculum and organisation of practical work is in part a consequence of the characteristics and orientations of the agents of socialisation, as well as of the forces external to the colleges, it seems important to give some attention to this prior to discussion of the organisation of the socialisation programme (the curriculum) and as a setting to this discussion.

Two categories stand out as of supreme importance in the socialisation process, the college tutor (who is normally a professional social worker who has left the field for teaching) and the supervisor of practical work in the agency. The students are, however, formally taught by a variety of other figures, both from within and without the educational institution in which the course is located. Finally there are other more distant but possibly important influences on the student's career, including other individuals met with in the agency apart from the supervisor, (other social workers, administrators, clients) and the student peer group which may, in certain circumstances, produce a specific student culture with important consequences for the student's progress through the course.
In what follows discussion will be concentrated on the formal agents of socialisation (tutors, supervisors, other teachers). This is not because other influences are felt to be unimportant (they will be discussed elsewhere in the thesis), but rather that the intention at the moment is to examine and understand the formal structure of the situation into which students are projected once they have been accepted for a social work course.

Because of lack of time and resources, attention could only be focussed in any depth on certain of these formal agents. As one of the main purposes of the research was to reveal something of the socialisation process in the college setting, rather than pursuing the students' experiences in the agencies in any depth, it was decided to concentrate on the college tutors and teachers. The tutors were all interviewed. However it was not possible to interview all other teachers because of their large number and the fact that many were part time teachers who were in the institution for only a few hours a week. It was decided to interview those considered to be key figures in terms of the importance of their contribution to the course; teachers of Human Growth and Development appeared to stand out as key figures in this sense, for courses in this subject are basic to all courses in professional social work training, and these particular courses, unlike most others, ran the whole length of both the research courses.

A certain amount of information was available from college or departmental records about other teachers (besides those interviewed) and the supervisors and this is incorporated in what follows.
College tutors

Seven tutors were involved with the two research courses, five in the research Tech. and two in the research University. All were female (see Table 7 below) by comparison to 70% of all teachers and supervisors and 78% of all university social work teachers in 1960, and 58% were below the age of 40 compared to 39% of all social work teachers in the Jones Survey. (5) All but one of the present sample were unmarried.

TABLE 7

Sex distribution of teachers and supervisors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tutors</th>
<th>Other teachers</th>
<th>Supervisors</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but one of the sample were graduates; four out of the six in the social sciences (see Table 8 below).

TABLE 8

Academic qualifications of staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tutors</th>
<th>Other teachers</th>
<th>Supervisors</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social science</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non social science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No degree or diploma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five out of the seven tutors held recognised professional qualifications in social work. (6) Three of the five had 'generic' or applied social studies qualifications and two of these also held American masters degrees in social work (see Table 9).
### TABLE 9

**Professional qualifications of tutors and supervisors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tutors</th>
<th>Supervisors</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied social studies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical social work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatric social work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate in social work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of recognition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate (Masters)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No professional qualification</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** As some individuals have more than one basic professional qualification the figures above are multiple codings and do not exactly express the number and percentage of qualified and unqualified; thus of 7 tutors 2 (29%) are unqualified and of 44 supervisors five (11%) are unqualified, in all 13% of both tutors and supervisors being unqualified.

All the tutors had experience of practice in social work, with lengths of service ranging from 4 - 27 years, with an average of 11 years. With few exceptions the tutors had spent all their working lives prior to their present appointment either in social work practice or in the teaching of social work. In one case practice and professional training was followed by a research appointment rather than a return to practice.

**Reasons for entry to teaching.**

It is not possible to explore here in any detail the circumstances surrounding entry to a particular occupation, or in this case, an important change in direction from practice to teaching within a particular occupation career.
However, as Halmos has suggested, in order to evaluate the training process in social work (or any other occupation) it is important to know something about the factors which have contributed to the decision of some practitioners to engage full time in handing on their practice knowledge whilst others do not make this decision. As Halmos suggests:

"it would be necessary to know what psychodynamic factors characterise those social workers who actively seek academic positions at a certain stage of their career because they prefer to reflect on their profession, to share these reflections with others, to prepare, guide and supervise young adults (students of social work) and possibly to write about and analyse the complexities of their experience; and this they prefer to continuing on the job when an opportunity for choice arises."(9)

Again, it would be important to ascertain whether these practitioners turned teachers brought with them into the training process versions or accounts of social work which differed in any way from those versions which are current among practitioners who remain in the field. This, as well as the fact of separation from the field through teaching, may have important consequences for student learning and for the entry of students into the field (either during practical work or at the end of the course), and may underlie many of the difficulties and disillusionments apparently suffered by newly trained social workers.(10)

This research has not explored these problems in any detail but interviews with the tutors did allow some discussion of the circumstances under which they entered full time into the teaching of social work, (although clearly the same question arises for other teachers and supervisors).
From the comments made it appears that an active desire to teach, either in terms of a particular subject, or a particular kind of student, or a general desire to hand on knowledge and experience, rather than a feeling of failure or disillusion with practice, is the basis of the move from practitioner to teacher.\(\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\) One important type of experience, which may be seen as anticipatory socialisation into the role of full time teacher, is the practice of supervision in social work agencies. Thus all but one of the tutors (who had taken up a research appointment after training rather than return to practice) had experience of supervision during their career as an active social worker. In addition, it was also clear that the superior financial rewards and less demanding hours that teaching can offer may have been a strong incentive to leave practice.\(\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\)

The differences in these respects between practice and teaching may also become smaller in the future as a result of the reorganisation of social work practice and the creation of more senior and better paid posts.

A number of additional factors may underlie changes in career patterns of this kind. In the case of social work one of the most important is internal differentiation within the occupational group, including the rapid growth of areas which were previously underdeveloped. Thus with the growth of training schemes, particularly as a result of the Younghusband Report, the opportunities for practitioners to take on teaching roles were vastly expanded.

Another element is the process by which such career changes take place. In the case of four tutors informal sponsorship had played an important part in their movement into their present jobs. They had been approached and asked to apply for these jobs. Katz has suggested that the phenomenon of informal
'contact networks' play an important part in occupational mobility, particularly in the professions. Thus people keep in touch with those they have previously worked with at one time or another. Contact may be sporadic and individuals need not have close working or friendly relationships of a primary group kind. Rather such contacts are of an 'other directed' kind in which personalistic factors are played down. The functions of such 'contact networks' include the facilitation of mobility of individuals who are separated by large distances from job opportunities which are desired, and the feeding into the network of the individuals' desire for a change of job. Contacts then provide the necessary information about job opportunities and, in some cases, act as direct sponsors of others in the network.

One of the prerequisites for such a network is a defined body of knowledge and/or skills which individuals carry with them and by which they can be assessed. This limits the network to the professions and is a further indication, although previously little attention has been paid to it, of the extent of professionalisation in any particular occupation.

One issue raised by this idea is the extent to which allegiance to a colleague network counterbalances identifications of a bureaucratic kind; thus the growth of this informal network may be particularly important in helping to professionalise an occupation which, like social work, is situated mainly in bureaucratic organisations.

Work of the tutors

The work of the tutor includes both the teaching and administration of the courses, including teaching roles with both students and supervisors, the selection of students and supervisors, contacts with bodies responsible for the courses (the Home Office, the Council for Training in Social Work), the examining of students
and the visiting of students in their practical and residential placements. Altogether, the tutor's role is one of considerable complexity.

**TABLE 10 (multiple coding)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main teaching subjects of tutors and other teachers</th>
<th>Tutors</th>
<th>Other teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Casework</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Groupwork</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Community work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social work with special groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social administration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sociology/social structure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Methods of research</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Criminology</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The family</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Human growth and development</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Human personality</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Paediatrics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Law</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ethics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 17 30

The main formal teaching carried out by the tutors (see Table 10 above) falls within the principal areas of social work method (casework and groupwork; community work was not taught specifically on either course) and in social administration and sociology. However, of the 7 tutors, only 1 (at the research Tech.) taught groupwork, the teaching of groupwork in the research University being in the hands of outside teachers. Thus the principal way in which the training, knowledge and experience of the tutors was brought into the teaching situation was through the teaching of casework, which they all defined (with one exception) as their core function.

Apart from casework, tutors were also concerned in teaching social work with special groups (the physically and mentally handicapped) and at the research Tech. tutors also taught sociology and social administration. In the latter case, the individual, although employed as a professionally qualified tutor, defined her main role as a teacher of social administration rather than casework.
Tutors also had a specifically tutorial relationship with each student and acted as integrators of all subjects on the course. Within the courses as a whole there is a broad division of labour in which the tutors teach the main social work professional specialisms, such as casework, whilst outside lecturers, in particular psychiatrists, doctors and other specialists, teach the more theoretical 'knowledge base' of social work.

In addition tutors are involved in a series of activities outside the course which have professional significance. All were members of professional social work associations (the most popular being the Association of Social Workers and the Association of Social Work Teachers), and were in some cases active within them. Other activities included the editing of social work journals and the writing of books or articles, teaching activities outside the course and staff consultancy for social work agencies.

Another activity which is of significance is continued involvement in social work practice, whether in agencies or private practice. Although only two out of the seven tutors were involved in practice, the others indicated that it was an important issue for them and they had been prevented from part time practice by the recency of their appointments. This issue highlighted some of the conflicts and difficulties of the tutors position. The tutors teaching of social work is based at least in part on practice knowledge. However, once the field is left behind there is the difficulty of retaining and developing this kind of knowledge. One solution is to maintain contact with the field by retaining some cases. However the extreme demands of teaching in the first few years make this very difficult. Again, even if the tutor does maintain a few cases she may be isolated from the work of the agency as a whole and thus again be in an untypical position. This is just one aspect of the rather uneasy relationship between practice and teaching in social work which results from the
'practice based' nature of the knowledge used in the profession. The emphasis on the importance of teachers continuing in practice also illustrates the rather narrow way in which social work is conceptualised by those in key positions, such as teachers.

Tutors have eventually to choose between identification with teaching or practice. When questioned about this the majority of the group identified with teaching and with the role of the social work teacher rather than practitioner; this identification did not, however, prevent tutors from keeping in touch with practice in a variety of ways.

In her research on University social studies department, Jones distinguished between staff who were 'involved' with the wider community in various ways (specifically as holding some public office or having teaching responsibilities outside the University) and those who were 'non-involved'. The Social Administration and Social Work teachers were both highly involved groups (71% and 63% falling into this category) by comparison with the relatively non-involved sociologists (only 4% involved). On the strict criteria of involvement suggested by Jones, less than a third of the social work teachers at the research colleges could be described as 'involved'. But many of the tutors were involved in outside activities which fell outside the criteria used by Jones; again, the less involved tutors were mostly those who had recently been appointed.

Other academic teachers

Apart from the seven tutors, seventeen other teachers were involved in instructing students in the college situation. They varied from full time lecturers in the department or institution in which the social work course was located to part timers who held professional appointments elsewhere and taught on the course for a few hours a week. Three quarters of these teachers were, in fact, employed on a part time basis.
These teachers fell into three groups; the largest group (7) were doctors or psychiatrists, indicating the importance of the contribution of these professions to social work training. The remainder were equally divided between various social science disciplines (psychology, sociology, social administration) and social work practice. In the latter case these are teachers of special subjects in social work (such as ethics or law) which were not covered by the tutors.

By comparison with the main representatives of the social work profession, the tutors and supervisors, the other teachers were more likely to be male (82% compared with 16% for the other two groups combined) and were more likely to be graduates (83% compared to 40% for the other two groups). (See Tables 7 and 8.)

Because of their importance the main comment here will be made on the role of the psychiatric and medical teacher. In the research courses these roles were expressed through courses in 'human growth and behaviour', 'human personality; function and dysfunction' and 'paediatrics', although this varied from course to course. The teaching of 'human growth and development' was undertaken on the research courses by psychiatrists. This course may be taught by a psychologist, sociologist or social worker, but in the writer's experience is more likely to be taught by a psychiatrist or psycho-analyst. (16)

The main focus of both courses was a discussion of the birth-death cycle. This allows for the teacher to dwell upon periods which are appropriate for a particular group of students; in both the research courses there was a focus on the early years of life and the approach appeared mainly, but not exclusively, in terms of psycho-analytic theory. The teachers said that they stressed a diversity of approaches including biological, psychological and sociological frameworks. (17) The teachers were careful to distinguish between the training of social workers and psycho-analysts.
Although the students were encouraged to think about the meaning of the material they were studying for their own personalities, this, in the view of these teachers, stopped very far short of the training analysis which makes up part of the training of the analyst.

The involvement of psycho-analysts in the training of other 'counsellors' such as social workers has been described by Halmos as one of the many paradoxes of the counselling situation. Although trained under a set of theoretical propositions which stresses the necessity of a maximum of self-knowledge, psycho-analysts play a prominent part in passing on such theories, of 'writing large' their techniques and orientations in a kind of paper back version, in situations where the central requirement (the training analysis) is entirely lacking. Thus, according to Halmos:

"it is remarkable that psycho-analysts, themselves often engaged in excessively prolonged analyses of private patients, and having themselves received training analyses of at least 600 - 800 hours duration, should now generously lend their services in the training of social workers, general practitioners and others without imposing on them the stringencies of their own erstwhile training. They now readily join in the training of people with a view to equipping them as counsellors or therapists, whilst fully realizing that these people may not be suited, or adequately prepared to use their personalities in a consistently and safely therapeutic manner."

Little information was obtained about the other aspects of medical teaching on the research courses; this comprised 'human personality; function and dysfunction' and 'paediatrics' (taught by psychiatrists or doctors) and 'social work with special groups - physically and mentally handicapped' (taught by social work tutors).
The role of the medical teacher in social work seems likely to increase in the future. This reflects both the changes in medical education which may focus more attention on the social aspects of illness, thus enhancing the importance of cooperation between doctors and social workers, and the expansion of the function of social work in the community, in particular with aspects of illness or disease which may have been dealt with in the past in the hospital.

The majority of the category described here as 'other teachers' held major appointments, in hospitals, clinics or other teaching institutions, in addition to their teaching roles on the research courses. The only other full-time teachers, apart from the tutors, were social scientists who were members of the Department in which the University course was located. This underlines the fact that social work education has relied traditionally on contributions from other professions and disciplines, in particular psychiatry, social science and medicine, and that the knowledge base of social work is substantially made up of contributions from these fields. Social work has been slow to develop these contributions into any substantial knowledge base of its own and has therefore had to rely heavily on the contributions of teachers who were unlikely to be found on the staffs of educational institutions in which the courses developed. Again, because of the importance attached to 'practice knowledge', outside practitioners have often been preferred to those with an academic or research orientation in the teaching of the social work student. Thus, those who control social work courses have had to choose between primarily 'clinical' and primarily 'non clinical' teachers, and appear to favour the former.

Comparing the two courses, the research University claims by far the largest number of part-time teachers, in all eleven out of the seventeen teachers involved with the course being part-time. By
comparison only two of the research Tech. teachers were part time, and they taught a larger number of hours than any of the University part timers. In the research Tech. a decision had been taken to minimise the number of external teachers and to concentrate teaching in the hands of the tutors and other full time teachers. Thus subjects which in the research University were in the hands of outsiders were taught here by full time teachers. Thus the styles of the two courses differed; the University course representing the more traditional reliance on the participation of members of other professions and disciplines, the Tech. course attempting to develop, more in the style of the American School of Social Work, an integrated course based mainly on the teaching of social workers rather than outsiders.

**Supervisors**

There were 44 practical work supervisors (or field work teachers) involved with the two courses. Social work courses are based largely on a 'master-apprentice' principle, in which students learn the skills required of a social worker from those, either tutors or supervisors, who themselves possess such skills. The role of the supervisor is to develop and test the skill of the student in practical situations involving clients and colleagues. This is done in a variety of ways which will be discussed, together with the students experience of practical work, in a later section. Another function of supervision is to introduce the student to the bureaucratic structure of the agency. Thus, apart from professional socialisation, the student also undergoes a process of anticipatory socialisation to the role of professional in a bureaucracy, the supervisor playing an important part in this process. (20)

Very little information is available on the supervisors; they are preponderantly female (82%; in all 5% of tutors and supervisors were female) see Table 7) and only about a third have degrees (by comparison with 84% of tutors and other teachers; see
Table 8). 90% had some form of professional social work qualification, the largest group (like the tutors) in Applied Social Studies (37%), the next largest in psychiatric social work (see Table 9).

The supervisors worked in a variety of agencies, both statutory and voluntary; the largest groups were in local authority children's agencies, health and welfare departments and the probation service. The hospital service and Family Welfare Association and the Family Service Units were also represented.

The differences in the types of agencies used by each course highlights the different purposes of the two courses. At the research University 85% of placements are in child care or probation, indicating the highly specialised nature of this course. At the research Tech. there was a wider spread of placements, 45% in health and welfare, 18% in the hospital service and 14% in children/probation service, indicating the less specialised and more general purpose of this course. In all Youngusband courses in 1965-67 the hospital service made up the largest single number of placements (37%), a further illustration of the influence of the medical world and its orientations on social work training.

Differences also emerged in the characteristics of the two groups of supervisors at the research colleges. For example, over 50% of the University supervisors had degrees compares with 14% at the research Tech. This difference may reflect the more stringent requirements of the University course, as well as the fact that the two courses are recruiting supervisors from social work services which are at different stages in their development. Thus the intake of graduates, some of whom are also trained, into the child care and probation services has been developed over the past twenty or more years, and there is relatively well developed pool of University educated and trained workers on which to draw for supervisors. By comparison, specialised training for the health
and welfare services of local authorities dates from the Younghusband Report of 1959 (the first trained workers emerging from the first courses in 1963). Thus training courses in this field have had no established pool of University educated and/or trained workers to draw upon in these local authority services and have had to rely either on trained workers (mostly PSWs or MSWs) and other branches of the health and welfare services, or on the untrained and mostly non University educated workers in the local authorities or, in more recent years, on supervisors who have themselves received the Younghusband training. At the research Tech. there were 3 supervisors in this category. Again, at the research Tech. out of 19 trained supervisors, 13 were PSWs or MSWs, most of whom worked in a hospital or clinic setting and not in local authorities. (22)

Although the issue of graduate or non graduate supervision in social work may not be a particularly important one, it has some significance in terms of the functioning of the 'binary system' in higher education. Thus a far higher proportion of graduates were concerned in the supervision of University social work students (themselves mostly graduates) than Tech. students, all of whom were non graduates. Whatever the particular reasons for this, the situation illustrates part of the nature of the distinction between University and non University institutions. The proportion of graduate Tech. supervisors is unlikely to increase because it is likely that workers with the C.S.W. training will increasingly be used as supervisors on these courses. Again, University students were more likely to receive practical training in specialisms in which they were going to work (for example statutory and voluntary child care) whereas Tech. students received some of their practical training in agencies (such as hospitals or clinics) very different from those for which they were destined. Although all students had a placement in an agency other than that in which they were going to
work after the course, it was more likely that the 'other' placement of the University student would be at least congruent with his field of choice, or likely field of choice, than in the case of the Tech. student. This indicates that the aim of the research Tech. course for a more general grounding in social work than is found in most universities has, in this sense, been successful.

The socialisers: an overall view

One way of viewing the situation that has just been described in some detail is to see the socialisers as constituting a series of circles, with the student at the centre, which have differing degrees of influence on the student. (23)

The circle which appears closest to the student in terms of power and influence is that of the tutors, who combine the role of teacher and practitioner. In a situation which is dominated by the need to combine academic and practice knowledge, individuals who combine these two requirements, however imperfectly, are inevitably in possession of the key positions. Thus, apart from the external influences on the course, for example from the various Training Councils, the tutors possess more power than any other socialiser in defining and characterising the nature of the course, in deciding what is taught and how it is taught, in selecting other lecturers and, within a more defined context, in selecting supervisors. Above all, the tutors, because of their almost total power in the selection of students, provide the material upon which other socialisers work, and thus in an important way help to 'define the situation' in which other socialisers find themselves in their teaching roles. Thus the group of students who eventually find their way onto the course are already pre-selected in terms of various criteria over which other socialisers (with the possible exception of some supervisors) have relatively little influence. (The process of selection is also dealt with in a further chapter.) Tutors, through
their close contact with each student throughout the course, have an almost 'life and death' power over the future professional career of the student. This power is greatly enhanced by the tutors' own experience of and close connection with the social work agencies which make up the students potential or actual employers.

Supervisors appear next in order of importance; in a profession in which practice skills and knowledge are emphasised and in which theory has been rather slow to develop, their role in developing students' practical skills is of great importance. Their assessment of the student, particularly in the final placement, is one of the most decisive elements in the final assessment.

Supervisors are also involved in student selection and can have a direct impact on the student's experience of the classroom teaching. Supervisors meet students for regular sessions (mostly weekly) which combine discussion of students' cases with aspects of the theoretical teaching which students receive in the classroom. Thus by selective emphasis on certain aspects of the course at the expense of others, supervisors can have an important effect on the students' perception of what is important in the course, in particular of what is important in order to ensure final success. The power of the supervisor is largely centred upon the student and his passage through the course rather than on the character of the course as a whole. The tutor has power in both these spheres.

Sex distribution of socialisers

One feature of the social organisation of the staff of the research courses which appears of particular importance in attempting to account for the structure and character of the courses and the interaction within them, is the sex distribution of the socialising agents.

70% of the socialisers related to the two courses were female; if tutors and supervisors are considered apart from other
teachers 85% were female, including all the tutors and 82% of the supervisors. It has already been suggested that these two groups hold positions of considerable power on the courses and also provide major professional role models for social work students. By comparison 55% of the 53 students on the two research courses were female. Little is known about the social characteristics of social workers in general; in the Bucks study nearly three quarters of social welfare staff were female. Women constituted 64% of all social workers in the United States in 1960.

The two research courses, therefore, revealed an even greater preponderance of women in teaching and supervisory roles than amongst the students and it would appear, amongst social workers general. In Jones study of all social studies departments in British universities 78% of social work teachers were female.

The importance of social casework and, to a lesser degree, of groupwork on the two research courses has been noted in this chapter and will be referred to in more detail in the following chapter on the College Courses. It must be remembered that alternative definitions of social work are available, either in terms of community work (and community organisation) or as a more general social reform/social administration orientation (these areas overlap in various ways). Thus it is necessary to account for the casework emphasis, and one way is by relating together the female preponderance amongst socialisers, values which are linked to sex roles in society generally and certain characteristics of specialisations within social work.

Casework and group work may be described as 'person oriented' methods which are concerned with individual behaviour and feelings; community work is concerned with people in collectivities and with wider issues of policy. Differences in the way in which male/female roles are defined appear to coincide with some of the differences in
social work method. Thus helpfulness, gentleness, nurturance and passivity are more valued as female than male characteristics and women are more likely to select and be recruited for occupational roles, such as caseworker, which stress these characteristics. By comparison, organisational capacities and assertiveness are more valued as male characteristics and are related to the qualities required by community workers. Wilensky and Lebeaux have put the issue in the following way:-

"Social work jobs for women can be seen as extensions of sex roles deriving from norms governing the behaviour of wife and mother. As woman she is traditionally expected to provide care to children, the aged, the sick; to be nurturant, gentle, kind, receptive; in short, feminine. As caseworker, though professionalism and agency procedures hold this in check somewhat, she functions in a similar way - as does the nurse or the elementary school teacher". (28)

Thus one reason for the dominance of casework and its associated ideology and theoretical underpinnings in the training process may be the preponderance of female socialisers. Some indication of the differences in the sex distribution over the various social work specialisms comes from a survey of students at the Columbia University School of Social Work. (29) Of a total of 181 students first enrolled in 1967, females made up 86% of students selecting casework as their specialism, 74% of those selecting groupwork and 56% of those selecting community work.

The preponderance of female socialisers also has implications for social interaction during the training process. So far, for the female social worker, there has been little discrepancy between the occupational and the sex role. However, when as tutor or supervisor she comes into contact with male students (and nearly half the research students were male) discrepancies may
arise on the basis that the prevalent norm in most cultures in that "women should not be in authority over men of roughly the same social class and age".\textsuperscript{(30)} As a trained social worker a man may rise quickly in the hierarchy, so escaping this dilemma, but as a student this is impossible and some form of subordination may be inevitable. Thus for the male in social work there is a double conflict between the occupation and the sex role; not only is there a likelihood of subordination to females at some stage in the career, but definitions of social work and the social worker are usually made in feminine terms and the male social worker may be classed with female helpers, with consequent damage to his masculine image. One male student, looking back on his course of training, described the acquisition of casework techniques as requiring him to think and act in a purely feminine way, and wondered whether the consequent 'assault on his masculinity' was not the central crisis of identification around which everything else on the course revolved.\textsuperscript{(31)} These problems may be at their height during the training process and will be explored further in chapters on social interaction between socialisers and students, particularly in chapter XI on 'role models'.

A further complication in this situation is that it was more likely that males on the research courses would have manual class origins than females (54\% compared with 25\%; see Chapter IX on 'social characteristics of students'). Jeffery's study of social workers in Bucks found a similar relationship between sex and class.\textsuperscript{(32)} For the upwardly mobile male, possibly with class linked norms stressing female subordination, the problem of females in superior status positions would appear even greater than for his middle class counterparts.
Conflicts among socialisers

One emphasis in the research which is being reported here was to examine the extent of consensus or conflict within the educational process related to a particular profession, and thus in the profession as such. Two types of relationships are involved here: (i) between socialisers and students and (ii) between different groups of socialisers. Some indication of one particular kind of conflict (sex role conflict) between students and staff has been given in the previous section. This section will concentrate on conflict between socialisers.

As socialisers include both members of the particular profession which is under discussion (social workers) and members of other professions or groups which are involved, consensus or conflict can be described in both intra-professional and inter-professional terms.

One way of expressing the idea of conflict in the educational situation is to describe interaction between the socialisers as a contest for the allegiance or loyalty of students, or a clash of opinions among the socialisers, where students are the prizes. This goes on particularly in the training process, for students attitudes are relatively unformed, thus providing the opportunity of influencing a whole new generation of professionals. Thus, as Bucher and Strauss put it, "during their professional training, students pick their way through a maze of conflicting models and make momentous commitments thereby".

Bucher and Strauss, reacting against the idea of the profession expressed in functionalist terms as a homogeneous community with shared interests and values, express the idea of groupings within a profession which may be called 'segments', (this concept, and the general approach of Bucher and Strauss, was introduced in Chapter III). A segment can be described in the following way:-
"there are many identities, many values, and many interests. These amount not merely to differentiation or simple variation. They tend to become patterned and shared; coalitions develop and flourish — and in opposition to some others. We shall call these groupings within a profession 'segments' —— we shall develop the idea of professions as loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history". (35)

Segments will each have different conceptions of work, different career lines and different socialisation procedures.

One aim in this research has been the attempt to identify such segments within the social work profession and to describe the way in which they manifest themselves, if at all, in the socialisation process. In a small scale exploratory study of this kind these rather complex issues can only be explored in outline.

Probably the most characteristic way in which the idea of 'segments' has been expressed in the social work profession is by the comparison of the two approaches of 'social reform' and 'therapy'. Meyer describes these orientations in the following way:

"In its history social work has long had a double focus: on social reform on the one hand; and on facilitating adjustment of individuals to existing situations, on the other. These two themes reappear in various forms: as environmental manipulation or promotion of psychological functioning; as concern with people through mass programs; or as casework with persons "one by one". Social workers have been conscious of these two approaches to social welfare and have often sought to reconcile them. Mary
Richmond, symbol of the case by case approach, is reported to have said to Florence Kelly, symbol of reform in the grand style; 'We work on the same programme. I work on the retail end of it, but you work on the wholesale! But these two viewpoints are still not integrated, and both are represented by acknowledged spokesmen for the profession'.(36)

There have been various shifts in emphasis in the two orientations in both Britain and America since before World War I.(37) Emphasis on an individual or casework approach, rather than a concern with the wider issues of reform, has contributed to the more precise definition of the sphere of competence of the social worker, and thus to the professionalisation of social work. There has also developed, particularly in America, a distinction between the private agency (specialising in interpersonal problems) and the public agency (more concerned with social welfare generally). In America the more highly trained and qualified are attracted to the private agencies. Again, the concern to develop and make full use of skills and training and to render a competent technical service leaves little time for the social worker to become absorbed in the wider issues of social reform. Toren sums up the situation in the following way:-

"The tendency of the social worker to identify his tasks as casework instead of public welfare is part of the process of professionalisation. It is an attempt to base the role on scientific knowledge and methods acquired by distinctive training, and thus to protect it from encroachment by anybody without proper training. By comparison, it is much more difficult to monopolise social welfare or to give it a scientific basis". (38)
In order to describe and analyse this situation another related concept will be used, that of professional identity. Originally developed by Becker and Carper (39) this, together with the idea of 'segments', has been combined by Bucher (40) into a model of professional socialisation. This, together with the notion of 'professional identity', has already been introduced in Chapter III, and will only be re-introduced in summary form here.

The model of professional socialisation advanced by Bucher suggests a relation between certain situational variables (of which the professional identity and organisation of staff is the most important) and what are termed mechanisms of socialisation, that is the kind of socialising experiences which actually bring about socialisation.

The general relationship between these is that situational variables give rise to specific mechanisms of socialisation. Thus the professional identity of staff will give rise to, for example, certain ideas about what it is crucial for the trainee to learn and what experiences are necessary for the making of a professional.

At this stage the concern will be to suggest what is meant by 'professional identity' and to see whether differences in professional identity amongst social workers of the kind suggested above are revealed among the teaching staff who were interviewed at the two research colleges. The enquiry will be limited to the social work tutors as insufficient information is available about other teachers.

Bucher suggests the following dimensions of professional identity:-

This refers to conceptions which members of a professional group have of:

a) the nature of their field - its major problems, boundaries, theoretical tenets and methods;
b) the mission of the field, or its contributions to professional and human values;
c) the activities proper for members of the profession, and
d) the relationship between the professional group and other professional groups, organisations and institutions.

In order to illustrate possible differences in professional identity amongst the social work staff who were interviewed, it was decided to present two brief case studies representing, in the view of the writer, extremes of professional identity and of the therapeutic-reformist continuum as revealed by the staffs of the research courses (in this case the tutors). Answers to questions and responses in similar areas of the interviews are compared. All the interviews were analysed in order to find whether a distinctive pattern of answers or responses appeared in which the same ideas or orientations are linked together to form a whole; the following cases appeared to satisfy these conditions. Clearly not all the elements of professional identity described above could be explored.
Case A (41)

Therapeutic

(1) Training and career pattern.
- Arts degree/specialised social work training (M.S.W.)
- 9 years practice, mostly M.S.W.

Case B (42)

Reformist

- Sociology degree/generic social work training.
- 4 years as untrained C.C.O. then research in University Soc. Admin. department on problems of homelessness.

(ii) Professional activities outside teaching.
- Member of Institute of M.S.W. and of two committees of this Institute. Member of Assoc. of Social Work Teachers.
- Member of Association of Social Workers and Child Poverty Action Group.

"Social work tutors should continue to practice; it is important in the teaching of casework. I'm toying with the idea of doing this next year."

"It is important to be in touch with the field and I do this by going to conferences and talking to Chief Officers (of local authorities); have a lot of friends in this field too. I think that social work practice as such is not important for me but doing something outside is important - to do research which is related to teaching is important."

(iii) Nature of field major problems, boundaries, theories and methods.

"At X College we consider casework to be the crucial task because it has so much to do with practice. If one considers other methods of social work we feel that skills and knowledge for practice of casework are essential for other methods (group and community work) ... we give students idea that there is a method in social work - study/diagnosis/treatment - most of them aren't aware of it. Before you begin to teach them the methods you talk about ethics and values involved in social work - the principles underlying casework."

I was brought up on Biestek and Hamilton and don't know whether things have changed very much. We use the Bellis textbook as the base now. I have tried to integrate some of the dynamic theories of personality with as much sociological theory as I know; basically we use a kind of eclectic Freudian theory which is fairly common among

"Hope that students will get some idea of their role in relation to its setting and to the pressures and values of society, also that they will see their work in some kind of historical perspective and understand change and the reasons for change. My focus not just on the Health and Welfare services because one attempts to be generic and talk about the organisation of all services; see the student as a person working in any of them; interested in how he works in an organisation and how that organisation works within the framework of society."

"...my purpose is not concerned with the casework element in social work and I have reservations about the extent to which casework can be used in certain situations."

"Donnison's approach to organisations is very much what interests me, particularly his theories of change in organisations and how policy is shaped. ... he
Case A (Cont.)
caseworkers in this country, but I don't want to give the impression we give too much weight to this in teaching...

... I tend to see things and people in an individual way; each of the people I'm teaching I see as individuals. In general I like to see a person (at the end of course) as unprejudiced as possible about social issues, reasonably stable and mature; enough aware of themselves and their own reactions so that they don't want to influence their clients to be like them; somebody not so obsessed with the study of individual people (which is so fascinating) that don't look at external issues like poverty; somebody who can really help people find their own way through their difficulties instead of trying to find a way for them; somebody not afraid to get involved in best possible way with clients - not distant and cold but not too over involved."

(iv) Attitude to role of tutor/function of tutee, etc.

"The student will want at some stage to discuss own personal problems on the course, the insights and self awareness they get from course which worry them. Most of them at some time feel that not cut out to be social workers and you've got to help them over that particular hump. They tend to want to put you in the therapeutic situation because they know you have been a practitioner; you have to be careful not to mix up that role with the educational role. I tend to help them with personal problems which have a bearing on the learning situation, though it is hard to make a distinction. Had a student who got depressed and I brought this up with her in tutorial. She burst into tears and said her older brother died two years ago and she had never been able to mourn. I know quite a lot about helping people through this and spent an hour in a therapeutic situation with her. If it had not cleared up and she had gone on feeling guilty about causing her brother's death I would have advised her to go elsewhere. One or two of

Case B (Cont.)
draws attention to the fact that change comes from people he calls the 'providers' in the social services; providers are social workers but also administrators; this has important implications because it puts responsibility on the providers not just vis-à-vis clients in the face to face relationship but vis-à-vis policy and change in the whole service. This puts a new emphasis on their role (administrators) and also brings social workers and administrators much closer together. He refuses to draw a distinction, something the students are not very keen on; this is what influences all my teaching."
Case A (Cont.)

our students have ended up in therapy and mostly got there themselves; one or two should have but refused. One of the analysts teaching on the course would see them first and advise them where to go; they wouldn't take them on as patients because have no time and not a very good idea to mix up education and treatment."

Case B (Cont.)

"...I'm very uncomfortable about the social work tutoring thing."

The two case studies illustrate some possible differences in professional identification in social work education and something of the distinction between therapeutic and reformist orientations previously suggested.

Thus, in Case A an arts degree and specialist social work training is combined with a career exclusively devoted to social work, mostly in the medical sphere. There is an emphasis on casework as the basic social work method with a psycho-analytic basis (although this is not exclusive), and with some medical overtones. There is also an emphasis on certain desired attributes of personality in aspirants to the profession (tutor's attitudes to student selection are discussed in Chapter VIII). There is little difficulty in defining the tutor's role, which is seen in part as an active concern for the impact of the course on the personality of the individual student. Here there appears considerable congruence between the tutor/student and caseworker/client relationship, although an attempt is made to distinguish between them; thus both sets of relationships appear to fall within the same set of therapeutic ideals and the distinction, for the tutor, between practice and education appears very blurred. Thus psychotherapy appears the answer to the problems brought up by the course for the students and professional therapists who teach on the course will deal with these problems, at least in the first instance. Finally, relationships, both actual and desired, outside teaching are with other social work practitioners and with specialised and exclusive professional associations.
In Case B the education/career line is one in which a social science degree and generic social work training are combined with a mixed career in social work and research. There is emphasis on concepts such as 'the organisation' and the 'social work role' as a focus for teaching, and there is little acceptance of casework and overt criticism of it; again, there is a theoretical link with the field of social administration rather than with psycho-analysis and its influence on casework. The tutor's role is largely undefined but there is a rejection of the therapeutic solution to the problems raised for students by the course. Finally, actual and desired relationships outside the teaching role are with administrators and researchers rather than practitioners, and with a politically oriented pressure group outside social work. Professional association membership is also not exclusively confined to social work associations.

These brief profiles suggest the possibility of different segments within social work which offer different socialising experiences to students and have differing influences on students' careers. The profiles also suggest particular patterns of development of these differing orientations. Thus a social science degree combined with a generic social work training may be more likely to lead to a 'structural' or social problem approach to professional tasks in social work than one based on a non-social science degree and specialised training. Although this latter sequence contains some pre-professional training with social science elements, it is already heavily weighted toward preparation for professional tasks with a general casework orientation. In the 'reformist' segment the individuals or groups who are seen as a theoretical focus for teaching and research are in social science fields rather than exclusively in the social work field. Again, extreme specialisation in either training or practice (in Case A above it was in both) implies
a more or less precise definition of the sphere and competence
of professional work; there may also be pressure in this direction
from the institutional frameworks (such as agencies and hospitals)
in which the work goes on. As Toren suggests, this is likely
to lead to the definition of social work as dealing with interaction
in particular and circumscribed situations, and thus casework, rather
than the vaguer concerns and methods of social reform and action,
emerges as the basis of social work. This is then imported into
the training process as the basic professional tool.

Although the distinction suggested above in the two case
studies appear fairly clear cut, the degree of difference varied
from issue to issue and over some issues there was little disagreement.
Thus total conflict between individuals or groups working within the
same social situation and towards the same broad goals is clearly
difficult; thus there was also evidence from the case studies of the
acceptance and management of the conflict that was inherent in the
two approaches. For example, certain elements which appeared basic
to the standpoint of the 'reformist' also appeared to be accepted
in some senses by the therapist, although it was not clear to what
extent this became a reality in teaching. (This will become clearer
when students' reactions to the course are examined.)

An extract from Case Study B, whose reformist orientation
was not shared by the majority of her colleagues, illustrates the
management of the conflict, and some of the consequences of the
conflict for students:-

Q. "How do you see the relationship between your teaching and the
rest of the course?"
A. "I think my teaching could be a bind for the rest of the course,
it could set up a whole lot of conflicts. It could be very difficult
but it hasn't been, and has fitted in very well on the whole. As a
staff group we have discussed what we feel about this; everybody
knows that I have reservations about casework and I don't pretend to have anything else, and this helps. One year there was a difficulty in that we had a group of students who split the two things off and almost split the staff: everything that was social administration was O.K. and everything that was casework was awful. They did well on the social administration paper and not on casework; never happened before or since.”

Q. "Do you resolve this kind of problem?"

A. "Not sure we do; what happens in most years is that most students see themselves as caseworkers but some of them develop an interest in social administration and may go off into different or allied fields, so that things become complementary rather than antagonistic."

These passages indicate that, whilst the outline of segments within the social work training process may be discerned, together with conflict for the allegiance of students between such segments, the categories used to describe such segments are highly variable and in the process of constant change. Thus the therapeutic view in social work has been under attack in recent years and this will have consequences for those holding the view; it is important to view such segmentation as a product of the process of change and conflict in the wider society and to see segments as linked in a variety of ways to 'social movements' in the wider society. (44)

The relationship between segments within a profession and processes of change and conflict in the wider society appear an important and little discussed issue in the sociology of professions.
References Chapter VI


3. One of the few commentators on the socialisation process in social work has likened it to a 'family circle' of tutor/supervisor/student; see G. Woodcock, Tutor, supervisor and student, British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work, Vol. 8. No. 3, 1966.

4. As stated in Chapter V, Human Growth and Development was one of a number of subjects specified by the Training Councils as a necessary part of a social work course.


6. The term 'recognised professional qualification' refers here to courses at Universities or other educational institutions which are recognised by the Training Councils and social work agencies; it can be distinguished from pre-professional (social studies) courses, in-service agency training, etc.

7. In Jones' survey 39 out of 60 social work teachers (65%) had their main career in social work before entering teaching.


9. Ibid; Halmos suggests that a detailed study should be made of the background, career and personality characteristics of social work teachers which could be matched with a control group of equally senior social workers who remain in their agencies. This has been beyond the scope of the present study but could form part of further research.

10. For an account see J. Haines, Satisfaction in social work, New Society, 5th Jan., 1967.

11. Halmos, op. cit., also advances this view.

12. In mid-1969 salaries for senior social workers in most local authority departments were in range £1265-£1715 by comparison with University Lecturer/Tutor scales of £1240-£2735 and Technical College Lecturer/Tutor (Grade II) £1725-£2280.


14. For an account of this and of other problems encountered by the social work practitioner turned teacher see J. Cheetham, From social work to teaching; the first year, Case Conference, Vol.14, No.3 1967.


16. This is also suggested by S. Brandon, The role of the medical teacher in social work education, Case Conference, Vol.15, No.6 1968.


19. S. Brandon, op.cit.


22. In Buckinghamshire 61% of M.S.W.s and P.S.W.s had full time University education compared with 39% of other trained social workers and 8% of the untrained; see M. Jeffery's, An anatomy of social welfare services, Joseph, London, 1965.

23. This way of looking at the situation facing social work students is suggested by G. Landsberg, The Graduate School of Social Work as a socialising agency, M.S.W. thesis, New York University, School of Social Work, 1967.


29. Brager and Michael, op.cit.

30. Wilensky and Lebeaux, op.cit.


32. M. Jefferys, op.cit.


34. Ibid.

35. Segments are not synonymous with specialities for specialities may contain segments and were only unified along all lines of professional identity at early stages in their development; Bucher and Strauss, op.cit.

37. See M. Toren, op.cit.

38. Ibid.


40. Bucher (1966), op.cit.

41. Interview No. 61.

42. Interview No. 5.

43. Toren, op.cit.

44. Bucher and Strauss, op.cit.

There are a variety of possible meanings to the idea of knowledge being 'tactically organized'. (23) For example, there is a sense of power and prestige associated with who has knowledge, how accessible this is to other groups and the
CHAPTER VII
The structure and content of the college courses

Introduction

In the previous two chapters some of the forces at work in the organisation of social work training programmes were discussed. One of the outcomes of competition for control between different interests is a particular selection and organisation of available knowledge, together with mechanisms for assessing the success with which knowledge has been passed on to students. The curriculum is then the public record of what counts as the knowledge that is to be passed on in a particular programme. As Merton expresses it:

"The curriculum is a public register of the provisional outcome of this process (of competition), in about the same sense that prices, the comparative growth of firms, and profits compose the register of the provisional outcome of competition in the market place." (1)

The question of how knowledge is selected, organised and assessed in educational institutions has been a relatively neglected one. (2) But such notions as the 'social organisation or construction' of knowledge are as important in the study of occupations and professions and their training programmes as in the analysis of various kinds of educational institutions and have been equally neglected. Clearly, professional education is an area in which there is a confrontation between professional and educational definitions of 'knowledge' and it is important to try to assess the outcome of this confrontation.

There are a variety of possible meanings to the idea of knowledge being 'socially organised'. (3) For example, those in positions of power may attempt to define what is to be viewed as knowledge, how accessible this will be to other groups and what are
the relationships between different knowledge areas and those who have access to them and make them available? This kind of control over knowledge can be obtained by restricting access to educational institutions whose purpose it is to transmit knowledge to specially selected members of society. As knowledge expands it becomes increasingly differentiated, and differential prestige is accorded to different levels of knowledge in such a way that knowledge becomes stratified on a continuum between 'high' and 'low' status knowledge.

In relation to knowledge for practice, as distinct from the esoteric and often high status knowledge passed on in general education, it may be contended that the dominant principle in the organisation and construction of this knowledge is the demands of practice. The professions are, in an important way, based upon knowledge not readily available to the layman and the socialisation process involves the student in a confrontation with knowledge which must be acquired. However, practising professions are engaged in activities, and there is therefore a distinction between 'knowing' and 'doing'. Therefore questions can be posed about the substance of a profession's knowledge, how this has been organised and constructed over time, as well as about knowledge of a more general kind.

The aims of the present chapter are therefore to explore such questions, in particular the curricula of the research courses and the stated objective of such curricula, the methods by which knowledge is assessed and the more general questions of 'what constitutes knowledge' in social work.

The knowledge base of social work

The attempt to develop an exclusive basis of knowledge in social work has, until recently, centred mainly upon work with individuals and families, or social casework. An important part
of the claim that social workers have exclusive knowledge not
possessed by others is based upon casework and 'casework theory',
and professional training specifically involves casework training.
So important has casework been to the development of social work
as a profession that, in the words of Wilensky and Lebeaux, "it
is doubtful that there would be any such identifiable entity as
professional social work without it". Although casework is
only one area of knowledge and skill, its principles and general
philosophy strongly influence other forms of social work, such as
group and community work.

Social work (and casework) evolved as a reaction to the
problems of poverty and distress caused by industrialisation and
was characterised initially by a focus on the social and economic
environment of the individual. This was reflected in curricula
of the early training courses; one of the first training courses
in Britain, at the School of Sociology in London, consisted of
"Sociology based upon Professor Hobhouse's theories, social theory,
including administration, history and economic theory and practical
instruction in Poor Law administration".

This early emphasis changed rapidly and social work
became more concerned with the individual and his personality, and
the wider social forces were seen as important only as they were
expressed in terms of the behaviour of the individual. This trend
was greatly reinforced by the adoption, particularly in America,
after 1920, of elements of psycho-analytic theory, which had been
introduced into America in the second decade of the 20th century.
This spread to Britain, although it is likely that psycho-analytic
theory did not make its greatest impact upon social work until later.
However, psycho-analytic theory has had an important influence on
counselling professions in general; as Halmos suggests, "most
counsellors ....... develop their ideas under the influence of
published psycho-analytic reflection ... an insight or a new explanatory concept in therapy is passed down the line, usually starting with psycho-analytic re-appraisals and ending with social casework theoreticians translating the thing into the idiom of the social caseworker". (10)

The caseworker, by using psycho-analytic theory, operates on the premise that an individual facing stresses with which he cannot cope has resources which, if freed from various kinds of psychological blockage, will enable him to deal effectively with his problems. Thus an important part of the training of the contemporary social worker consists of the study of theories of individual behaviour based both on psycho-analytic theory and other theories derived from psychology and sociology. Basic to most professional courses of training is a course in 'human growth and development' designed to present an integrated theory of human personality and its development. Apart from this knowledge, psycho-analytic theory has, in particular, stressed the importance of the knowledge that the therapist or social worker should have of himself and his personality in order to help others more effectively. Thus 'self awareness' and 'self knowledge' is another goal of the modern social work educator.

These changes in the kinds of knowledge underlying social work practice are reflected in more recent curricula, in particular the order of priority that is suggested. The Report of the Younghusband Committee, which recommended the extension of social work training outside the universities, suggested that courses should give students a good understanding of:

(a) human needs, motivation and behaviour. It is paramount that students should have a sound general grasp of how human beings function in their physical, psychological and social aspects.
(b) the social and economic circumstances in which people live and
(c) the social services, statutory and voluntary. (11)

Courses were to be based on an integration of theory and practice. The "essential characteristics of social work" were seen as mainly concerned "with failures in personal and social functioning".

The college courses

The aims and structure of the research college courses illustrate these contemporary definitions of the social worker's role and the knowledge which is held to be important for practice. For example, particular stress is given by both Training Councils associated with the two courses to working with individuals and to casework. Casework is regarded by the Home Office (12) as the "essential requirement" for all social workers and other areas of the curriculum are referred to in terms which suggest that they have much less importance; thus only "added knowledge" is required of group dynamics and an "appreciation" of administration.

The Council for Training in Social Work, although claiming that the courses it promotes are intended as a training in social work in general rather than social casework, also suggests the same kind of emphasis in its statements. (13) Thus students will acquire through training "competence in casework", but only "some knowledge" is required in the fields of group work and community development. Stress is also laid on the importance of students learning how to use 'the relationship' between themselves and their clients; this relationship "may prove to be the most potent factor in enabling a client to resolve or manage his problems". To improve their capacity to offer clients a relationship "students will need to develop increased self awareness, including some knowledge of their own biases and prejudices".
The stated objectives of the colleges largely echo those of the Training Councils. At the research Tech, the function of the social worker is described as "the helping of clients towards a clearer understanding of their needs or problems by the use of their own resources, or with the help of community resources or expert help". At the research University the aim is to turn out professional social workers "who share a body of knowledge and skills enabling them to perform their tasks effectively, but who have also developed a sense of professional responsibility toward continued learning and teaching and towards attempting to influence social policy". In the former case the future occupational role of the student is not defined so clearly and there is no specific commitment to academic or policy making roles. However, the course is designed to develop particular professional attitudes; one of the stated objectives is for students "to accept social work values and professional ethics".

Social work courses, like other preparations for occupational roles, are combinations of academic classroom learning and practical experience of the occupational role. In some cases, as in most teacher and nursing training, these are clearly distinguished periods of time. In social work, for the most part, this is not the case and college and practical work go on side by side, students spending part of the week in college and the remainder in a social work agency. The only exception to this, in the case of the research colleges, was where students spent a period of weeks in a residential institution and, in the case of the research University, where students spent the final ten weeks of the course on practical work.

The two facets of professional training mean a contest for the loyalty of students between theoretical and practical teaching, between the classroom and (in this case) the social work
agency. This contest is intensified in social work both by the concurrent nature of the two types of experiences and the amount of time actually spent in practical training. In the research University course this made up two thirds of the total time of the course as a whole, and in the research Tech. a half of the total time. Again, the students experience of practical work begins at the very start of the course and runs alongside classroom teaching for the rest of the time. An opportunity for close and early identification with the problems of practice is provided rather than an explicit identification with the intellectual aspect of such problems. This, as Meyer suggests, may reflect the ambiguities met with in the classroom about what constitutes 'knowledge' and 'competence' in social work. The issue of practical training is discussed further in Chapter X on 'paying the role of the professional', and is introduced here as making up part of the 'knowledge' that is selected for presentation to the student.

The academic curriculum

Table 11 shows the structure of the academic curricula of the research courses divided into subject areas analysed by the number of contact hours for each subject, (in the research University there were a number of optional courses and the hours for these have been shown separately in brackets in the second column.) The courses have a number of common elements, the most important of which are:

(i) Social casework/methods of social work (21% of total contact hours at University, 19% at the Tech.);

(ii) human growth and development and associated courses (30% and 20% respectively);

(iii) social policy, social structure, criminology, law, etc., (17% and 40%, although social structure was optional in the university).
## TABLE 11
Curricula of the college courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Social casework/methods of social work</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Human growth and behaviour</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social/cultural structure and influences on behaviour</td>
<td>- (10)*</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social policy &amp; administration</td>
<td>see note below</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Group study: theory group experience</td>
<td>3% (2)</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Social work settings</td>
<td>8% (6)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Paediatrics</td>
<td>7% (5)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Research methods</td>
<td>8% (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Family and law</td>
<td>- (8)*</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Criminology</td>
<td>7% (6)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Law for social workers</td>
<td>10% (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ethics</td>
<td>3% (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Homelessness</td>
<td>3% (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                                            | 100% (100) | 100% |

153 hours (200 hours)  561 hours

**Notes:**

1. In the University course there were some optional subjects and these have been denoted by an asterisk. The first column expresses the University curriculum without optional subjects, the second column in brackets includes options.

2. In the University course social administration was taught under the heading of 'Principles of social work'.

The emphasis given to different subject areas varied between the two courses, reflecting the differences between the two groups of students. In the case of the University, where students had received a basic education in one or other of the social sciences, there was in general a greater emphasis on subjects closely related to the performance of the occupational role, such as 'principles of social work', 'human growth and development', 'paediatrics' and 'law'.


In the Tech, the more basic social science subjects, 'social influences on behaviour' and 'social policy and administration', were of greater importance and made up 40% of the formal teaching hours. In the University they were either optional or were taught (as in the case of social administration) within the social work methods course. Another important difference was the presence of a 'research methods' course in the University setting, which was absent in the Tech. This may reflect the wider definition given to the future role of the student by the University course, which includes responsibility for influencing social policy and for teaching, and where a capacity for critical appreciation of research material is of importance. These aims are absent in the Tech., and are not reflected in the curriculum.

The similarities between the courses are, however, greater than the differences, suggesting a broad consensus on the appropriate content of social work education between the various controlling groups, such as the Training Councils and social work teachers. Both courses conform in their curricula to the various subject areas required by the Training Councils to a considerable extent; 74% and 79% of the total teaching hours of the University and Tech. courses are composed of required subject areas. (16)

Taken together, the statements of the Training Councils and colleges and the structure of the college curricula suggest a dominant orientation in the research courses towards defining skill in social work as the practice of social casework. Social casework (17) and its theoretical basis, Human Growth and Development, made up 51% and 39% of the University and Tech. courses. Other social work methods played a much less important part in the curriculum; group work made up 3% and 11% of the curriculum in the University and Tech., although in the former there was an optional opportunity to participate in a T-group experience. There was no evidence of teaching in community work as a social work method on either course.
Although the curricula of social work courses are currently in a state of some uncertainty and are the subject of considerable discussion, the research courses are probably a fair illustration of the content of social work courses in the late 1960s. Meyer’s comment in relation to the balance of power amongst those who control American social work courses is therefore appropriate to the British situation:

“There is little doubt that those who define social responsibility of the profession in terms of individuals rather than of reform and policy have the ascendancy. . . . knowledge of the history and details of social welfare policies is not emphasised in the curriculum as much as ‘human growth and development’.” (19)

Assessment

Apart from the selection and organisation of knowledge in educational institutions there is also a process by which students are assessed in their understanding of this knowledge. Teachers may also be assessed for their capacities to transmit knowledge. Assessment procedures are therefore an aspect of the social organisation of knowledge.

Occupations undergoing professionalisation clearly need to assess the competence of would be members both in terms of their knowledge and practice skills. This means that assessment procedures must include practice skills as well as knowledge. In social work training there is both assessment of students’ knowledge by written papers and of practical skills by those who supervise students’ work in the agencies. These practical work assessments have considerable importance in the final decision to grant or withhold the professional qualification. In the Tech. course a student may fail in the written papers or essays and this may be compensated by high performance in another area; but failure in fieldwork is much more serious and can be referred (and repeated)
only in exceptional circumstances, for example where college teachers and external assessors feel there is a good chance of the candidate being successful. Similarly, in the University assessment much stress is laid upon the second long essay (involving discussion of case material) and the report of the supervisor from the second and longest placement.

Another form of assessment in use in social work training is 'continuous assessment'. This method stresses the importance of progress a student may have made during a course, particularly the development of certain attitudes to knowledge, rather than the testing of a student's knowledge at a particular point or points in time. In the University course, apart from long essays and practical work reports, students were assessed on their work during the course including spoken and written contributions in seminars, classes and tutorials. Continuous assessment appears to express something of the ideology of social work and possibly other professions. One aspect of this ideology is an emphasis on the personality (whether of client or student) and its capacity for development or growth when faced with new situations. In terms of the situation facing social work students, the knowledge required for social work practice (both of academic subjects and of the 'self' of the student) constitutes the new situations to which the personality is exposed. Students are then judged less on their ability to master such knowledge and attain high levels of skill certified by formal examinations as by the development of particular attitudes to knowledge, in particular the integration of knowledge with development or growth in the personality and the need to see knowledge as applied to activities. Thus the importance of formal examinations is therefore constantly minimised in social work education, particularly in the universities.
This form of assessment also implies a close contact between students and teachers and the extensive use of small groups and tutorials. Students of both courses had individual tutorials every second week of the regular term as well as frequent meetings with supervisors. There were no individual tutorials with other teachers and students were therefore being assessed very much by the college tutor and supervisor.

This method of assessment was in complete contrast to that experienced by students on previous courses, for example the undergraduate courses which most of the University students had taken. Continuous assessment involved strains and problems of various kinds for both teachers and students and these, together with the system of 'coaching and criticism' in general and students reactions to it, are examined further in Chapter XII.

Methods of assessment are an important reflection of the way knowledge is organised, selected and stratified. An example of this is the problem (referred to in Chapter V) of the assessment of students' practical work in social work agencies. All professionalising occupations face the problem that their attempts to pass on the rudiments of practice skills to new entrants normally go on in the context of educational institutions (such as Universities) which do not necessarily accept this kind of activity as sufficiently 'academic' or 'theoretical' to be capable of being assessed in any realistic way. Occupations deal with this problem in various ways, for example by setting up training schemes outside recognised educational institutions under their own control. But occupations also seek affiliations to Universities in order to increase their status, and in doing so may come into conflict with the culture of these institutions.
In the case of social work, professional educators are united in their belief that students must show a minimum of practice skills before certification and (as has been shown in this chapter) regard these skills as of greater importance than academic attainment in the final assessment of students. But social work teachers often have difficulty in persuading universities to accept this. As McDougall comments, "social work teachers often have to battle to get reports on practice included in the final assessment of student performance. They also have a conscience about those students whose reports are very poor but who scrape through academically because the culture of universities is such that it is made easier to justify weakness in practice than in theory". (23)

This conflict reflects different conceptions of 'what constitutes knowledge'. The academic curricula of most universities has a number of common characteristics, and this kind of curricula has become legitimised as of 'high status' (and thus separated or stratified in relation to other kinds of curricula) over a period of time by those in positions of power. (24) This has occurred in part as a result of the bureaucratisation of educational systems which have led to an emphasis on examinations as the most objective means of assessing knowledge. (25) The major constraint on 'what counts as knowledge' will therefore be whether it can be 'objectively assessed'; one of the ideas implicit in academic curricula is that if knowledge cannot be examined it cannot be worth knowing.

Formal examinations also place emphasis on written rather than oral expression. Literacy becomes one of the ways in which knowledge and people are stratified. This emphasis is also frequently in contradiction to the private oral traditions of primary groups, such as the family and occupational groups. Literacy also implies knowledge that, in comparison to non-literate culture, is frequently at odds with the daily life of individuals and which tends to disregard a persons social experience. (26)
The kind of knowledge which is held to be of importance in social work education, and the way it is assessed, is therefore in sharp contrast to 'academic knowledge'. There is a stress upon 'activities' which involves mainly oral communication (between student and tutor or supervisor) and assessments of this communication, rather than learning culminating in examinations involving literate communication. There is also an emphasis on the development of particular attitudes to knowledge rather than on knowledge itself. Social work education therefore shares some of the characteristics of a 'non-literate' culture, in the sense that it reinforces the connections between an individual and his social world, daily life and common experience rather than severing these connections, stressing the concreteness rather than abstractness of knowledge. In particular, it brings a person into touch with his own biographical self and experiences.

Thus 'high status' academic knowledge is organised in terms of literacy, abstractness and unrelatedness to everyday experience, and stresses individualism both in terms of the absorption of knowledge through study and examination involving the expression of individuals. Social work education tends towards a non academic curricula organised on the basis of oral expression, individual and group activity, concreteness rather than abstractness of knowledge, which is highly related to everyday social experience. Clearly when knowledge of this kind is located in institutions such as universities, which express in most extreme form high status academic curricula, a conflict between the two kinds of knowledge is almost inevitable.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter the curriculum of the research courses has been seen as the public register of the outcome of competition over what is to constitute the knowledge that will be passed on during training. The idea of knowledge as socially organised or controlled
is an unfamiliar one and has been relatively unexplored in any connection, particularly it seems in professional education. However, it appears important to see a training programme as composed of a particular selection from available knowledge at a particular point in time, which arises out of competition between interest groups. In the following chapter another aspect of the social organisation of knowledge, the restriction of access to this knowledge to specially selected individuals through the system of selection, will be discussed.

In the case of the research courses the two most important influences on the selection and organisation of knowledge were those of the State, expressed through the Training Councils, and the social work profession, expressed by the teaching staff of the courses. Although differing interests (or 'segments') were represented here there was considerable agreement that the major focus in social work education should be on the individual and his inadequacies, and in enabling students to work with this kind of focus. This orientation found expression in the curriculum in the heavy weighting towards the teaching of casework as a social work method with its associated theoretical underpinning in Human Growth and Development. The dominance of this approach reflects the way in which social work has developed in the 20th century, particularly the influence of psychiatric ideas. The type of model which psychiatry offered appeared a firmer basis for professionalisation than alternative models, (i.e. social reform), and also provided a link with other high status professions with a clinical bias, such as medicine and particularly psychiatry. This influence was probably at its height in Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s, and this is the period when many social work teachers (including those on the research courses) were themselves trained, and socialised into a therapeutic conception of social work manifested in an intense concern for the
individual and his problems. In the later 1960s this group appear to have considerable influence over the training of students, both by direct teaching and writing and also by holding positions of power on bodies which influence the content of training programmes (such as Training Councils, committees of professional associations). The content of social work education, like social work practice, is at present being criticised by those who question the conceptions which such groups have of the function of social work.

Another feature of the social organisation of knowledge is the way in which knowledge is assessed. Here social work education, in its emphasis on knowledge expressed orally or in the form of activities, differs sharply from traditional definitions of knowledge. This is most clearly seen in the different forms of assessment inherent in the two forms of knowledge (high and low status knowledge). The lack of emphasis on formal written examinations at particular points in time in the latter type of knowledge means that students are faced with a series of situations in which they might be assessed by other criteria. These include capacities to relate knowledge to everyday social experience and in particular to students' own social biographies. Clearly one implication of this form of socially organised knowledge is to focus on the 'self' of the student and on the development of 'self awareness'. This is again taken up in later chapters on the process of socialisation.

The curriculum and its associated activities, when viewed as a totality, presents the student with a considerable, even punishing, burden of work. In the case of social work there is a demand that the student will constantly shift his attention from classroom to agency, and from academic to non academic types of knowledge. The nature of much of the knowledge to which the student is exposed, and the kind of expectations held of how he will deal with this, is not the least of the hurdles facing the student.
One way of looking at the sheer burden of work which is demanded of students of the professions is that it provides an important test of commitment to the profession. Even though commitment might be present in the neophyte student, not only must standards of competence be shown but identification with the profession as a collectivity is necessary. One way of obtaining this is by virtually sequestering students in 'total institutions' cut off from normal activities, such as military academies and theological schools. Here not only is the student presented with tasks which will test his identification, but there is the chance of relieving the tensions generated through identification with a peer group which is suffering in a similar way.

Where this separation is impossible, the conditions referred to may be approximated by the sheer burden of work demanded of students, and by the varied nature of this demand. Knowledge itself, inevitably of an esoteric kind, might also make up part of this separation of the professional trainee from everyday life. Thus the trainee is put through a series of unpleasant and taxing tasks with the possibility of failure. The possibility of peer relationships also create a kind of fellowship of suffering. This theory, which might be described as the 'punishment centred theory of socialisation', would appear to have some support from what has been said so far about the curricula of the research courses, and will be developed in more detail in the concluding chapter.
References Chapter VII


3. Ibid.


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.


14. H. Meyer, Professionalisation and social work today, in E. Thomas (ed.) Behavioural science for social workers; the emphasis in training on fieldwork has also been noted in the history of social work training, see H. Lubove, The professional altruist, Harvard University Press, 1965.


16. In the case of the university these subjects were 'social work methods', 'theories of human growth and behaviour', 'law for social workers', 'paediatrics' and 'social work settings'; in the case of the Tech. these were 'principles of social work', 'human growth and behaviour', 'social history and structure' and 'social policy'.

17. In the university course social administration was taught together with casework and this figure refers to a combination of these subjects.

18. See for example R.C. Wright, Principles and practice of social work; a curriculum discussion paper, Council for Training in Social Work (1970) unpubl., which suggests that the balance in social work training "is shifting back from a major pre-occupation with individuals to a consideration of people".

20. Whilst candidates may be referred in two examination papers or in one paper and the long essay, "a candidate may only be referred in fieldwork if he has not reached the required standard to pass but has shown sufficient progress to suggest he might pass if given a further period of fieldwork training"; extract from Council for Training in Social Work; Regulations for the assessment of students.

21. It has been a feature of some teacher training courses for some time; see W. Taylor, Society and the education of teachers, Faber, London, 1969.


24. M. Young, op.cit.


29. Ibid.
CHAPTER VIII

Selection of students

Introduction

Selection for entry to any profession has considerable significance for those who are selected, those who select and for those who are rejected. For those who are selected the decision and the process which has led up to it means entry to a professional career, or to preparation for this career. This may mean changes in the social status, income, life style and life chances of the candidate, in addition to entry to and membership of the 'community' which, to some observers at least, a profession represents. Entry to professional training also implies the beginning of a period of adult socialisation and of change in the attitudes and values of those undergoing this process.

For the selectors the process of selection crystallises their own professional attitudes and values, their conceptions and images of the profession and its essential work. Selection for professional training implies in many instances actual entry to the profession. The setting up of training schemes and schools of professional training is a costly venture in which a great deal of time, money and effort are invested. Thus, in many cases, it is unrealistic to fail a large number of students after admission to training. A high failure rate also casts doubt on the judgement of members of the profession who are responsible for admission. The pressure to pass candidates who are admitted to training schools is very great and failure rates in such courses are relatively low. Thus entry thresholds to such courses tend to be demanding and a great deal of effort goes into the selection process. In the research courses under discussion here the selection process started some nine months before the next course actually began. The time taken on the administration of the process, the analysis of applications,
qualifications, references and so on, as well as the actual selection process in which candidates are interviewed, including meetings between selectors to make final decisions, involves a vast expenditure of time and effort.

The selectors thus stand at the gateway of the profession and are selecting individuals who, in a relatively short period, in some cases even during the training period, will be treated as professional colleagues and will come to see themselves as part of the professional community. Thus it is extremely important to attempt to exclude the unsuitable or the unfit at this initial stage. The importance of selection also reflects the nature of the relationship between the professions and the wider society. As Goode has suggested, the professions are rewarded highly by the wider society for the special services they render. But in order to legitimise this reward the wider community has to be assured that the service given is of a uniformly high standard. In order to achieve this, and retain their position of prestige, the professions can demand high entry standards of candidates and that candidates submit themselves to a period of training and socialisation. The professions thus have considerable control over their members, in particular at entry to the profession.

Professions also have to deal with the problems of those who fail to be selected for training. The reaction to failure may vary with the value system of the profession, and with the severity of the selection process. In social work, for example, in which acceptance of the person is an important value and in which the selection process appears particularly severe, the problem of 'what to do' about those who are rejected is considerable. The selectors may try to avoid conveying the impression that their rejection of the candidate reflects on him in any general sense, or that he is unfitted for other professions. Strenuous attempts may be made to redirect or counsel the unsuccessful to an extent which is rarely found in other
professions. Failure after selection is treated in a similar way.

In part because of the importance of selection in many professions, the actual process by which this occurs appears shrouded in mystery. The situation might be likened to that of a 'black box', (4) where the inputs can be fairly well described in terms of their social characteristics, and there is also information about the outputs in terms of the characteristics of those actually recruited (to be discussed in the next chapter). But little is known about the actual process of selection and of the confrontation between selectors and candidates.

This chapter will contain, apart from a general discussion of the sociological aspects of selection, an account of the selection procedures in the research courses and in social work in general. This is based on documentary information, on interviews with staff responsible for selection and on the writer's experiences as a selector on a variety of social work courses (not the research courses).

An approach to the selection process

One way of looking at the selection process is to see it as one of the consequences of the character of the host institution and its staff. (5) This will determine to a considerable extent what is looked for in candidates. As already suggested, a profession may be seen as a series of segments or groups of differing professional identity. Different segments may look for different characteristics in candidates and subject them to differing entrance tests. Again, the survival of segments depends upon the recruitment of candidates who are potential successors and thus selection can be an important area of conflict in which segments attempt to select candidates which will aid survival, or attempt to gain control over selection procedures in general.
Again the host institution is likely to be part of a larger unit (such as a hospital or university) which will also influence the selection process. The training programme, as was shown in Chapter V, may be financed and partly administered by a national or regional body. The host institution may have affiliations with other institutions or agencies and may use them as resources in the training programmes. Examples would be schools, hospitals, clinics and social work agencies. All these extra institutional influences are likely to enter the selection process and the socialisation programme through the host institution and its professional staff, some of which have been discussed in previous chapters.

Each host institution has an approved and characteristic orbit through which candidates move on their way to a professional training programme. This includes certain academic and work experiences which it is believed will provide an adequate basis for professional training. Thus host institutions will have informal links with schools, colleges or universities, as well as agencies in which the work of the profession is carried out by the untrained, from which they will draw candidates. Candidates may apply as a result of being personally known to one of the selectors, either as a student or practitioner; alternatively, host institutions may draw their candidates from a more or less unknown regional, or even national, pool. Finally, each host institution will have a 'drawing power', based mainly on the reputation of the staff in their disciplines, which will influence potential candidates.

Thus a variety of selectors are involved in the process of selection and they will bring with them a number of criteria by which candidates are assessed. One task is to determine the nature of these criteria in the case of the research courses, the clarity and strength with which they are held and the relative importance
of different criteria. Again, if there is conflict between the
criteria held by different selectors, how and in what direction
is this conflict resolved?

The selection process in the research courses

1. Initial selection process.

Both host institutions received a large number of enquiries
from prospective candidates for admission as a result of advertisements
in the national press, and the more informal dissemination of
information about each course in schools, universities and social
work agencies. The research Tech. received over 2,000 enquiries
for application forms to fill the 20 places available each year. Of
these only about 10% are returned, signifying that there is a
considerable amount of self selection at this stage. Thus the
application form with its demands for specific information about
the qualification and experience of the applicant, as well as a
detailed personal statement about motivation to enter social work,
acts as an initial mechanism of selection.

Apart from this initial self selection, the process of
selection is in two parts. Completed application forms are received,
together with a letter of application, references and a photograph
of the candidate. These applications are then processed to obtain
a short list of candidates who are invited for interview with the
selectors.

The term 'selectors' refers to all those involved in the
selection process, whether in the initial screening process or the
interviews. In the research courses the initial selection process
was mainly carried out by the tutors (i.e. social workers). Others
involved, either at this stage or in the later interview stage,
included fieldwork supervisors, college lecturers and Home Office
inspectors.
TABLE 12

Applicants for the two research courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Number of applications submitted</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>Univ.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Number interviewed: and as % of (1)</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>Univ.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(39%)</td>
<td>(70%)</td>
<td>(53%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Number of places</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>Univ.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 12 over half the applicants were interviewed. This compares to a figure of about 40% in Jones' study of the selection procedure in eleven 2 year social work courses.\(^{(6)}\)

It is important to note that a large number of candidates were excluded at this stage on purely documentary evidence. This evidence mainly consisted of references, case history material about the applicant (education, occupational history, etc.) and a personal statement or essay about the development of the candidate's interest in and motivations for social work.

This kind of evidence was used in a variety of ways by the selectors. For example, there appears to be a background of occupational experiences which is preferred by selectors and through which successful candidates have moved. The adequacy or otherwise of these experiences as a basis for training is often assessed at this stage. One form of occupational experience is previous employment, or voluntary experience, in social work.\(^{(7)}\) Thus some preference is given to those already in practice who have either no training or agency training only on the grounds that the first essential in a professionalising occupation is to train those already in practice and committed to the work of the profession.

Another reason for this preference is to obtain some form of prior commitment to the profession and to test motivation. This may reflect a situation where training resources are scarce and the need to professionalise very great. By obtaining prior commitment, as well as an indication of the suitability of the candidate through
experience of the work of the profession, wastage is cut to a minimum. One mechanism by which this is ensured is the practice of appointing applicants to traineeships in local authority social work departments with the expectation that they will apply for training within a period of a year or so. Successful applicants are then seconded on full pay to courses with the expectation that they will return to their authorities for at least two years after finishing. A great deal of importance is also attached, at this stage, to references from social workers with whom the candidate has worked.

This is an important stage in the socialisation process about which little is known. How, for example, are candidates initially selected by local authorities and what kind of experiences do they have during the traineeship period? The research which is being reported here has only an indirect light to throw on such questions. However, one interpretation which can be given is that this pre-professional socialisation is a test not only of commitment to the world of social work but to the bureaucracy which is represented by the local authority. Thus adjustment to bureaucratic norms and values may be as important in achieving entry to social work in this initial stage as suitability for the profession as judged by professional selectors. This situation reflects the importance of the relationship between social work as a professional practice and the organisational structures in which this practice is carried out. It would be important to determine, for example, the extent to which there was conflict or congruence between the kinds of selections made by the local authority and by the representatives of the profession in the colleges and universities.

Another aspect of the professional/bureaucratic relationship in social work is that social work courses are dependent on social work agencies for their fieldwork placements. This means that students
could be 'sponsored' by local authorities and other agencies and given favourable consideration by the colleges at the expense of other applicants. There is evidence of this occurring in the U.S. (9) and the writer has observed this process whilst acting as a selector on social work courses.

For those with no previous experience in social work there is also a type of occupational experience approved by selectors and which is likely to lay the foundations for a successful application. This includes some form of occupational experience, or a sequence of such experiences, which lead up to social work and contain elements which provide some preparation for social work as a career. The occupations which provide experiences and opportunities on which entry to other occupations and professions can be based have been termed 'bridging occupations'. The characteristics of such occupations include opportunities for re-socialisation, or the redirection of the perspectives and aspirations of the individual, independency, or the dissociation of the individual from previous ties and commitments which might restrict mobility, and access to information and people which may assist the individual in movement into a desired occupation.

For candidates for social work training there were a variety of 'bridging occupations' with such characteristics; for example, voluntary social work gave the candidate some idea of the nature of a 'helping relationship', provided a means by which he could compare this with previous work experiences and, perhaps most important of all, put him in touch with individuals who could sponsor him in the competition for entry to training by providing information about appropriate courses and career lines, as well as references.

Where such experiences were lacking, and the previous occupational record of the candidate did not appear to have social work as the end of a logical sequence, the candidate appeared at a
distinct disadvantage. As one tutor put it "we would be unimpressed with a candidate where the sequence of jobs doesn't seem to lead up to social work and it just seems the next thing to try out". (11)

Apart from providing evidence of a candidate's ability to write coherently, the personal statement also provides an opportunity for selectors to gain some idea of the candidate's motivation and personality, particularly of the possession by the candidate of attributes such as 'insight', or the ability to develop this attribute. This kind of enquiry is, of course, carried much further if the candidate survives to the interview stage. The statement may therefore persuade the selectors of the unsuitability or 'unfitness' of the candidate on the grounds that it demonstrates some kind of pathological condition. Thus as one Tech tutor put it, "personal statements may sound more like psycho-social histories; maybe the students we see later have as much pathology but have exercised more sensible judgement about it". (12) Or as another Tech tutor put it more directly, "we get applicants who are mentally sick, deprived in their own background; they are ruled out". (13)

This highlights a major feature in the selection process in social work, the attempt to exclude those who are unfitted because of personality or emotional problems. This is a particular problem for the counselling professions for, as Halmos has suggested, (14) the candidate may see in commitment to a vocation such as social work and as a result of contact with the problems of others, the possibility of self therapy and self realisation. But, the primary task is to offer a service to the client and one function of the selection process is to ensure the recruitment of candidates who can undertake these tasks. However, the ability of the professional to put client needs uppermost is clearly a more general property of professional/client relationships. (15)
To summarise, the candidates who progress beyond this initial stage are those who fulfill the basic educational requirements for the course, those whose career aspirations in social work match the particular specialisations offered by the courses, those whose application has been preceded by an approved series of occupational experiences and those who have in their personal statements avoided the expression of attitudes considered by the selectors as inappropriate to future counsellors.

2. Final selection process.

The candidates who survived the initial selection process were invited to make a personal appearance in front of the selectors. Final selection was based upon interviews between candidates, tutors and fieldwork supervisors (supervisors were only used in the selection process in the Tech.\textsuperscript{(16)} and a group discussion between candidates, observed by selectors (in the University only). In the Tech. there was also a test of English comprehension and a precis.

These arrangements were rather different from those in the 11 courses studied by Jones.\textsuperscript{(17)} Although 8 out of the 11 courses had individual interviews, all had final boards,\textsuperscript{(18)} and most courses also made use of intelligence tests.

The differences in selection procedures of the two courses reflect the fact that Tech. candidates may have had little previous formal education, making necessary further educational tests. In the University, by the time of the final interviewing stage, the main criteria were those of personality and motivation.

Selectors were asked to describe the main areas of enquiry covered in the final selection process, of which the following appeared the most important:-
(i) Candidates' life history.

At some stage events in the candidate's life history were discussed, including the experience of early childhood, later family experiences, experiences in the present, including work experiences, and experiences of and reactions to stress, including illness of both mental and physical kinds, bereavement, family and work situations.

Here the attempt to distinguish between those seen as 'fit' or 'unfit' for practice is continued. One test of fitness is reactions to stressful situations or problems the individual has faced in his life. Thus, rather than looking for candidates with uneventful or unstressful lives, selectors appeared to emphasise certain reactions to stress of a positive nature which had led to growth in the personality.

Tech. tutor: "It is important to know how the candidate had come through stress; maybe that somebody who had come through would make a better social worker than those with unstressful lives."(19)

University tutor: "The fact that a student had had personal experience of stress wouldn't preclude acceptance (for the course) if it seemed he had potential for social work."(20)

(ii) The candidate's capacity to form relationships, to 'relate to people'.

Selectors were asked what they meant by this, and how they would be able to assess a candidate's capacity in this direction. Typical of comments in response to the first question was:

Tech. tutor: "I look for an ability to communicate in an animated kind of way - a feeling that they are a warm, receptive, perceptive person."(21)

In assessing this, selectors appeared to rely almost
entirely on the capacity of the candidate to relate to them and, in the case of the research University, to other candidates in the group situation. A failure to 'relate' during the process of selection to others involved in this process raised doubts about the suitability of the candidate.

**University tutor:** "One looks for comeback - is this the kind of person I like talking to and from which something comes back." (22)

**Tech. tutor:** "If you get no feeling that they are making a real relationship with you, you get the feeling that they are not for the field." (23)

**Tech. tutor:** "It depends if I get on with them; if someone withdraws completely, is unable to give out anything from themselves, one would be worried." (24)

In the group situation in the research University, candidates were asked to discuss contemporary issues in social work. The discussion and the interaction which goes on is observed by selectors. Apart from giving further evidence of the candidates' abilities to 'relate', this is also a test of capacity to function in a group in a general sense. Much of the teaching in both research courses took place in small seminar groups and the candidates' capacity to function in such a setting is therefore important. Selectors were asked about the way in which behaviour in the group was assessed. One type of behaviour to raise doubts was over aggressive, assertive behaviour in which the candidate prevented the group from functioning.

(iii) The candidates' ability to fill the roles of student, both in college and the agency, and future social worker.

**Tech. tutor:** "One of the final questions we (the selectors) ask ourselves is, 'would we be prepared to supervise or
Another technique, which is carried through into teaching, is to place the candidate in the role of social worker whilst the selector takes on a client role and is ‘interviewed’ (role reversal). In this way the selector can gain an idea of how the candidate might appear to the client, although the subjects of the ‘interview’ (e.g. the selector’s qualifications and experience) are, of course, different from those normally covered by a caseworker/client interview.

In practice between \( \frac{1}{3} \) and \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the candidates who are interviewed are, according to the selectors, generally suitable for training, on the basis of the criteria suggested above. There are, therefore, a number of further considerations dictating the final choice; thus, although the candidate is suitable for training he may not be suitable for this particular course. For example, the research University course is of one year only and is very intensive; certain candidates may benefit from a longer training elsewhere. The urgency of the candidate’s need to train may vary. For example, in situations where the candidate is already in social work, some agencies may be providing adequate in-service training whilst others are not. Finally candidates are also selected to fit in with the requirements of the teaching method. In both research courses much of the teaching is carried out in small seminar groups of between ten and fifteen people and these need to be balanced in terms of the sex and age composition of the group and the experience of group members. Thus the necessity to recruit on the basis of these factors will have an influence on the final selection of candidates. This is an example of the way in which the structure of the socialisation process can itself help to determine the success or otherwise of candidates for admission to professional training. Another kind of teaching method,
for example one demanding little personal interaction between students, would have very different implications for the selection of candidates.

An interpretation of the selection process

One way of describing the selection process is as a search for candidates who, in the eyes of the selectors, are 'socially educable'. According to Towle, the socially educable student is one "who can become motivated to work for the common good rather than be driven largely to strive for self maximisation or for the maximisation of those who, closely related in his life situation, are an extension of himself". Another element in this concept is the capacity of the candidate to use the actual educational process as a means to personal maturation and growth aside from a display of intellectual excellence. Yet the search for this kind of candidate does not imply the exclusion of those whose progress through life has been eventful, even stressful. Rather the desire is to choose those who have responded positively to problems and challenges and who have through their responses shown signs of personal growth and 'insight'.

In their search for the 'socially educable' candidate the selectors placed little weight upon factors such as academic performance, or formal tests of intelligence, personality or educational attainment. Instead, selectors turned to a method with which they were most familiar in their own practice, the case history/casework approach, which emphasises the social history and personality of the individual. Thus importance was attached to the candidate's personal statement and, above all, to the presentation of the candidate to the selectors during the final phase of the selection process.
There are a number of reasons for the importance attached to the candidate's 'presentation of self'. Towle, discussing the advantages of the written autobiography and the selection interview, criticises the former (which has come to be used in selection by American Schools of Social Work because in many cases candidates and schools are separated by vast distances) on the grounds that it written to a 'fantasy person'. This does not give an adequate guide to the candidate's capacities for understanding or relating to others; "the decisive point is that the autobiography is not an interview and cannot substitute for it .... it approximates the sociologist's questionnaire, an instrument with which the social caseworker is not at home".

Again, the candidate cannot actually be observed playing the role of the professional and participating in the work of the profession. But the selection process can itself provide the means for testing the candidate for a future professional role. For example, the candidate can be seen at the start of the pursuit of a distant goal and his responses to the obstacles and problems met with during the selection process, which is a stressful situation in which the student is asked to adjust to a variety of different demands and circumstances (interviews, tests, group situations), can be observed. Thus the way in which the candidate reacts to the challenge of a distant goal may be predictive of his reactions to goals in professional work. Again the candidate must submit to a rigorous test of his motivations and the challenge of this situation will effectively test his defences and capacities for adaptation. According to Towle one kind of adaptation (and presumably a 'correct' one) centres around the realistic acceptance of the selection process by the adoption of a questioning and partially independent stance; alternatively, the candidate may submit absolutely and unquestioningly to the process in pursuit of a neurotic desire to attain his goal at any price.
Although the candidate cannot be directly tested in the work of the profession, some approximation to both worker and client roles can be simulated. It has already been shown how candidates for the research courses can be asked to take on social worker roles and 'interview' the selectors; similarly the candidate can be put in client roles, where the 'problem' is to determine the suitability of the candidate for admission to the course and where candidates' past experiences and present orientations are relevant to the solution of the problem.

The importance of the presentation of the 'self' of the candidate also emerges from other studies of social work education and socialisation and from more general commentaries on the subject. Shey emphasises from his research on American schools of social work that candidates were well aware of the importance of the admissions interview, partly as a result of the fact that 75% of candidates had previous experience in social work and so had opportunities of learning, from those who had already been through the training process, the most successful modes of presentation. Thus candidates were out to prove that they were 'psychically fit' for social work and did this by attempting to match themselves to the expectations of selection committees, which were gathered from an informal network of contacts. Thus, the student is out

"to play the game - whether or not this is reality does not matter. He wants to be seen as psychically fit, i.e. emotionally stable and mature and to believe that his reasons for wanting to work with people are legitimate, born of something other than purely personal needs." (33)

Shey also suggests that the presentation of an approved 'self' continues through into the course as such, and that the student presents two 'selves'; firstly one that is acceptable to his teachers, secondly what he really believes about social work.
society and the educational process and so on. Clearly, then, the student has begun the socialisation process prior to entry to the school.

The emphasis on the 'presentation of self' of the candidate also implies that the relationship between candidate and selectors is of the greatest importance. From his survey of the literature of counselling, Halmos confirm the importance of this relationship:

"One cannot help suspecting that the trainer in search for suitable personalities 'responds' favourably to candidates who 'respond' to him, and that whatever analytic spelling out of this 'response' is eventually offered to us to justify the trainer's judgement of the candidate, in the ultimate resort it is the non analysable rapport or communion of trainer (selector) and candidate-trainee which decide the fate of the candidate, and that the analytic reason given for acceptance may well be a rationalisation". (34)

The emphasis on the personality and psychological frame of mind of the candidate, which is tested both by the interview situation and the social history of the candidate, is apparent both in this study and others. Shey analysed application forms from a dozen social work schools throughout the U.S. and found that in all cases substantial emphasis was placed by the questions candidates were required to answer on this aspect of the candidate's history, including attitudes to and experience of psycho-analysis and psycho-therapy. (35) In a previous chapter (on the 'organisation and control of social work education') it was shown how candidates for courses sponsored by the Home Office might be required to have a psychiatric examination before being admitted to the course. The Association of Psychiatric Social
Workers also recommended to colleges that the selection process for courses in schools should include "at least one interview by a psychiatric social worker engaged in clinical work". (36)

Although there is some difference in the emphasis laid upon different elements in the selection process, for example between an emphasis upon the life history of the candidate compared to a picture of him in the present, or on the focus of the enquiry into the 'self' of the candidate, there appears to be general agreement amongst most selectors upon the kind of selection procedure which candidates should face.

In spite of the dominance of this particular approach, the outlines of an alternative set of ideas about the selection of social workers appeared in interviews with a minority of the selectors. Two particular criticisms of the selection process were voiced. Firstly, that it provided little test of the candidate's intelligence and ability to handle the intellectual challenge of the course; this criticism was made in respect of the Tech. course for which formal entry standards are little guide to the candidate's capacity to succeed in the course. Secondly, that the selection procedure gave little indication of the candidate's attitudes and values; as one Tech. tutor put it, "we are so focussing on the ability to relate that we don't do enough about attitudes; what we come up against on the course is people's attitudes. I can't even begin to talk about poverty because they (the students) won't even admit it exists". (37)

Whilst these views were expressed by a minority of selectors and do not in any sense constitute an important focus for selection, the evidence that they exist is important. Essentially such views are part of the 'social reform' focus in social work which, as has previously been suggested, may constitute the basis for movement in the profession which is in opposition to that of social
Casework and which represents an alternative segment of the profession. It will be important to determine the extent to which such views are carried through into the course and the socialisation process in general.

To these criticism can be added others. A large number of candidates were excluded on documentary evidence alone. This raised the issue of the adequacy of this evidence and the question of whether some of these candidates would have proved suitable had they been interviewed. The main basis of exclusion at this stage was candidates' personal statements which provided, amongst other things, case history material on the candidate, including evidence of previous involvement in voluntary social work and personality characteristics, such as 'insight'.

Previous involvement in voluntary work might be evidence of motivation towards social work and of capacities to form professional rather than 'need' relationships, but equally might be interpreted in other ways; for example as an emotional need for a dependency relationship. Equally, 'insight' is too vague and indefinable a term to provide a basis for selection and also gives considerable power to the selector (a social worker at this stage) to select or reject on criteria which cannot be challenged. An alternative to the free style statement by a candidate is a questionnaire which might be designed to show whether candidates have dependency needs which are too great to enable him to function in a helping relationship.

It is clear that decisions about the suitability of candidates in both the preliminary and final stages of selection were made almost exclusively by social workers and this was also found by Jones in his survey; he comments that "under various guises the selection boards were on the whole comprised of social workers". Not only were non social workers largely excluded
from the selection process, but the various kinds of independent tests (of IQ, personality, etc.) were not seen as playing an important role in selection. This means that selection results mainly from the opinions of tutors and supervisors. It also means, as Shey suggests, that candidates can 'play the game' of the selector once the 'rules' of this game are known, and can largely escape any more independent test of their abilities. Although candidates with 'deviant' orientations may be able to slip through this net, the selection process appears to be a major barrier to the recruitment of those with untypical professional personalities and ideas, although these types of candidates might be highly functional in a developing profession.

Selection also highlights a major contradiction in social work thinking. The professionalism which social workers seek is based in part on the belief that both practice and training are science based activities in the broadest sense of the words. But what has been said in this chapter on selection suggests that this activity is very much based on beliefs that selectors have that candidates are 'insightful' or 'socially educable', and very little objective evidence is used to ascertain this. These are seen by selectors as characteristics that some people have and some have not and whilst they can be nurtured by training, training itself is no substitute for them.

The selection process may, in professions such as social work, have a significance which far outweighs the mere selection of likely candidates for the profession. This is suggested by studies which show that the socialisation process in social work occurs not so much during formal training and education, but before and after this period; thus Hayes and Varley showed that the amount of change in values between entering and graduating students is limited and that the greatest change in
values occur after graduation and during work experience and not during the schooling period.

One explanation is that it is the admissions process as such which replaces the socialisation process of the school; thus most candidates for admission have already had experience in social work prior to their applications and are already partially socialised in that they have been exposed to some of the values of the profession. The selection process, being of a rigorous and demanding nature, serves to select out those whose values are congruent with those of the profession, and rejects those who do not possess such values. This leaves far less to be accomplished by formal socialisation than might otherwise be thought. In addition to this, the student becomes acquainted with the experiences he is likely to undergo on the course and with the educational process that is to follow, and the admissions process can be seen in some ways as a model of this educational process and of what is to follow in the career of the professional social worker.
References Chapter VIII


2. Between 1963 and 1967 the failure rate for students in Certificate in Social Work courses varied from 2.5% to 5%, increasing to 7% - 8% if the withdrawal of students during the course is taken into account; Council for Training in Social Work, 3rd Report, 1967. By comparison failure rates amongst university undergraduates are about 14%; see Report of the Committee on Higher Education (the Robbins Report), 1963, General Report, para. 576 and Appendix 2a.


5. This approach is suggested by R. Bucher, A situational model of professional socialisation, unpubl. 1969; for a more general statement of the 'process' approach to the professions see R. Bucher and A. Strauss, Professions in process, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66, No. 4, 1961.


7. 74% of students at the two research colleges had previous experience in social work; of the 1965 intake to all Younghusband courses 66% were seconded from social work agencies (Council for Training in Social Work, 2nd Report, 1965), by comparison with 75% of the 1965 and 1967 intakes of the research Tech.

8. There are several ways in which local authorities might exercise control over entry to social work; apart from their initial selection of candidates for traineeships, trainees also have to appear before secondment committees before applying for admission to training courses.


11. Interview No. 3.

12. Interview No. 3.

13. Interview No. 6.


16. Field work supervisors were asked to join tutors in the selection of students at the request of the professional associations; see W. Edwards, A study of the social work tutors' expectations of fieldwork agencies and his responsibilities towards them, Social Work (U.K.), Vol. 23, No. 1, 1968.
Apart from tutors, others taking part in the final boards included Home Office Inspectors (all courses), child care representatives (7 courses), a psychiatric social worker (2 courses), a sociologist and a psychologist (1 course). In 8 cases there was also a representative of the college who was not a social worker. In 4 out of the 8 cases on which information was returned, Home Office Inspectors were chairmen of the Boards.

Seventeen month or two year courses are also available in some universities.


As Halmos, *op.cit.*, suggests, "a psycho analyst does not have to be a paragon of mental health".

Towle, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

Ibid.

T. Shey, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

P. Halmos, *op.cit.*

T. Shey, *op.cit.*


Interview No. 5.

Jones, *op.cit.*

Ibid.

Ibid.

T. Shey, *op.cit.*
42. C. Cannon, Social workers: professionalism and training, Department of Applied Social Studies, North Western Polytechnic, unpubl., 1971.


CHAPTER IX
Social characteristics of students

Introduction

What kind of students successfully survive the selection process and enter social work training? What kind of changes have there been in the characteristics of the students in the recent past? As there is no information available about unsuccessful candidates it is not possible to compare them with those who are successful. However, it is possible to compare students of the research courses with what is known about all students following the same kinds of courses, with respect to such characteristics as age, sex, education and previous occupational experience. Social class also appeared an important area in which to collect information, in this case in relation to the father's occupation. Students' career decisions are also discussed.

It is also possible to say something about changing patterns of recruitment in respect of these characteristics, as well as making some comparison with changes in the United States.

It is important to have some knowledge about the social characteristics of students, both for what it suggests about the profession of social work and the process of professional socialisation. Social work students are older than most of those in other professions and this reflects one of the requirements for entry to training, a pattern of occupational experiences in which candidates can show evidence of commitment to social work values and personality characteristics which are also considered of importance for future social workers. It is also important to know whether differences in age, sex, class and so on are influential in students progress through the socialising programme. Part of the complexity of professional socialisation is the way in which different students react differently to the same experiences; these factors have been largely ignored in many previous studies of professional socialisation.
TABLE 13
Age distribution of students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparisons with all two year Certificate and University social work students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tech. Research group</th>
<th>All entrants to training - 1968</th>
<th>University Research group</th>
<th>All Univ soc work students 1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 36</td>
<td>N = 413</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 17</td>
<td>N = 233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 above shows that over half the students in the research courses were over 25 (29 out of 53, 54.6%). Comparative figures for all entrants to Younghusband courses in 1968 and for University social work students in the Departments of Social Studies in 1960 show that 49% and 51% respectively of these students were also 25 or more. This is some indication of the late starting age in social work training, by comparison with some of the other 'semi professions', including teaching and nursing. Thus over 85% of those entering Colleges of Education for the first time in 1965 were under 25, and over 70% were 18 and 19 years old. (3) (In the case of graduates entering University Institutes of Education this age would of course be higher).
The later age in social work is explained by a number of factors, including the fact that social work training is at the moment serving the needs of a profession with a high proportion of untrained workers and is providing a basis by which those already holding positions in social work agencies can be trained. This is particularly true of the Younghusband courses which were in part designed to 'professionalise through training' a field of work which was staffed largely by the untrained. When the Council for Training in Social Work was established in 1962 only 4% of staff in health departments and virtually none in welfare departments had professional social work qualifications as now defined. Thus, 80% of Tech. students in the research colleges had previous experience in social work and a rather similar proportion of those entering all courses in 1968 were either trainees (45%) or staff (37%). This is less the case with University courses which are catering for areas in which there are already higher proportions of the trained, such as Child Care, Probation, Medical and Psychiatric social work; even so, 60% of the University research students had previous experience in social work (see Table 19).

One way of interpreting this situation is that high entry age reflects, apart from the obvious need to train those already in the job, professional norms specific to social work. In discussion with tutors about criteria for entry to the courses (see Chapter VIII) it emerged that one such criterion was evidence of commitment to social work in advance of entry to training. One test of such commitment is a period of previous employment or voluntary work in social work in advance of training in which the individual's readiness or suitability for training can be assessed by others. Again, by seeing the employment of the untrained social worker as having positive functions for the whole training process, the widespread use of the untrained can in part be rationalised by the social work profession.
The later age of recruitment amongst social work students by comparison with other professions may have important consequences for the socialisation process. Thus, unlike their counterparts in education, nursing or medicine, who for the most part have entered training straight from school or college, the social work student often enters after a variety of occupational experiences (including social work but also a variety of others - see later section in this Chapter), and with a commitment which may already be established. While in other professional training commitment to the profession may increase as training progresses (as in Merton et al study of the socialisation of medical students\(^{(6)}\)), in social work a much more volatile situation may develop during training which may result in differing degrees of socialisation for different groups or individuals, and even the possibility of a lessening in commitment to certain professional values. The older age of students may present teachers of social work with a rather different and possibly more conflictual situation than that faced by their counterparts in education or medicine. Thus age of student is one of a number of important variables which may influence the socialisation of social work students, and will be used in part of the analysis of this process which follows.

(ii) Sex.

TABLE 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech.1st year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Tech.2nd year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Univ.Total</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 20</td>
<td>N = 16</td>
<td>N = 36</td>
<td>N = 17</td>
<td>N = 53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Amongst the students of the research colleges as a whole there was a slight preponderance of females; females made up nearly two thirds of the University students but Tech. students were divided equally between males and females. These figures reflect the situation in respect of all Certificate in Social Work and University social work students: in 1968 51% of the former (7) and 32% of the latter (8) were male. The University courses therefore reflect the situation in social work of a female surplus. The Certificate in Social Work courses, catering as they do for a field of work in which males have played a greater part than in other areas of social work, (9) are for this reason able to maintain a balance between the sexes. Thus one consequence of the introduction of these courses has been to effect an increase in male recruitment to the ranks of those who are trained.

Again the proportion of males recruited to the University courses has also increased in the recent past, from 20.5% in 1950 to 32.6% in 1960; (10) in fact the greatest increase in the proportion of males in Social Studies Departments has been in the social work courses. (11) An increase over time in the proportion of males has also been noted in social work schools in the United States. (12) These changes may have an important influence on the degree of professionalisation in social work. One factor which seems to have impeded the progress of social work towards full professional status has been its high female component; for example the high marriage rate of recent years has meant a high turnover of staff and some shortage of personnel for higher positions. Again, occupations with a high proportion of females may, in the eyes of other professions which provide a reference group and a means of validating professional claims, have a weaker claim to professional status than those with more equal proportions of men and women.
Increasing numbers of male students on social work courses also raises an important issue relating to interaction between students and teachers during the courses. This increase has not (at least in the case of the research courses - but they may not be typical in this respect) apparently been accompanied by a similar increase in the proportion of male tutors or supervisors. Whilst nearly half the research students were male all the tutors on the two courses were female, as were 82% of supervisors (see Chapter VI for details). In 1960 78% of social work teachers in Universities were female. Whatever the reasons for the lag in male recruitment in this important sector of the profession, this may provide the basis for one of the conflicts or strains thrown up by professional training, that is between male student and female teacher. It is therefore important to distinguish at certain points between the experiences of male and female students during the courses.

(iii) Social class background.

TABLE 15

Social class background of students
(Registrar Generals Social Class Classification)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tech. 1st year</th>
<th>Tech. 2nd year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Univ. Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Professional</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Semi prof.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Skilled (Non-manual)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.80</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL non-manual</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56.30</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Skilled (manual)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31.20</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Semi skilled</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Unskilled</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL manual</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43.70</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A. (14)</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$N = 20$ $N = 16$ $N = 36$ $N = 17$ $N = 53$
TABLE 16

Terminal age of father's education (full time)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 16</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 18</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18+</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 21

Over 60% of the research students came from backgrounds in which the father's occupation was non-manual (see Table 15). Of those fathers where details of educational experience were known, a very similar proportion had a terminal age of full time education of 16 or more (see Table 16).

Within the non-manual group there was a wide spread of occupations; 25 out of the 52 non-manual fathers were in semi professional or skilled occupations, such as school teacher, executive civil servant or clerk. Only 13% of all the research students had fathers who were in the established professions such as medicine, the law or the church.

Of those with manual occupations half were in skilled jobs; however, nearly a fifth of all students had fathers in semi or un-skilled occupations.

Table 15 also compares the class origins of Tech. and University students. 70% of the University students had fathers with non-manual occupations, compared with 55% of Tech. students.

There were also some differences in the social origins of male and female students (see Table 17 below). Amongst males a majority of students had manual origins, but three quarters of females had fathers with non-manual occupations. This distinction was maintained when Tech. and University students were considered separately; whilst 90% of University and 60% of Tech. females had non-manual origins, the respective figures for males were 50% and 44%.
Some of the lines of enquiry suggested by the figures above can be clarified by bringing together some of the rather scarce information on the social origins of social workers and social work students in Britain and the United States. Jeffery's study of social workers in Bucks. showed that about 37% were of non manual origins and 42% had a manual background. In Pinn's study of all 1st year students in American and Canadian Schools of Social Work in 1968, 67% were in the upper or lower middle class categories. Thus about two fifths of students in the current study, a third of the Jeffery's group and a similar proportion of Pinn's group could be described as working class in the sense that they had manual occupational origins.

Tech. students clearly represent the greatest source of working class recruitment to social work, and one which is also likely to increase in the future. This is suggested by the present study and also by the differences in the class origins of social workers revealed by the Bucks. study. Thus in Bucks. the proportion with manual origins increased from 12.5% amongst medical and psychiatric social workers to 39.5% for social workers who were untrained in 1960/61; it would be from this latter group that most students for Certificate in Social Work and other Tech. courses would be recruited.
Therefore whilst the majority of the social workers in these studies come from a broad spectrum within the middle class, a sizeable and possibly increasing minority of British students have working class origins. One issue raised by this is that social work is an occupation which can offer, for those with working class or lower middle class origins, a rise in occupational status and therefore represents an avenue of social mobility. A number of studies have shown that social work is seen, both by social workers themselves and by society, as having middle class status; the Registrar General classifies social workers as intermediate or semi professional workers (Social Class II).\(^\text{(19)}\) In these terms, nearly half of all research students and nearly 60% of Tech. students will be moving up (or have already done so) in social status on becoming social workers. Thus Shey concluded from his study of the characteristics of social work students in the United States that "it was possible to verify that social work students were essentially middle to lower middle class in background and that social work, per se, could be viewed as a form of upward socio-economic mobility".\(^\text{(20)}\)

One of the consequences of this situation for the socialisation process is that for a sizeable number of students this process can be viewed as not only an introduction to a particular occupational setting but also as an entry to a new social status. Thus, for some students, the learning and teaching situation, the development of specifically professional relationships with clients, contacts with tutors, teachers and supervisors, can all be viewed as initial contacts with a new middle class world and with middle class norms and values. Although the majority of students had experience of social work before the course, the training course itself, with its emphasis on the growth of the students' 'professional identity', on 'deferred gratification' and other middle class traits and with recognisable professional figures (such as doctors and psychiatrists)
playing the leading roles, is a much more powerful evocation of the middle class life that is to follow than that represented by the social work agency alone.

Clearly this is more applicable to the Tech. students than the University students, who have had prior exposure, irrespective of their origins, to full time higher education. It is also particularly applicable to male Tech. students, of whom 55% have manual origins (see Table 17). Thus the Tech. course might be seen as providing an important milieu for the learning of new class attitudes.

The situation in teacher training is an illuminating parallel to this. Taylor has compared the class origins of university undergraduates with those of students in colleges of education and has suggested some of the implications of these differences for the socialisation process. (21) "The social gap between the families of undergraduates and teacher trainees, particularly in the case of men, is clear and important ...... the colleges of education, because their students start from a lower base ...... provide a relatively more significant social and educational lift than the universities." (22)

There is, according to Taylor, resistance to the discussion of subjects such as social class on the college courses: "the humbler origins of teacher trainees, and the ambiguity that surrounds the social status and financial rewards of the teacher, may help to account for the resistance that has been noted to the discussion of social class in college of education courses. Although this is disappearing as sociological topics come to occupy a more assured place in the syllabus, there is still the feeling on the part of some tutors, as well as students, that the topic is 'embarrassing' and best avoided." (23)
Again, the development of social work training courses for those with no previous higher education and, it seems, with rather different class origins from University students, also raises questions about traditional attitudes and values in social work. How, for example, do the differing social origins of social work students affect the worker's orientations to his job, his professional performance, his values and attitudes to the organisation which employs him and to the profession? It is sometimes held that social workers have mainly middle class values and that these often conflict with the values of working class clients. It is important to gain some idea of the influence of the more recent recruitment of social workers on this hypothesis. As suggested in Chapter IV, the broadening of the class origins may have the effect of linking a hitherto middle class professional group with the social milieu from which clients are drawn through the recruitment of workers drawn, in part, from this milieu.

Finally, the differences noted in the social origins of males and females are also substantiated by other studies. The Bucks' study showed that 43% of males had manual origins compared with 31% of females; Pin's study of all entrants to American Schools of Social Work revealed that 41% of males had manual/blue collar origins compared to 25% of females. Thus for males social work represents a more significant avenue of upward social mobility than for females and this is also the case (as Taylor shows) in the teaching profession. Again, it is important to explore the extent to which this situation leads on to differences in attitudes to the training courses, in degrees of socialisation into professional norms and in attitudes to professional tasks after training.

One approach to the situation is in terms of the sociological theory of marginality. Situations of marginality can be defined as those in which an actor whose biographical roots are in one social
world currently operates in another. Typical of these situations is that of the working class student who finds himself in a social situation which is dominantly middle class, such as the University or college. This situation does not of necessity lead to conflictful responses but depends on the orientation of the actor to the two worlds. If the individual is cut off not only from his class of origin but is unable to integrate with the new situation (e.g. student peer group), then the result may be a severe identity crisis. Clearly this would not apply to the upwardly mobile student who had always aspired to and been anticipatorily socialised into new middle class status.

In a situation of 'marginality' a variety of solutions to the identity crisis will be available; one is the notion of a 'bridging culture' which links the biographical and current worlds of the student and reduces the significance of the barrier between them. One element of this in the students' case may be the existence of University or college reference groups, consisting both of other students and staff. A student may identify with groups who present 'role models' for directing behaviour and aspirations both in the present and future, thus enabling the individual to reduce his sense of identity conflict. Essentially, what is suggested is that the student experiencing such situations will search for a new identity which will enable him to reintegrate into a new social world. One of the new identities open to a student who is undergoing training for a profession is clearly that of becoming the dedicated professional. This has been shown in the case of science, where the assumption of the 'dedicated scientist' identity was more frequent amongst working class than middle class scientists. One of the reasons for this is that the image of the scientist tends to be a relatively 'classless' one and can be embraced by a working class student without involving a denial of his biographical self.
It is important to ask whether a similar process is at work in social work education, that is whether working class students show a greater tendency to identify with social work as a career, to have a professional self image, to identify with role models and so on, than their middle class peers. One consideration is that social work, unlike science, does have a particularly middle class image, and therefore this option may not be so open to working class students and may not reduce the strain of their situation.

Clearly social class represents a third variable of importance in the analysis of aspects of the socialisation process.

(iv) Previous educational qualifications of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School cert./'O' and 'A' levels</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) 1-4 'O' levels (% with)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) 5 or more 'O' levels</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) 1 'A' level</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) 2 or more 'A' levels</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) No 'O' or 'A' levels</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=36</td>
<td>N=17</td>
<td>N=53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Higher or occupational education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(vi) Professional or occupational qualification (e.g. S.R.N., R.M.N., Teacher, etc.)</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(vii) University degrees (i) social science (ii)other</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(viii) Diploma (social studies) only</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(ix) Diploma (social studies) in addition to degree</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=36</td>
<td>N=17</td>
<td>N=53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is to be expected, there is a wide variation in the educational background of the students when the two courses are compared. Nearly a quarter of Tech. students had left school (sometimes as early as 14) either with no qualifications or with a few 'O'
levels. For some this was compensated by some form of occupational qualification (mostly of a medical kind, such as S.R.N. or R.M.H.), held by nearly two fifths of students. By comparison 13 out of the 17 University students were graduates (most of the remainder had a University diploma) and entering their fourth or fifth year of full time University education. Yet all these students were entering what is held to be a single and unified profession.

There were also variations within each group. In the Tech. over half of students had at least five or more 'O' levels, and a quarter had 2 or more 'A' levels, or minimum University entrance requirements. In comparison with the group who had fewer or no formal qualifications, these students were younger and were frequently unsuccessful 'A' level candidates, university applicants or university dropouts. For them social work education, and thus the social work profession, was a second choice, an opportunity for a college education which would otherwise be denied. This illustrates one approach to career choice, which suggests that it is the result of fortuitous circumstances of this kind rather than a conscious, planned progression towards a particular career aim. These figures also illustrate the potential that exists on these courses for degree level studies, for example of the Council for National Academic Awards. It should be borne in mind that the Tech. course chosen for the research may, for various reasons, have attracted a particularly well qualified group of applicants and should not necessarily be treated as typical.

In the University course the qualifications of students, apart from the graduates, included two with basic two year social studies diplomas and two with professional qualifications only, one in teaching and one in religion. Seven out of thirteen graduates had social science degrees; the remainder all had degrees in non-related subjects and had taken a one year postgraduate social science
diploma to prepare themselves for the professional course. In discussions with tutors about student selection (see Chapter VIII) it was clear that there was a preference for a variety of academic backgrounds on the course, including the arts as well as the social sciences. This reflects the duality in social work thinking between use of knowledge based on social science and on the artistic, creative and intuitive approaches, a duality which is also shown in the curriculum and on the course itself.

Differences in previous educational experience appear to be an important way in which students' experiences on the course may differ, although this characteristic may also be subsumed in the wider one of 'social class'. However, it may be important to distinguish between students who have formal educational experience beyond school leaving age and formal educational qualifications such as five or more 'O' levels, 'A' levels or degrees and diplomas, and those with little educational experience or qualifications of a non-occupational kind. A further important distinction may lie between social science and arts graduates, although small numbers prevent much detailed analysis.

(v) **Previous Occupational Experience.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous occupational experience of students</th>
<th>Tech. 1st year</th>
<th>Tech. 2nd year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Previous experience in social work</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous experience in other work</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seconded by local authority</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 20 N = 16 N = 36 N = 17 N = 53
### Length of previous experience in social work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 year</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5 years</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly three quarters of students had previous experience (excluding part-time or student practical work) in social work employment, and four fifths had previous work experience of other kinds (again excluding part-time or vacation work). If part-time or student work is included virtually all students had work experience of some kind. Three quarters of those with social work experience had more than two years in social work and 11% had more than five years. Tech. students were more likely to have had previous experience of social work, and also of other work, than University students. (31)

Nearly two thirds of students were seconded on full pay by local authorities, either from established posts or from traineeships, where the appointment had been made on the expectation of secondment. Most of these secondments involved a 'gentleman's agreement' between authority and student that the latter would work for two years after qualifying in the authority. Many more Tech. students were seconded than University students; other students were supported by grants from local authorities (in the case of the Tech.) or from the Home Office (in case of University). In 1969 76% of all entrants to C.S.W. courses were seconded compared to 75% in the research Tech. (32)

Social work students have considerable experience of the occupational system in general and of social work in particular; a situation that is probably unique amongst students of the professions;
thus only a fifth of students had no occupational experience of any kind and a quarter no experience of social work. Amongst the implications this has for the socialisation process is the likelihood that students have already been subjected to some form of socialisation either into the occupational milieu of social work or into the occupational system generally. They will come to the course already partially socialised and this must be borne in mind when considering the impact of the course; thus one hypothesis is that the socialisation process will be most successful for those with little or no previous occupational experience. In other cases the outcome of the socialisation process is a matter of greater doubt. Again it is clear that the Tech. students, with their high degree of secondment, may be more closely tied to social work organisations than University students, and this may be reflected in differences in the socialisation processes on the two courses. Another issue that requires examination is that previous occupational experiences may have influenced individuals in their choice of social work; this will be taken up in the section which follows on career decisions.

(vi) Career choices.

Finally, students were asked to describe both how and why they chose social work as a career. As most students had previous experience of social work, another question centred upon their reasons for deciding to enter a training course, but attention is concentrated here on their initial decision to enter social work as such. Whilst in any occupation this is a very complex issue, in social work one of the traditional motivations for entry to the field has been the desire to render service to the individual and society irrespective of monetary or other rewards. The existence of a well developed service orientation has often been regarded as one of the strongest claims of social work to professional status. (33)
A study of the attitudes of University students in general to social work as a career (specifically child care and probation), suggested that social work was seen as a service oriented occupation and that this was an attractive feature of the job. For Child Care the predominant characteristic which attracted students and motivated them towards a career in this field was the opportunity to work with and/or for children, and in the case of Probation the most frequently mentioned attraction was the opportunity to help people. The attitudes of the students in general to social work was summed up as "the job provides interesting and varied work of social value, involving working with many different kinds of people, providing opportunities to help others and promising the worker real rewards and satisfactions". In comparison, material rewards, prospects of promotion and security were scarcely mentioned at all, although the relative independence of probation work attracted some. These University students therefore appeared to express much of what is thought of as the traditional orientations of those entering social work.

One question which arises from the extension of social work training to those without previous University education is whether this group has substantially different motivations for entry to social work in comparison to those with previous University education.

In order to compare different types of orientations to social work as a career it was decided to divide the great variety of responses to the question, 'why did you choose a career in social work?' in terms of Parsons' distinction between the 'instrumental' and 'expressive' orientations of action. In the former action is oriented towards the achievement of some goal or state of affairs in the future, which will not come about without the intervention of the actor in the course of events; immediate
gratifications are renounced in favour of the greater gains to be obtained as a result of the obtaining of some goal.

Correspondingly, 'expressive' action is not oriented to the achievement of some future goal but to "the organisation of the 'flow' of gratifications"\(^{(37)}\) in the present. Both represent situations in which actors give different types of 'primacy' to particular kinds of interests. For the 'instrumentalist' career choice is oriented to the attainment of material rewards or status, rewards that are mainly extrinsic to the career in question. The 'expressive' actor values particular components of a given career for the intrinsic satisfaction they can provide.

Clearly these two orientations are the extreme ends of a continuum, and some of the responses expressed aspects of both kinds of orientations. A decision to place a response in one or the other of the two categories was taken on the basis of the main orientation to emerge from the response, and in doubtful cases from answers to other questions also. In some cases students gave more than one major reason for entering social work and their responses were placed in more than one category.

| Table 21 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution of type of responses to questions on career choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of students interviewed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(x^2 = 4.44\); significant at 5% level.

Note. In all cases where differences are significant (at 1% or 5%) this is noted at the foot of the relevant table or section of the table.
Taking all the responses of students in the two courses into account (see Table 21), University students were more likely to give 'expressive' reasons for their career choice than Tech. students; a majority of the latter emphasised 'instrumental' motivation for entry. But over two fifths of University students also emphasised 'instrumental' factors in their choice. This finding of a mixed expressive/instrumental orientation contrasts with that of the Leicester study of undergraduate attitudes to social work and also with that of Shey in his study of American University social work students, who "collectively stress the humanitarian and service aspects of their field rather than materialistic or pecuniary motives".

The two categories, 'instrumental' and 'expressive' contained a variety of different types of response. In the case of 'instrumental' choice these ranged from responses which seemed an almost pure example of this type, in which choice of career was entirely based on the opportunity it provided for upward mobility, to those who stressed the inadequacies of previous occupations and the advantages, such as variety, autonomy and security, that social work can offer.

The extracts which follow were chosen to illustrate the two categories in Table 21 and were not chosen at random from amongst the students.

27 year old Tech. student, clerk in local authority for 7 years, 3 'O' levels, father a clerical worker (with secondary modern education):

"Knew nothing about social work but realised (when working in local authority) that could become a social worker; always fairly ambitious - it was getting on rather than being a social worker, didn't want to be a clerk all my life. From first day I was in local government chap said to me 'only way to get on is to move on'. Absolutely by chance a job came up in the health and welfare department."
32 year old woman graduate, 8 years in publishing and 2½ years an untrained child care officer, father a doctor:-(42)

"Publishing not satisfying, social work more creative and have contact with people; satisfies my needs too - helping other people helps me. So I jumped at prospect of training for social work."

22 year old Tech. student, 2 years in bank and 3 years a welfare assistant, 7 'O' levels, father a social worker:-(43)

"Fed up with bank life - 9-5 same thing, day in and day out; my parents in social work so decided to go in."

Students with expressive orientations also varied from those with vague and half expressed feelings of 'doing good', often associated with early family, educational or religious background, to those who were more specific about the nature of the 'good' they wished to do, in particular in terms of the 'wrong' done to people by society, and various 'wrongs' they wished to right.

25 year old female Tech. student, 4 years in the civil service, 18 months a welfare assistant, 6 'O' levels, father a joiner:-(44)

"It's a sense of doing good, meeting people - can't really put it into words. A feeling you have when you've visited an old person; you can also use own initiative within limits."

22 year old female graduate, no work experience, father a minister of religion:-(45)

"Wanting to help, didn't want to be a social reformer though my parents were religious, father a missionary. Had early dreams of being a missionary. My school also had a strong social conscience."
"You have got people with problems in society that society as a whole must be responsible for; industry is competitive but disagree with competition as it is in industry — human relations in industry are poor. I place value on human relationships and want therefore to do social work."

"I was taught by a socialist and came to take a Marxist view of society; society is unsatisfactory and alienates a considerable number of people. I thought of being a 'sociological good shepherd' and giving people back strength to live again in society — get the feeling of having done something worthwhile, makes me feel good."

Table 22 suggests that there was a tendency for University students to make an earlier decision to enter social work than Tech. students, also suggesting the possibility of a more traditional pattern of choice amongst these students. Here early educational and family influences, which are likely to express the more altruistic and service oriented motivations, appear of greater importance than the later pressures to obtain higher social status and rewards through occupational mobility.

**TABLE 22**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at which decision to enter social work taken</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 36</td>
<td>N = 15</td>
<td>N = 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These differences are clearly important for the students' experience during the course, particularly in the initial stages. For example, students are beginning their training with a wide variety of orientations to the profession, not all of which are expressive of the simple desire to 'do good'. As will be suggested in later chapters (see particularly Chapter XIII) this poses problems for both students and teachers.
References Chapter IX


5. Ibid.


8. K. Jones, op.cit.


10. K. Jones, op.cit.

11. Ibid.

12. T. Shey, op.cit: between 1910 and 1960 the proportion of males increased from 12% to 40%. This change has been caused in part by the desire of males to obtain deferment from military service through postgraduate courses and may be affected by policy decisions on deferment in the future (T. Shey, op.cit.)


14. In one case father's occupation was not available.

15. M. Jefferys, op.cit.


17. In 1968 the output of social work students from Technical Colleges exceeded that of Universities (Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services,) (Seebohm Report), 1968, Appendix M. Part III.


20. T. Shey, op. cit. In the United States black students also appear to be increasingly attracted to social work (see H. Meyer, Professionalisation and social work today, in E. Thomas (ed.) Behavioural science for social workers, Free Press, 1967).

21. W. Taylor, op. cit.; he shows that 71% of males and 75% of female University undergraduates have non-manual fathers, compared with 48% of male and 58% of female trainees in colleges of education.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.


26. This is further substantiated by L. Gockel, Silk stockings and blue collars; social work as a career choice of America's 1961 graduates, National Opinion Research Centre, Chicago, 1966.


30. This variety is also reflected in U.S. Schools of Social Work; see T. Shey, op. cit.

31. Amongst all University social work students in 1960 65.7% had previous work experience, a rather higher proportion than in the research course (see K. Jones, op. cit.). The figure for the U.S. was 75% (T. Shey, op. cit.).


34. R. Brown & K. Reeve, Probation work and child care work; a survey of attitudes and knowledge amongst undergraduates, University of Leicester, 1964, unpubl. The service orientation amongst potential recruits to social work was also shown by a nationwide survey of American undergraduates in 1961, see L. Gockel, op. cit.

35. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. The kinds of responses that were grouped under the 'instrumental' heading included 'dissatisfaction with previous job', 'the more satisfactory features of social work as a job, such as status' and 'offers a way of getting training and education'.

39. The kinds of responses that were grouped under the 'expressive' heading included 'to help, work with people', 'my values, ideals, convictions, beliefs motivate me towards this kind of work'.

40. T. Shey, op. cit.

41. Interview No. C26

42. Interview No. B6

43. Interview No. C20

44. Interview No. C13

45. Interview No. B2

46. Interview No. B12

47. Interview No. B8
PART III

The process of socialisation

Introduction

In Part III the focus shifts away from the structural variables which set the stage for socialisation to the socialisation process itself.

Here the activities, experiences and events in which trainees are involved as they pass through the socialising programme are discussed. These include playing the role of the professional, the provision of role models, coaching and criticism and the process of doctrinal conversion. These have been described as 'mechanisms of socialisation' or 'socialising functions' and are to be regarded as means by which socialisation is brought about. (1) (See Table 4, Chapter III.) Again, it is necessary to specify what it is about these experiences that has an impact on the trainee; thus each mechanism may have various properties which together add up to a situation being more or less important, and which therefore require specifying.

The final chapter in Part III examines changes in various aspects of professional identity that have taken place during the course and which may have resulted from such mechanisms.
CHAPTER X
Playing the role of the professional

Introduction

A general discussion of the various properties of 'playing the role of the professional' has already taken place in Chapter III. The process will now be discussed in terms of these properties, namely the reality and centrality of roles played and the clarity and consensus about roles on the part of socialisers.

(i) Reality and centrality of roles played.

There is little doubt that social work students play the role of the future social worker in the sense that during their work in the agencies they both make important decisions and take responsibility for their actions. Whilst this may appear a gradual process and vary from agency to agency, it is nonetheless real. This is in part the consequence of the fact that the student is functioning within the agency, which exists primarily to serve clients rather than to train students. Thus students work with clients of the agency and offer them its services. It is thus extremely difficult for the role of 'student' within the agency to be really institutionalised for this would imply crucial variations in the service given to clients. As Landsberg points out:

"During this period the student functions (to a degree) as a practitioner. He carries a caseload and is responsible for direct services to these clients. Due to the fact that he is a neophyte his work load is limited in size, but the actual degree of responsibility is the equivalent of the professional social worker". (3)

Thus the role of 'student' is not one which is emphasised to the client public and students had little difficulty (in the research
courses) in concealing their status from clients, although this does not mean that conflicts and strains in the student-client relationship are thereby avoided.

The definition of the role of the student in the agency as one of 'practitioner' is thus one reason why it is difficult to dilute the responsibility of trainees in playing roles closely associated with the profession. (4)

Almost from the outset of the course the student was placed in a position in which he dealt directly with clients. This was somewhat delayed by periods spent at the beginning of each course in which students acted as 'observers', for example of interaction between mothers and babies, and small groups in everyday situations. These situations were seen by the staff as an aid to students' learning and as a means of orienting the student to the course (discussed further in Chapter XIII). Therefore at a point very near the start of the course students were placed in positions in which they dealt directly with clients and had real responsibility for them.

The main difference between students and other agency workers lies in the reduced number of cases for which the former have responsibility.

The other way in which dilution of responsibility may occur is in supervision, which may be so close as to obviate any sense of autonomy on the part of the trainee. Social work, like the other semi-professions, is distinguished from the established professions by the degree to which the practitioner is, practically at all levels, subject to supervision in day to day work. (5) Therefore supervision will, for students in any case, be at a relatively intense level.
Most research students had a one hour (or more) supervisory session every week which was clearly at the core of the students' learning process. Students varied in their descriptions of this, but in the main it consisted of the use of the technique of 'process recording', by which students recorded verbatim their interviews with clients, which were then subjected to analysis and discussion during supervision sessions.

Within this framework most students, when questioned about their experience of supervision, reported that they were given an increasing amount of autonomy as the course developed.

University student, 2nd interview

"was very dependent in first placement - scarcely took a decision without consulting supervisor - in Probation entirely on own, one weekly supervision."

University student, 2nd interview

"much closer supervision in 1st placement - all my records looked at in Child Care; now supervision is what I want, can ask for something to be discussed when I want it."

One reason for variations in the amount of supervision, apart from the increasing experience and confidence, was differences in the setting of the agency; agencies which were involved in statutory services which required the application of statutory regulations clearly involved more supervision (particularly in the initial stages of training) than agencies where this did not apply, particularly voluntary settings.

Few students complained that they had been over-supervised during their course and training appeared to offer the student a real opportunity for role playing. However, the extent to which supervision in fact 'stage managed' student decisions and actions is unknown as no data was collected from supervisors on this; this kind of question might fruitfully be followed up in any future research however.
Students in both courses had opportunities to play a range of roles associated with the profession, but not necessarily all those which are considered important and which could influence their professional identity. There was, for example, no experience of administrative or supervisory roles. This is perhaps an inevitable limitation to any programme of professional socialisation, yet seems particularly important in social work. Thus preparation for these roles is left until the individual is within the organisation and is under organisational pressures and influence.

One distinction between the research courses was that University students saw a wider range of future roles for themselves, including teaching and supervisory roles, and did not see their future as entirely based on practice. Tech. students visualised a narrower range of roles, primarily in practice, and possibly in more prestigious roles such as psychiatric social worker.

(ii) Clarity and consensus about roles.

Whether or not the trainee has real responsibility in work roles may also depend on other properties of the role playing situation, such as clarity and consensus concerning the role to be played. Thus what the student is expected to do when playing the role of the professional may be unclear and there may be contrary cues and indications from agents of socialisation about the nature of professional tasks. Two separate issues seem to arise: one is the question of the degree of clarity and consensus surrounding the professional role which the trainee is asked to accept, whilst there is also the related issue of actual or potential conflicts between the academic setting of the course and that of the agency.

All occupations face the problem of defining the activities to which they lay a specific claim. Training courses provide an opportunity for such issues to be raised anew. In the face of this,
social work (and other occupations) tend to develop a conception of the nature of the work of the profession and of what the real work of the professional is likely to be for the rest of his professional life. Thus many occupations can be characterised by a particular core act, or the most characteristic professional act. There may be different conceptions of what constitutes the core act in different segments, or movements, within each profession, although this may not be equally developed in all segments.

For example, the core act of the psycho-analytically oriented psychiatrist is (as Bucher has suggested from a study of psychiatric residents) inter-personal interaction with patients, whether psychotherapy or psycho-analysis. The training process provides a variety of experiences for the student, but learning to do psycho-therapy predominates. The trainee is inducted into this core act through the treatment of patients in such a way that it becomes central to his identity. Thus psychiatrists who do primarily research or administrative jobs in many cases add to their work loads by taking a few patients for individual treatment, and explain this on the grounds that they can continue to feel they are psychiatrists because they are still in touch with the core act. During training, the core act is defined both because of the amount of time which is spent doing psychotherapy and because this is the only activity which is supervised. This suggests that other activities are not as important or difficult. Other activities, such as research, were discouraged, as were other activities which took the student away from the clinical situation. However, in other segments of the psychiatric profession practitioners may have as little face to face interaction with patients as possible and concentrate on physical therapies, and patterns of training will reflect this.

In the case of the research courses it has already been suggested (in Chapter VII) that the 'core professional act' on which
the course was based and for which students were prepared was that of 'social casework', or work with individuals and their families within particular agency settings for which the courses were designed. This was shown by the large proportion of total curriculum time taken up with the teaching of casework and its major theoretical basis (Human growth and development), that is 39% and 51% in the case of the research Tech. and University respectively, as well as by the kind of fieldwork placements which students experienced. In at least one of their two placements students were exposed to a setting (such as the Family Welfare Association, Child Guidance Clinics or medical social work departments of hospitals) in which the casework definition of the professional task, as well as the appropriate supervision, was possible. This was partly the result of the lack of statutory limitations in such settings, which meant that students were able to work with individuals and families in greater depth and over longer periods than is possible in statutory settings.

Another way in which the casework definition of the professional task was expressed was by the orientation of the teaching staff (see Chapter VI). Not only were the majority of college staff oriented to the casework approach by their own training and experience but they all either retained a small caseload on a part time basis or were intending to do so. The teachers of social work were also the only teachers to have full tutorial responsibility for each student on an individual basis and were therefore in a better position to influence students in the direction of a casework orientation than other teachers.
An alternative definition of the 'core act', and of studies related to this, also existed but found limited expression amongst the 'socialisers', in the curriculum and in field work. Thus only one tutor (case study 'B', Chapter VI) emphasised a broadly 'reformist' approach based on the teaching of sociology and social administration, in distinction to a 'therapeutic' approach based on casework. The two courses differed in the extent of their sociology/social administration content (see Chapter VII on the College Courses), the Tech. course teaching this as a main subject because of the lack of a social science background in their students, the University course including this as an optional extra on the basis that this had been part of the pre-professional education of their students. Thus whilst this approach was taught in a formal sense, the emphasis given to it appeared slight; for example no tutorial supervision was provided by specialist teachers. One commonly used way of describing the sociological approach in these situations is 'the social influences on behaviour', implying, as Timms suggests, that 'neutral' behaviour is from time to time pushed in one direction or another by external forces, and that the approach constitutes a framework in which the more important analysis of individual behaviour can go on. Again the type of agency placements used excluded the practice of any method of social work but casework.

The experiences of students during the courses, in particular changes in their own definitions of what constituted the 'core act' of social work during learning, illustrate the
importance of the casework orientation in training. The majority of students in the early stages of training defined social work as a 'general helping relationship', or as 'helping specific groups of people' or as 'help involving material or financial aid'. By the end of the course nearly 9 out of 10 students saw social work as based on 'the understanding of individual feelings and emotions' (this and other changes are discussed in more detail in Chapter XIII).

The nature of the 'core professional act' is also illustrated by students' comments in retrospect in their experience of field work and also of the conflict between 'therapeutic' and 'reformist' ideologies.

In the first illustration a 2nd year Tech. student comments on his placements; in the following illustrations the conflict between the two approaches is clearly shown.

**Tech. student, 2nd interview**

"first placement was in a welfare department - here 'the more cases the better', no psychological approach. Disappointed me, no cases capable of a lot of movement. Second was in Child Guidance, very psycho-analytically oriented, looking at self all the time, an emphasis on the casework relationship. Both are functions of social work, in first to build up number of cases, in second little environmental manipulation, always an internal process."

**University student, 2nd interview**

"All the emphasis is on psycho-analytic theories about, for example, the causes of crime, on the psychology of the individual. Anything social merely a presenting problem. Social work wants to gain a professional status, to do this needs knowledge and turned to this to get a status."
From an anonymous article by a former University social work student

"The sociological approach can conflict with that of the social worker who is primarily interested in needs and problems of the individual. Graduates like myself are faced with the problem of trying to build up a reconciliation between the two approaches. Some may think it necessary to more or less undo much that has been learned in three years of study in the space of one. This means starting afresh with a view of society which is often presented in unequivocally individualist terms both by the literature and by the teaching staff on social work courses. Comparisons (between sociological and social work ideas) throw up differences of approach which are fundamental and lead to totally different explanations of behaviour. It is differences such as these which cause confusion for many student social workers versed in the sociological approach."

From a former Tech. student

"In my work as a Child Care Officer I am finding that this conflict (between sociological and psycho-analytic interpretations) is not just an academic dispute but a very practical one in the analysis and treatment of social problems. In social casework theory one is given a series of concepts and some practical ways of using them in face to face client encounters but no comparable techniques are provided to utilise the concepts and findings of sociology ... the course has left me with a certain dissatisfaction as well as a stimulus to go on searching for some kind of solution."

The second type of potential conflict which may have implications for the reality of role playing by students is that between college or school and agency. Whilst the tutor and supervisor both share a background in social work, one transfers to a primarily
academic setting with academic responsibilities whilst the other remains in an agency and has a variety of functions other than those of a teacher. One of the most important of these is to be responsible to the agency for the cases carried by students. By comparison the responsibilities of tutor virtually end with the student. Thus the agency is not necessarily a good learning environment for the student for its primary responsibilities are more towards society (they may, for example, be of a statutory nature) than to the student. There is clearly the basis of conflict here between the school and the agency over the needs of the student, and this conflict was expressed by some of the research students. Other research also indicates that social work students felt themselves to be in a conflict situation in the agency. However, there is very little evidence from the present research that this potential conflict transmitted itself to students in any real sense. For example, when students were asked to suggest changes in the organisation of their course, only 12% referred to fieldwork, the remainder commenting on some other aspect of their course.

In reality, the relationship between tutors and supervisors appears to be strong and well organised. One of the basic organisational and ideological features of social work training is the 'unity of school and field'; this is achieved in large measure because tutors are still oriented to an extent towards the field, frequently have their own cases, themselves choose supervisors and frequently visit students in their placements. Supervisors also attend meetings run by tutors to discuss the school/field relationship; there is a considerable degree of organisational and actual unity between school and field.
Thus the student is faced with a variety of conflicts, both of an ideological and organisational nature, which may threaten the reality of the experience of playing the role of the professional. At one level at least these conflicts were muted; many students had previous experience of social work, did not expect that similar demands would be made by different fieldwork settings and were able to accept the differing demands of school and agency. Deep ideological disputes, whilst they were experienced by a minority, again did not appear to disturb the passage through the course of most students. The explanation for this may be that the primary task for most students is to get through their course, to survive, in the face of all the discrepancies and conflicts. (23) This can best be achieved by ignoring such ideological inconsistencies and by developing rules for survival; one of the most important of these is to avoid outright conflict with those who have power, that is tutors and supervisors, and to postpone the exploration of conflicts until after the course. One implication is that students develop two faces; one 'professional' face or self which is exhibited in crucial role relations on the course, the other is a 'real' self which is reserved for peer relationships and other situations, but is kept hidden in formal interaction.

Conclusion

Role playing appeared a relatively powerful mechanism of socialisation due to the fact that the practice roles enacted by students bring them into close touch with the realities of the working situation and involve students in activities which are central and important within the profession. As in other occupations, social work faces the problem of what it is that its practitioners are supposed to be doing and thus of what is to be taught to students.
In the case of the research courses and their personnel there appeared to be a degree of consensus about the nature of these activities and consequently what is to be taught to students in both the academic and practice situation. Whilst conflicts and disputes did exist about the nature of the social worker's role the unity of the staff, both in terms of ideological commitments and between academic and practice segments, appeared considerable and did not weaken the importance for students of playing practitioner roles.
References Chapter X

2. Ibid.
4. The fact that real responsibility can be diluted during professional training is shown in a study of the field training of residential social workers; this constituted a major source of dissatisfaction with training; B.J. Heraud, Students in institutions, Case Conference, Vol. 13, No. 7, 1966.
7. Interview No. B.22.
10. This distinction has been made by H. Meyer, Professionalisation in social work today; in E. Thomas (ed.), Behavioural science for social workers, Free Press, New York, 1967.
12. Interview No. C.23.
16. As Tims comments: "...the agency does not exist only to help in the training of social workers, and the work of the student must, for administrative as well as educational reasons, not be allowed to fall below the bare minimum of competence"; N. Tims, Social work - an outline for the intending student, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1970.
18. Ibid.
CHAPTER XI

Role Models

Introduction

Any process by which a new role is learnt involves something more than the exposure of the newcomer to new situations related to the role; there will also be the necessity for the newcomer to obtain some idea of the norms of behaviour that attach to the new role. Thus when an entirely new role is adopted the newcomer will begin the search for individuals who exemplify such norms. As Merton et al put it:

"Students, as they begin to learn and practice the professional role, often choose a figure in the profession, a practitioner known personally or one known only by repute, as a model to imitate and an ideal with which to compare their own performance. In short they adopt a role model". (1)

Thus the question 'how do others behave in the role?' is one of a number of crucial questions the student of any profession asks. The answer, in many cases, is at hand, for the presence in most socialising programmes of those individuals who hold the new status and play the new role provide opportunities for newcomers to study this behaviour. These figures include not only staff involved directly in the socialising programme but other practitioners not directly involved but who are known in various ways to the student. Senior trainees may also be taken as models, providing the socialising programme given opportunities for interaction between different cohorts of trainees and for the development of a student culture based on this interaction.

It is also important to remember that the acquisition of role models occurs over time and is a continuous process. Thus individuals may from an early age be in contact with, or know about,
figures which both serve to shape occupational choice and provide models for practice. In the case of medicine and law there is evidence that sizeable proportions of entrants to professional schools can already name role models, 68% in the case of medicine and 43% in the case of law. This difference is related to medical students' earlier decisions to enter professional school, so that by the time students enter law or medical school those whose decisions were made earliest are most likely to have a role model. One implication of a relatively low degree of role model acquisition on entry to professional training is that this places greater emphasis on potential role models during the formal socialisation process.

Bucher suggests that there are a number of dimensions or properties which attach to role models, and which will influence the outcome of the socialisation process in this respect. There is the question of the number of models which exist potentially and the extent to which students choose one or several of these; this may vary with the demands of the socialising programme. Again there may be a total or partial identification with a model; models may be close to the student's interests and future career or distant from them and from the student's daily activities. Models may vary in the extent to which they establish social distance between themselves and students. Thus at one extreme there tends to be a total identification with a limited number of models who represent similar professional values, are close to the trainees daily activities and interests and who maintain a minimum of social distance. This situation is likely to lead onto the acquisition of a shared and strong sense of professional identity. At the other extreme identification with models may be selective, models may represent differing professional styles, remain remote from trainees daily activities and maintain social distance; this is likely to turn out individuals holding diverse professional values and showing ambivalence and confusion in professional identities and career orientation.
Extent of role model identification

TABLE 23

Frequency with which role models are identified

Question: "Can you think of any social worker who in your opinion comes close to the kind of social worker you would like to be?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All students</th>
<th>Tech. students</th>
<th>Univ. students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES % YES</td>
<td>YES % YES</td>
<td>YES % YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>16 (n=37) 44</td>
<td>8 (n=20) 40</td>
<td>8 (n=17) 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending</td>
<td>23 (n=32) 73</td>
<td>14 (n=16) 88</td>
<td>9 (n=16) 56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant at 1%: $x^2 = 3.44$

Close to the beginning of their training 44% of students in the research courses could identify a role model of some kind (see Table 23). This is similar to the figure for American Law students (43%), but less than that for American medical students (68%). (4)

Near to the end of training 73% of the social work students could identify a role model; the extent of identification was much greater than that shown by one study of teacher training students at the end of their course (46%). (5)

Table 23 also shows a considerable difference between the two courses in the extent of role model identification. Amongst Tech. students identification with role models more than doubled over the period of the course; compared with an increase of only 10% amongst the University students.

There were few differences in role model identification in terms of age or sex; the most important difference was in the proportion of females identifying role models by the end of the course (81%) compared with males (66%).
These differences are difficult to explain, but are an interesting comment on some of the problems of social work training discussed in Parts I and II. For example, if acquisition of role models is taken as an index of the 'success' of professional socialisation, then Tech. students have achieved greater 'success' in this, contrary to the prediction of some observers at the time of the introduction of training courses outside the universities (this is discussed further in Chapter XIV). Again, the small difference in the degree of role model identification between males and females does not suggest (in this respect) much support for the idea that males are faced with a sex/role conflict in social work courses, and might express this by a rejection of the mainly female role models that are available.

A variety of role models were identified by students at different stages of their course, ranging from figures closely associated with the course (such as tutor and supervisor) to other more distant figures, in some cases known personally or by repute prior to the course. In addition there was a 'joint or composite' model, where the model chosen was composed of elements drawn from a variety of individuals, for example a tutor/supervisor model.

TABLE 24

Identity of role models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All students</th>
<th>Tech. students</th>
<th>Univ. students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begin.</td>
<td>End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor</td>
<td>2 12 4 17</td>
<td>1 12 4 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>1 6 10 44</td>
<td>- - 5 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other social workers</td>
<td>8 50 2 9</td>
<td>4 50 2 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other trainees</td>
<td>1 6 - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite</td>
<td>4 25 7 30</td>
<td>3 38 3 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 16 99 23 100 | 8 100 14 100 | 8 100 9 100 |
Students near the beginning of their training who had role models cited, in the main, social workers they knew or had known prior to the course, particularly those with whom they had worked, including composite models drawn mainly from practice settings. There was thus a primary identification with the field rather than the college setting; tutors and supervisors played, as yet, little part in the way students were adapting to their role as social workers. Towards the end of their courses students' ideas about models tended to crystallise around the figures of tutor and supervisor, while composite models (particularly joint tutor-supervisor models) retained their importance. The increase in the importance of the tutor was, however, not very great and it is important to note that models derived from the field (supervisors, other social workers and some composite models) still predominated. This is in contrast to choice of role models by teacher training students, the majority of whom selected academic (tutor/lecturer) models rather than models drawn from practice.

It is also important to note the almost complete lack of identification with trainee role models.

Table 24 also shows a differential pattern of role model identification between the two groups of students (here numbers are so small that the differences must be treated as illustrative only). In the case of the groups at the end of their courses, the supervisor is the most important role model but, apart from composite models, is the only model cited by the University group. Tech. students chose supervisor and tutor in almost equal numbers.
One possibility is that this difference may reflect a differing orientation on the part of these two groups to their course; the University students became, by comparison to Tech. students, increasingly critical of the academic side of their course and one indication of this may be the lack of suitable role models in the college situation or the rejection of potential academic role models. It must be remembered that University students were mainly postgraduates who had experienced 3 or 4 years of full-time higher education, and were likely to be critical of academic content. Tech. students by comparison, with little or no previous formal higher education, looked upon the course as higher education in a general sense as well as a professional training; this may be one reason why they tended to choose an academic role model almost as frequently as a practice model.

**Supervisors**

The supervisor was the most important role model for students nearing the end of their training (44%, 10 out of 23). It is clear from what has already been said about social work education that it is the supervisor who will serve as a key role model. The importance of the supervisor was, in fact, part of the expectations of the University students on entering the course:

"We hoped to gain especially from the challenge of the supervisor in confronting us with what we were doing with a case, and how much we knew of what was going on in our dealing with it". (?)

The following comments are in response to a follow up of the question (in Table 23 above) which invited the student to discuss the qualities of the model (in this case the supervisor):
University student, 2nd interview: (8)

"calm, placid, not flustered; not unduly worried by failure and realises that will meet with failure. Able to be a personality outside social work and not too involved with cases - sees client as somebody with a will of own."

University student, 2nd interview: (9)

"ability to apply theory to practice and to see how one's own personality is involved in the process. Able to have a heavy caseload but not to make a fuss about it."

University student, 2nd interview: (10)

"critical of social work's present aims; really does worry about injustice and inequality. Broadly politically active and doesn't separate this from social work."

Tutors

Apart from composite models, academic tutors were next in order of importance as role models for students near the end of their course. The tutors had an integrating role in relation to all the activities of the course which the student is involved in, and were in regular tutorial contact with students.

Tech. student, 2nd interview: (11)

"her forthrightness and dynamic outlook on things; not a 'yes, yes' person but will put life into theory. Supervisor just sat back and waited. You need sensitivity, warmth and feeling, knowledge of self and others and intelligence."

Tech. student, 2nd interview: (12)

"has insight into people and way they behave, a genuine concern for others and sensitivity to others feelings and needs, ability to make relationships easily and self aware."
Has very wide experience and training. Is nearer my age than supervisor. I have understood her methods - has been doing social work with me - see her in that light. I compare tutorials with social work interviews - able to talk about personal problems and way they affect my world. Provides an adult model with whom I want to identify - a model of behaviour want to try to copy."

**Composite models**

The importance of composite models, making up between a quarter and a third of responses, remained constant over the time period of the courses. They were drawn both from figures in the students' present and who were represented on the course, and in his experience prior to the course.

**University student, 1st interview:** (13)

"It fluctuates between two ideas; one is represented by a Probation Officer I know in 'shire' (real name deleted) - he was universally known and respected in the area, a community social worker who did fantastic preventive work. Secondly, picture of an almost clinical psycho-therapist, in the office all the time. I'm not certain the two ideas are irreconcilable."

**Tech. student, 1st interview:** (14)

"Have picked bits out of several people I would like to emulate. Firstly someone with a tremendous range of local knowledge and facilities available to clients. Secondly someone calm, unflappable - copes with problem at right time, but also discusses everything and has facility for forming relationships."
Properties of role models

The case illustrations above suggest that role models are selected on the basis of attributes ranging from basic technical competence to wider characteristics of a personal, social or political kind. Clearly in some instances the degree of identification with the model (or models) was very considerable, as this extract from an account of experiences on a social work course suggests:

"The practical part of the course ..... also led to a growing awareness of one's own strengths and weaknesses, of one's dominant areas of feeling, accompanied by a considerable awareness of other peoples. As the course progressed theory and practical work became more integrated and more meaningful; personal tutor and supervisor were seen more to be engaged in the same pursuit. In the end we were, I felt, a unity." (15)

However, there appear to be a number of problems associated with the provision of role models in social work training which are important for the socialisation process as a whole. These can most usefully be considered in terms of some of the various properties or dimensions of role modelling.

1. Number of role models: similarity/dissimilarity of models.

The number of potential models with which social work students are faced is not very great; most students had one or two tutors and two supervisors. Although these potential models shared certain characteristics (most of them have been or still are practitioners), they also manifested dissimilarities which made identification for the student difficult. The most important distinction was between models drawn from the academic setting of
the course and from practice. Models may also represent different segments of the profession, and differing interests, obligations and allegiances. Models may exhibit, from the point of view of students, particular weaknesses; for example in a profession like social work where a well accepted body of theory has yet to develop, academic models may in particular be seen as inadequate figures with which to identify. There was a tendency amongst the students in the research college to identify with models from the field, particularly in the case of University students for whom no models were drawn from amongst college teachers. Another tendency when faced with such dissimilarities is for students to pick and choose from amongst a variety of models and make up their own composite model or identify selectively only with aspects of the skills and styles of models. A global identification with all aspects of a particular model appeared rare amongst these students, and in over a quarter of cases no identification was made at all during training.

2. Social distance.

Social relationships between students and potential models appeared (from observation and questionning) to be close and this was in part a consequence of the small size of courses. Apart from the close relationships built up from the supervisory and tutorial sessions, there were a number of opportunities for informal contacts at the many parties, presentations and reunions which seem to characterise social work education and which are attended by all those involved with the course, including supervisors and occasional lecturers. Apart from lessening the formality of the classroom situation, these occasions seem also to serve ceremonial functions in which an attempt is made to
integrate the diverse activities of the course around the college setting and to foster peer group relationships. These are essentially similar to the 'transitional rites' referred to by Bucher in her model of professional socialisation. (16)

But models were also able to maintain social distance between themselves and students, and the importance of this (which was stressed by tutors) is obvious in a course which fosters close and intimate relationships between students and models. In part this reflected the bureaucratic and hierarchical structure of the social work agency. In part, however, models directly employed techniques for distancing themselves from students which are standard techniques in social work practice. These include the controlling of involvement with the client/student and the deployment of an attitude of 'affective neutrality'. This, common to most professions, may be particularly utilised in the social work practice/training situation which involved the deliberate attempt to utilise the 'self' of the client/student in the process of therapy/education/training.

3. Closeness to activities of student.

Probably the greatest difficulty facing social work education is in the provision of role models who are closely associated with the student's most important activity, social work in the agency setting. Although the available models are supervisors and tutors who have all had considerable experience of practice, the nature of social work (and most of the other 'personal service professions') is such that the core act is a private confrontation between worker and client to which there are no spectators. Social work, and other of the personal service professions, are thus distinguished from science, engineering and
medical practice, where students can work directly with practitioners, who may serve directly as models.

However, rarely, if ever, do social work students see their supervisors in direct contact with clients and this makes it difficult for the student to use the supervisor as a role model for his own practice. Thus in theory, while the supervisor is the most important potential role model, from the student's point of view there is no way of seeing this potential model 'in action'. Whilst there is less expectation that a tutor would play such an active role, tutors are still important potential role models. Again, a number of students said that they could not visualise the tutor in the social work role: as one 1st year Tech. student commented, "I don't tend to think of tutors as social workers; I think of them as detached from the field - as 'elevated' social workers". (17)

The main opportunity for students to see social work skills in practice was in regular supervisory sessions in the agencies and, to a lesser extent, in tutorials. In supervision the main technique was for students 'process recording' of cases (a verbatim account of interaction with the client) to be discussed with the supervisor. Whilst this enabled the student to appreciate how the supervisor would see the case, it also enabled the supervisor to interpret and comment upon the student's own actions. Because the student-client interaction is also of a 'private' nature, it is all the more important for professional norms of practice to be transmitted by direct teaching. This opens the way for the supervisory session to take on the characteristics of the worker-client interview; as Towle has pointed out, the supervisory session has much in common with the client interview and many supervisory techniques are the same
as those used with clients. The same might be said for the tutorial, as the case quoted above (reference (12)) indicates. This process is known (both to students and others) as 'social working the student', and is one of many instances in social work education where the line between 'education' and 'therapy' becomes indistinguishable. The temptation for the tutor to see the interaction with the student in therapeutic rather than educational terms may be very considerable, especially for the tutor newly arrived from the field. As one tutor has put it:

"In the welter of adjustments to these many new duties and responsibilities, the student-tutor relationship may stand out as the one most nearly equivalent to a client-caseworker relationship, and in tutorials the tutor may at least recognise something familiar. It is the regular, one-to-one meeting in which ideas and feelings are expressed, and he may sit down 'waiting to see what the student brings' in much the same way as he has recently faced clients". (20)

However, this is not an entirely successful means by which all students are enabled to identify with a role model, although for some it does appear successful. Thus in some cases the student is obliged to take on the role of the client, but, as Landsberg points out, due to the emotional ingredients of this role "it is difficult, usually, for the student to identify with and absorb the characteristics of the role model". (21) Clearly the student may enact the client role because he wishes to do so, and there will be occasions when it is necessary to bring up personal problems. But the role may also have been taken because the student may not have been given any alternative
by a tutor anxious to practice a familiar skill. The following extracts seem to illustrate this point:-

University student, (2nd interview): (22)

"There is a lot of trying to invent problems (on part of tutors) that haven't worried me, in order to 'cure' me of problems. In a way this their own insecurity, to keep in the profession and their role; still see themselves as caseworkers and students as clients - must play the caseworker. You need support with cases but not therapy".

Conclusion

The provision of role models in social work training appears to present greater problems than is the case with other mechanisms of socialisation, such as role playing and (as will be seen) coaching and criticism. Thus trainees were faced with a diversity of potential role models; of those who did have role models nearly a third identified composite or joint models, thus making a selective and partial identification. In over a quarter of cases role model identification failed to take place altogether by the end of the course, although this was a much lower figure than in teacher training.

The greatest problem appeared to be that although potential role models were closely associated with the most important of trainee activities, both tutor and supervisor were normally a stage removed from these activities and were rarely actually observed performing the core professional act. Supervisory or tutorial sessions were not an entirely satisfactory substitute for this because of the difficulties that many trainees had in 'taking the role of the client' and thus absorbing some of the
characteristics and qualities of the role model. Other considerations which distinguish the social work trainees experience in this respect from, for example, the trainee psychiatrist's personal analysis are the short length of time over which this process occurs and the mixture of educational and therapeutic ends which is characteristic of social work training.

The predominance of a model drawn from practice (in distinction to teacher training where the college lecturer model predominated) suggests an emphasis on 'apprentice socialisation' in comparison to the 'professional socialisation' which is suggested by a lecturer or tutor role model (see Chapter III for discussion of the various routes through the socialising system). Role models drawn from practice suggest a concern with specification of current professional practice and job requirements; teacher training students identifying with a serving teacher model were committed to a role which was conservative and traditional and this may also be the case in social worker teaching (although this cannot be shown from the present research). Identification with the tutor or lecturer model may provide an opportunity to think abstractly or theoretically about practice situations and thus lead on to progressive or innovative definitions of practice roles. However, the existence of practitioner models may have certain functions for the trainee. Davis has distinguished between positive and negative models in the case of nursing training. The former were usually clinical teachers, the latter practitioners to whom students had been assigned. The latter did not exhibit the progressive nursing ideals fostered by the former, but did give nursing students a model by which to evaluate their own and others performances.
Finally, nearly a third of students chose a joint or composite model and over a quarter failed to identify with a model, thus emphasising the importance of two further routes through the socialising programme. The former may be related to 'anticipatory socialisation' where models are pieced together from a variety of individuals, in which influences prior to formal training are important. The latter may be related to 'independent socialisation', in which the student progresses through the socialising system largely free from its influences, and in which the influence of peers is of greater importance than teachers or supervisors.

But a further weakness in the provision of role models is that the organisation of courses rarely allows for a student culture to develop based upon vertical relationships between groups at different stages of their courses, and thus for senior trainees to be taken as role models. This is the result of the small scale nature of social work training in which, for example, most University courses consist of one group of students taking a one year postgraduate course. In the two year Technical College courses there are two groups of students but frequently they do not interact as they are taught in college on different days.

In a situation where the circumstances of a profession induce rapid changes in its core professional acts, and even call into question its basic values, it is likely that the training and socialising programme will have great difficulty in providing all potentially important role models. In view of the rapidly changing circumstances of social work, future research may reveal less identification of this kind. Clearly this issue will present a real problem for social work education in the near future.

2. Ibid.


4. There is a slight difference in the timing of these studies; the majority of the law and medical students completed questionnaires before starting training and the remainder in days immediately following the start of training. Social work students were questioned in the first few weeks of their course.


6. Ibid.


8. Interview No. B.28

9. Interview No. B.19

10. Interview No. B.29

11. Interview No. C.36

12. Interview No. C.34

13. Interview No. B.10

14. Interview No. C.6


17. Interview No. C.6


22. Interview No. B.28
24. Ibid.
25. F. Davis, Professional socialisation as subjective experience; the process of doctrinal conversion among student nurses; in H. Becker et al (eds.) Institutions and the person, Aldine, Chicago, 1968.
CHAPTER XII

Coaching and criticism

Introduction

As he moves through the training course the trainee is being coached in ways of thinking and acting which are appropriate to the professional tasks which lie ahead. Thus a number of people, both super-ordinates (such as the staff of the socialising institution and its affiliated institutions) peers (other trainees) and subordinates (clients) are commenting on and criticising the trainee's performance as he moves through socialising experiences. This chapter aims to discuss some of the properties of the coaching and criticism process and to suggest some general principles and methods by which social work trainees are evaluated.

The process of coaching and criticism may have the following properties; (1) (i) the impact of the criticism may vary depending on whether evaluation is done through impersonal or personal means. Formal examinations which result in grades or scores represent the extreme of impersonality, whilst face to face coaching and criticism represent the other extreme. How face to face communication is organised may also be important. (ii) One way in which face to face communication may vary is in the extent to which the requirements, or 'messages', of the staff are congruent or contradictory; when a trainee is getting contradictory messages from staff he has a different problem than if the messages add up to the same thing. (iii) Messages may differ in the extent to which they penetrate to the 'self' of the trainee and (iv) trainees may be criticised about the performance of highly valued, or relatively peripheral functions.
Some comments have been made in previous chapters about some of these issues. It has already been suggested (in Chapter VII on the College courses) that evaluation tended towards informality (particularly on the University course) with a good deal of face to face contact between students and staff and a minimum of formal examinations. Students were also assessed on activities and verbal as well as written communications during fieldwork. There was also broad agreement amongst staff as to the requirements of training, although this was not total. In general trainees were criticised about highly valued rather than peripheral functions.

The remaining important properties of coaching and criticism are the extent of involvement of the self of the trainee and the way communication is organised.

Involvement of self

A basic principle underlying coaching and criticism in social work training is the attempt to involve the self of the trainee in a way which appears unique to social work and the other counselling professions. As one social work teacher has put it:

"Where social work training differs from many other kinds of preparation for a career is in the degree to which the student must include and involve himself in the area of study". \(^{(2)}\)

Thus the self of the student becomes, in a direct sense, the centre of coaching and criticism. This practice appears to be derived from a mainly psycho-analytic model used in practice and also adopted for training purposes. From the psycho-analytic point of view training and learning for the counselling professions, including social work, cannot be similar to that for other
occupations because, unlike them, the main subject matter must be the self of the trainee rather than knowledge external to the self.\(^{(3)}\)

The main reason for this is the belief that the major tool of the counsellor is his own personality and that in order to be effective in therapeutic situations the counsellor must be free from the conditions he is asked to treat in his clients. He must have an understanding and control of his own reactions to clients, and therefore must himself be involved in some kind of therapeutic situation. Without this, attempts at therapeutic intervention may be unproductive and may even lead to deleterious results. Again, this understanding and control can to a substantial degree be a function of the training/treatment of the trainee counsellor.

This view of the central purpose of training was expressed in one way or another by tutors and also appeared to be well understood (although not necessarily accepted) by students reflecting on their experience of the course. One Tech. tutor put it in this way:-

"Students can only work with others if they have a pretty good sense of their own identity - if they can separate out what they think and feel from what other people are thinking and feeling; otherwise they're not going to be able to begin".\(^{(4)}\)

One problem for teachers is that students expectations of the course are derived from previous educational experience in which this requirement is lacking; as one Tech. tutor put it, "one of the things students have to get over is that they are not going to be fed inert knowledge - seem to come with the expectation that they are just going to sit in lectures and take notes".\(^{(5)}\)
Thus social work training not only attempts to impart knowledge and skills but also socialises the trainee by attempting to control his reactions to the client. Blau has shown something of the difficulties of the untrained social worker who suffers not so much from lack of knowledge and skill but from an inability to handle the shock of actually dealing with clients, particularly their reactions to such client situations as sympathy evoking plight or threatening aggression. Unsocialised responses to the tensions produced by these experiences include the extremes of emotional involvement or loss of concern for clients' welfare, as well as withdrawal from the agency. These reactions can be described as 'ego defences' and are made the focus of attention during training, with the object of producing an orientation which combines impersonal detachment with a serious concern for clients' welfare.

The principle of self involvement finds expression in supervision, which in social work is different both quantitatively and qualitatively from other professions. In most other professions there is a limit to the period in which the practitioner is supervised, and once the independence of the fully trained member is established regular and formal supervision ceases. This is not the case in social work, and the supervisor-trainee relationship carries over into the supervisor-practitioner relationship.

Supervision in social work is also qualitatively different from other professions in the sense that it is based not on a series of relationships between the trainee and various specialists in relation to particular problems (as in medical training) but on an individualised-diffuse relationship with only one supervisor. The relationship is diffuse because "the students
personal problems are probed and discussed — his feelings, conflicts, projections .... the prolonged and total nature of supervision is somewhat reminiscent of the silver chord by which a possessive mother ties the child to herself" (8)

Another feature of the supervision process is that the trainee is himself drawn into his own evaluation, and writes reports on his own progress. This is another way of directing the trainee's attention inwards.

Another explanation for the character of supervision in social work has been advanced in a previous chapter (on 'Role models'). Here it was suggested that the private nature of the confrontation between practitioner and client made it difficult for trainees to observe potential role models in action. One solution was 'role reversal', that is for trainees to be placed in a client situation in the supervisory situation and for supervisors to play the practitioner role.

It is also important to have some idea of the kind of model social work teachers have of the development of trainees self awareness, (9) and this will be considered in more detail in the following chapter.

In defining the therapeutic concern with the self of the student as a major focus of coaching and criticism, one reservation must clearly be made. (10) A distinction can be made between different levels in the training and practice of counsellors. These range from the personal training analysis of the trainee psycho-analyst, which may consist of 600 or more hours duration, and which may lead on in practice to the exploration in depth of the patient with no limits of time, to the much more cursory preparation of other counsellors for work which does not involve exploration in depth and which is frequently of limited duration.
Neither the training nor the work of the social worker, even in settings where work in depth is most likely, approach the training and work of the psycho-analyst, and mainly involve the giving of support together with the attempt to alter the social or economic environment of the client.

Again, social work teachers, whilst accepting that the supervision of students may involve a kind of therapy, maintain that this is directed at the students' 'professional' self (that aspect of the self which is involved in contact with clients) and that the remainder of the self can remain untouched. This view is also held by some teachers of psycho-therapy:

"The change ostensibly sought is limited to one area, that of the manner of use of oneself in a psycho-therapeutic relationship, but within that area the change desired may be equally far reaching and 'deep'." (12)

**Methods of teaching and communication**

The kind of general principles discussed above and in previous chapters clearly generate the need for appropriate methods of teaching and communication. The integration of theoretical knowledge and practice is clearly the basic task of education or training for an occupation, and the methods used to achieve this in social work include concurrent classroom teaching and agency practice. Thus during the same week the social work trainee is exposed to knowledge in the classroom and is put into situations where this knowledge can be used. Both agency supervisor and college tutor play important roles in this process and these have been discussed in the previous chapter on 'role models'.
In order to achieve the aim of the maximum involvement of the self of the trainee a particular method of teaching must obviously be devised in which formality and impersonality are reduced to a minimum. Thus trainees spent a large proportion of their time in face to face situations involving dyads (student-tutor or supervisor) or small groups of 10/12 people including teachers and peers. Thus an avoidance of didactic teaching methods and a maximization of opportunities for students to participate constituted the basis of teaching methods; as one tutor put it:

"The looser the structure, the less teachers take on the lecturing role, the more students participate and think about themselves". (13)

Something of the significance of the tutorial and supervisory situations have already been discussed in the previous chapters of Part III; clearly these situations are the basis of much of the coaching and criticism the trainee receives. But small groups also have great significance in the training process.

Students on the research courses were involved in two kinds of group situation. In both courses there were teaching and discussion seminars, and most formal teaching was carried out in this way rather than by lecturing. In the research University there was also a group (at which attendance was voluntary) in which the object was not direct teaching but 'group experience'. This group, which will be referred to as the T-group, was overtly concerned with furthering students' understanding of group situations in which they might be involved (e.g. in the agency) through experience and participation
in a group situation where the sole objective was to study the day by day interaction of the group as a whole and of particular members. The group also included an experienced social group worker, not on the staff of the college, whose function was to comment on and interpret the group process.

Groups of various kinds are used in a variety of educational institutions both to improve the quality of academic teaching and to ensure some kind of attention to the needs of individuals. Whilst the groups described above clearly had these 'instrumental' functions, they also appeared to have an 'affective' purpose, and were an important part of the process by which attention was focused on the self of the trainee through increasing the awareness of the nature of the trainee's interaction with others. Thus, as with dyadic interaction, the main objective is the self of the trainee, and only the method differs.

The practice model for this method of training social workers appears to be that of group psycho-therapy. Again, as in the case of the use of therapeutic methods in supervision and tutoring, it is held that the area of exploration can be limited to the working through of existing problems and the exploration of the current social situation of the group. By comparison, a full clinical exploration which includes past problems and situations is inappropriate for, it is suggested, in the context of training a 'mandate' does not exist for this purpose. Thus the limitation of the therapeutic concern in the individual supervisory situation has its equivalent in the group context.
There are a variety of ways in which the use of groups in professional training, as described here, can be explained. Thus groups may merely be part of a more general process by which influence is brought to bear upon trainees in terms of commitment to professional values; as Wilson suggests, 'the group' may be seen as a way in which gemeinschaft relationships may "be cultivated within, or grafted onto, the gesellschaft society, so that the latter may achieve its ends."(16) Again, in a socialisation process which is particularly lengthy or severe, fostering of peer group relationships may function to ease the strains faced by individuals; the 'set' in nursing training appears to perform this kind of function.(17) Small groups are also an important part of some teacher training programmes. The use of small groups in social work training may, by comparison to other types of occupational preparation, constitute a particularly important part of the process because the theoretical rationalisation on which this usage is based, that is psycho-analysis, appears so central to counselling ideology as a whole.

**Student perspectives on coaching and criticism**

By the end of their course it was clear to most students that certain general principles, such as the unity of theory and practice and the involvement of self, were central to the organisation of the course. This was particularly clear in the case of the graduates on the University course, who were able to compare the social work with the undergraduate type of course. The differences came out most clearly in the case of 'self involvement':
University student, 2nd interview: (18)

"Self not touched by knowledge before this course -
I was just a minor member of a large year."

University student, 2nd interview: (19)

"Self not really involved in a theoretical course -
this course gets at you."

But trainees varied in the extent to which they saw 'self involvement' as an unavoidable requirement of the course. One view was that this constituted an 'option' which could be taken up as desired. Thus trainees varied in the intensity of their personal experiences, in the extent to which they accepted (or took up) a 'therapeutic' conception of the course and in the degree to which they were able to separate the exploration of the 'professional' from the 'non professional' self.

Thus for some the course appeared of great personal significance and had resulted in major changes in areas of personal life. One student claimed to have got married as a result of the course, which had given him a more realistic view of the marital relationship, and another had experienced a complete change in her marital relationship. One student "wondered how she could live an ordinary life" after the experience of the course. Something of the impact of the course is suggested by the reflections of a former Tech. student (not from the research course):

"Growing self awareness and insight were often painful. Parts of myself which had remained well hidden came to light. The acquisition of casework techniques and the accompanying self awareness .... I found initially threatening to my self image as a man." (20)
One of the situations which appeared particularly significant in these respects were groups, in particular the specially constituted T-group in the University course. Here pressures on the self, and pressures to change, were experienced most sharply. Those students who made up the T-group (the majority) also appeared, according to non-members, to form a 'group within a group', described by other students as a kind of elite which existed outside the T-group meetings and from which others were excluded. Some idea of the significance of the group situation is given in a student's own words:

University student, 2nd interview:

"The T-group crystallised the whole situation, was 'the compression of the compression', the nub on which the whole course swung. What happened in T-group? - aware that were being put in a situation of extreme anxiety. Could see patterns of interaction emerging among students. Value of this that in reacting to stress situations it teaches you lessons."

By comparison some students remained more detached from this process. One reaction was to accept the 'professional self' as a legitimate object of attention, but to resist the extension of this attention to the 'non professional' or personal areas outside the sphere of work. One student made this distinction quite explicit:

University student, 2nd interview:

"The social worker must be in touch with the 'self', but only in relation to work."

An extreme reaction was the rejection of any involvement of the self; here the 'therapeutic' conception of social work which underlies the principle of involving the self of the student is largely rejected:
University student, 2nd interview (23)

"Tutorials haven't been academic; you must be emotionally involved with the course, an emotional catharsis. There is a pressure to talk about own problems - have been resisting this, not may way of thinking about social work. Casework is done on you; but do they (the tutors and supervisors) put you in a client situation to further your ability to do the job?"

These reactions were also associated with a rejection of T-group membership. Thus responses to the pressure for 'self involvement' varied along an 'acceptance-rejection' continuum, the above cases representing the main points on such a continuum. Certainly by the end of the course a small group of students could be identified (more numerous in the University than the Tech.) who constituted a 'deviant' minority in the sense that they rejected some of the values and practices on which the course was based.

These reactions also call into question the distinction made in training between the 'professional' self, which is held to be a legitimate object of attention during training, and other aspects of the self on which attention is not focussed. The types of reaction noted above suggest that this is a difficult distinction for students to make, even in cases where the rationale for the distinction was accepted. In other cases, the heightening of self awareness in the professional sphere, and the extension of this to the 'private' sphere, appeared to be accepted and even welcomed.

As Halmos suggests, the compartmentalisation of the personality into 'professional' and 'private' areas is unknown in terms of psycho-analytic theory, nor is there any evidence for
it from other sources. Yet, paradoxically, psycho-analytic theory is in fact the basis of much of counselling activity.

The discrepancy between what occurs in practice and training, and the theories on which this is largely based, is further illustrated by the rationale surrounding the use of groups in training. Here the distinction between the 'professional' and 'non professional' areas of the trainee's personality is paralleled by the distinction in training groups between 'existing or present' problems, where exploration was legitimate, and 'past' problems, where it was not. In psycho-analytic terms, such a distinction is very difficult to make.

Both situations are examples of what Halmos describes as compromises, expedients and short cuts which make up part of the 'faith' of the counsellors, in both practice and training. Such compromises are not warranted by the psychological principles on which counselling activities are based, and stand in sharp contrast to what is claimed to be the 'scientific' basis of such principles. This and other arguments Halmos presents about the counsellor's faith, are derived mainly from an analysis of counselling literature. This study suggests that there is sufficient support for the argument he is advancing here to justify further research on discrepancies in counselling ideology and practice.

The methods of teaching and communication and types of assessment that students encountered in social work training were rather different from those previously encountered in school and university. Initially the new methods, in which small group teaching and continuous assessment predominated, were welcomed by students, and there was great relief that assessment would
not be based mainly on examinations. However by the end of the course some of the strains of the new system were apparent. For some the feeling of being under continuous observation both in college and in practical placements, where everything they say and do may be taken down and 'used in evidence', produced a sense of pressure as great as the more traditional system. This was especially the case for graduate students who had become used to a more relaxed regime; as one graduate put it, "you felt that can't lapse at all - that missing one lecture would have cost me my diploma". Other problems included the difficulty some students had in assessing themselves, a task which was a feature of supervision.

Perhaps of greatest importance was the new and more complex network of relationships between students and staff which this system seems to produce. In more traditional situations external examinations unite student and teacher in the task of getting the better of the examiner; this results in a simple and fairly conflictless relationship. Even in cases where the role of teacher and examiner is combined the situation is not much complicated because there will be an assumption of objectivity in the marking of exams on the basis of standards which are outside the staff/student relationship. Students can only play a part in this by attempting to 'spot' questions. But continuous assessment greatly complicates the situation in which staff and students find themselves and it is difficult to see how this can result in much objectivity in assessment, although this may not even be claimed. Thus Shipman showed in his study of a teacher training college that final decisions on students with poor exam results were always made on the basis of tutors' views of the characteristics of students and never on results alone.
if staff have many opportunities for face to face contact with students, and this is combined with continuous assessment, this provides considerable opportunity for tutors to influence a student's academic and personal development.

In the research courses a degree of objectivity was provided by external examiners. However, the courses were dominated by small group situations, such as tutorials, supervisory sessions, seminars and T-groups, where face to face contact was maximised. Thus considerable pressure could be put on students in this way, for an important part of assessment was based on students' performance in these situations. An attempt was made to insulate the University T-group from the formal structure of the course by running this through a group worker from outside the college, thus stressing the confidentiality of the proceedings. However, these conditions do not always apply to such groups. In the case of a similar group of Certificate in Social Work students at the North Western Polytechnic great anxiety was aroused by the way in which the group was organised, according to some of its members. Some students chose not to participate and others did so only when faced with the deterrent of a 2000 work essay as an alternative. The students comment that:

"This anxiety was heightened by the presence in the groups of two college tutors whose roles were seen, by the students, to be rather ambiguous in that they were neither facilitators nor interpreters. Once again the students felt the need for a more positive learning situation. In our opinion these groups could have been more constructive if they had included an outside group worker instead of a college tutor".
Conclusion

The process of coaching and criticism described here is carried out primarily through personal means, mainly in face to face small group situations. There was broad agreement amongst the teaching staff that students should apply their knowledge in practical situations and should go through a period of heightened 'professional' self awareness. Although the self of the student was an important object of attention the extent to which socialising experiences penetrated to the self of trainees is difficult to estimate. One view is that the degree of change of this kind that can be expected from courses of short duration, and from the casual means employed to effect change, is probably very slight. Finally, it is clear that the coaching and criticism of trainees occurs in relation to functions which are highly valued within the profession, that is in interaction with clients in practice situations which are closely supervised.

The processes of coaching and criticism described in this chapter appear (with the possible exception of the involvement of the 'self' of the trainee) a powerful and important mechanism of socialisation, and therefore likely to lead to a high degree of socialisation. It is to the effects of such mechanisms that discussion turns in the final chapters of Part III.
References Chapter XII


4. Interview No. 3; as W.H. Scott puts it "training is required to enable the caseworker to gain sufficient emotional maturity to establish a relationship with the client within which his needs, and not the social workers, are defined and served"; see Professional employees in a bureaucratic structure, in A. Etzioni (ed.) The semi professions and their organisation, Free Press, New York, 1969.

5. Interview No. 3.


8. Ibid.


10. P. Halmos, op.cit.

11. Ibid; in social work there is an analogous rationale for practice situations - "caseworkers cannot alter the client's basic personality structure but work with that part of the personality which is able to learn from experience and to gain insight", P. Halmos (ed.) Sociological Review Monograph No. 6, 1962.


13. Interview No. 3.


15. E. Trist & C. Sofer, Explorations in group relations; cited in P. Halmos op.cit.


18. Interview No. B.21

19. Interview No. B.25

21. Interview No. B.22

22. Interview No. B.28

23. Interview No. B.29

24. P. Halmos, op.cit.

25. Interview No. B.29

26. see W. Taylor, op.cit.


CHAPTER XIII

The Process of Doctrinal Conversion

Introduction

In this chapter attention will shift from specific and separate experiences in which trainees are involved to a discussion of the sequence of experiences by which they make a passage from lay to professional status. This chapter therefore begins to summarise some of the material already presented in Part III (and this summary is carried on in the next chapter), as well as introducing some new material.

The chapter includes a discussion of a further socialising mechanism or function, that of 'conversion experiences' or 'occasions which are dramatically and emotionally experienced and which are closely tied to basic professional values'.(1) The properties of this mechanism include the period of time over which it is experienced, the extent to which the experience is shareable with others and the extent to which it penetrates to the self of the trainee. But it is also necessary to specify the way in which the 'lay' views of trainees, and their imagery of the profession, come to be exchanged for the 'official' views of the professional. This has been termed the process of 'doctrinal conversion'(2) and constitutes one of the most important dimensions of the process of becoming professional.

The material which is used here is based mainly on the subjective experiences of the trainees who were interviewed in this research project, as well as other published accounts of such experiences and evidence from other studies. The expectations of social work teachers will also be set alongside those of students, and these are derived both from this research and other published accounts. The aim will be to set down in a simple form the sequences and turning points in such experiences, with particular reference to the dilemmas and conflicts which students meet. There will be little emphasis on
the comparison of students from the different socialising settings of the two colleges. The model which will be used in a simplified form as a framework for the chapter is that suggested by Davis (3) in his study of the process of doctrinal conversion amongst nurses. The model is in six stages, but in effect these can be reduced, without much loss of meaning, to four stages: these are 'initial innocence', 'labelled recognition of incongruity', 'psyching out' and 'role simulation', and 'provisional' and 'stable internalisation'.

The model was based on a particular institutional setting which generated a particular set of socialising experiences and makes no claims to generality, particularly in an area (the sociology of the professions) in which comparisons seem particularly difficult. For example, nursing is an overwhelmingly female profession and most students enter training in their late teens or early twenties. This may mean that nursing students experience the socialisation process in very different ways from medical or social work students. But Davis also suggests certain issues and questions which may be important irrespective of particular contexts, and it is this aspect of the model which makes it important in the present context. In what follows discussion will therefore concentrate both on what is unique about socialisation in social work, and what the experiences of social work students can contribute to the more general questions surrounding the assumption of new roles in adult life.

'Initial innocence'

Most of those entering professional training come, in one way or another, from the lay world and bring with them lay concepts of professions and professional tasks, although one exception is in social work where some students gain experience of the work of the profession prior to training. In the case of Davis' study of recruits to nursing training the imagery which students brought with them consisted of "a strong instrumental emphasis on doing
alongside a secularised Christian-humanitarian ethic of care, kindness and love for those that suffer. In the case of social work too an 'innocent' belief in doing good, in some cases to particular groups (such as children or old people) and in particular contexts (e.g. giving financial or material aid), characterised the lay imagery of students in the research colleges in the early days of training. These students described their images of social work, and of what social workers do, as involving 'a general helping relationship' (43% of responses in this category), 'help with specific groups' (19%) or 'financial or material aid' (19%). One experienced student, a former mental nurse, remarked "I used to see myself as a 'mental nurse' in the community, doing first aid and hoping that clients wouldn't have problems". A survey of the attitudes of undergraduates to social work as a career also found such factors were important elements in images which were held of the profession.

In some cases, particularly amongst the University students and those with previous experience of the work of the profession, there was already an awareness of the simplicity and naivety of these views. In their statement of 'expectations' of the course, University students stressed their desire to obtain 'professional status', indicating knowledge and skill, as opposed to mere "do goodery". But some students clung equally tenaciously to their lay conceptions. In the case of professions such as social work, where there are a number of different entry points, in some cases coming after lengthy periods of higher education or actual practice, there is likely to be greater heterogeneity amongst the early images of the profession than in professions with single entry points, such as nursing. Another difference may lie in the speed with which initial images change; there was already evidence of a realisation of the naivety of initial images amongst most students.
in the research courses in the early weeks of their training, whereas the nurses in Davis' research clung to their early images well into the first year, in spite of the incongruity of such images. Not only do social work students have the advantage of more experience in adult life, such as university education or previous work experience (which also serve as anticipatory socialising experiences), which may serve to dislodge images from the lay world, but they are also subject to early experiences of the profession which may challenge, in quite a fundamental way, such lay images. The selection process, as suggested, may function in this way, for not only does it challenge in a forthright way the naive motivations of candidates towards 'doing good' and 'working with people', but it also projects the kind of experiences to which students are going to be subjected in training, as well as the image of the profession that they will be asked to accept. (7)

'Labelled recognition of incongruity'

As students begin to interact with teaching staff and with senior trainees (if they are available), and in particular to receive evaluations of various kinds with their attendant notes of criticism and encouragement, they become aware of the discrepancies between their lay imagery and that of the profession, represented by the school and its staff. The point at which the transition from 'initial innocence' to this second stage occurs is unclear in the case of social work, and probably varies because of the differences in students' backgrounds. But the first assessments of practical work, coupled with the experience of regular tutorial sessions which were an important feature of the socialising programme, were probably important turning points for a number of students. These assessments occurred within the first 3 or 4 months of the course. The view that 'social work training is not what we expected' summed up the reactions to the course as a whole of as many as 70% of the social work students.
The respects in which the incongruity was perceived are not very clear but students seemed worried about the following kinds of issues (amongst others).

(i) The training course should enable the student to meet in a direct way the needs and problems of people in distress and to learn such skills as are relevant to this; instead of this students initially are asked to enact roles as 'observers' rather than 'doers' and, for example, spend periods observing a mother and her baby or everyday interaction in situations such as clubs, old peoples' homes and so on.

(ii) That instead of concentrating on the 'real' problems, personality, situation of those in distress, there is a instead a focus on the personality of the student, his capacities for 'self awareness', 'insight', 'growth', etc.

(iii) That the academic part of the course does not always appear to be relevant to the development of skills which the student needs to develop to help others; and that the methods and techniques which it was hoped the course would provide are either lacking, or are subjects over which there is considerable dispute.

(iv) That the skills and experience of those students who, prior to the course, have actually been practitioners doing the work of the profession are being devalued and criticised, and they are reduced to the status of neophytes who are treated in the same way as completely inexperienced students.

At this stage most students have only a vague idea what they are 'up against' and of the expectations of teachers (the term 'teachers' is used here to include both college teachers and agency supervisors), and teachers themselves may have only a vague notion of 'what they expect' from students. But it is important to try and
describe the professional culture which teachers and curriculum represent, and the nature of the conflict at this stage between students and their environment.

Wilensky and Lebeaux (8) have described the situation as a clash between the 'humanitarian' sentiments with which students enter training and the professional and 'clinical' therapeutics which is encountered in training; the humanitarian seeks to meet needs and problems immediately, accepts the form in which they are expressed, takes people at face value and believes that all men are brothers and should be offered friendship. The professional clinician, the student is taught, does not view the situation in terms of a naive desire to help, but explores problems with apparent indifference to the client's suffering, does not accept that expressed needs are always real ones, does not accept people at face value and tries to maintain social distance from those he would help.

At this stage the teacher's view of the student and his problem might be expressed something like this:

"The student has a naive view of himself as someone who loves and wants to help people and he is full of idealistic and humanitarian feelings. But he has very little idea of how to help people and counts on classroom teaching and supervision to help him. In particular if the student is allowed to get away with this he will not be confronted with the many negative and uncomfortable feelings he will have about wanting to help and for which he must be responsible."

A similar view was expressed by a tutor to one of the research courses:

"Although they (the students) have expressed an interest in people and are wanting to work with them they have an
extraordinary lack of interest in wanting to know the real facts or real feelings - they don't know how to look for this ... (therefore) one has to find ways in the early stages of shaking them up a bit ... have somehow to be made aware of their limited perceptions, easy acceptance of what people say, without being curious about them ... to look at things intensely and begin to see themselves in a new light". (10)

The expectations of staff at this stage, although in many cases perhaps half understood and partially expressed, is that students should be encouraged to shift their self image from that of someone who wants to help people to one who has begun to develop particular techniques of helping and, through this, has begun to develop a specific identification with a profession in which these techniques are commonly used. (11)

Such incongruities and dysjunctions present students with perhaps the most serious problems they are to meet in training, and the manifestations of this conflict, such as worry, disappointment, frustration and depression, are well recognised features of social work and other forms of training. (12) As one former student (13) expressed it, "I can recall becoming caught up in a flood of universal doubt in which values, concepts and feelings were in a complete state of flux".

The rude awakening of social work students has been documented by a number of studies. Shey concluded from his study of a representative sample of all American schools of social work that, "the overwhelming majority of American students become disillusioned and highly critical of the programme (of teaching) shortly after admission to their respective institutions". (14) In a study of 47 adult social work students in which personality tests were used involving the measurement of changes in the 'personal constructs' of students over time, it was found that after 4 months
of the course students outlooks were prevalently "pessimistic and exaggeratedly self disparaging ... reflecting a mood of anxiety fairly widespread at that stage of the course". (15)

Several avenues are available to students who experience such misalignment between their own expectations and the expectations others have of them and who wish to reduce the 'dissonance' of this situation. The most obvious is to drop out of the course at this stage. In the case of social work this is very difficult; for example, for students who are seconded on full pay by their employers to withdraw at this stage presumably means putting their job at risk. For this and other reasons few students drop out of social work courses and therefore other means of accommodation and adjustment are sought. This ushers in a third stage in which there is a specific reaction to the dilemma facing students.

'Psychoing out' and 'role simulation'

The term 'psychoing out' refers to the attempt on the part of the students to discover what the expectations of teachers are, and of how best to go about satisfying such expectations. 'Role simulation' is the implementation in performance of 'psychoing out' and refers to the self conscious behaviour of students aimed at constructing performances of roles which are highly valued by staff. These two stages are not really separable temporally, and, for the sake of simplicity, have been treated together.

By this stage in the course it is apparent to most students that the situation facing them, which has resulted from a challenge to their lay images of the profession, is untenable. One way in which students may collectively adapt to this situation is to confront staff as to their expectations. This can be done in a number of ways, ranging from direct questioning to observation of everyday reactions to student performances. One problem is the
degree to which staff are actually able to specify what their expectations are, or where there are clashes in staff expectations. This is well expressed by a social work student looking back at her first year of training:

"We spent hours comparing notes, seeking for some enlightenment as to what "they" wanted. We tried in vain to find a common factor between the tutorials given by different tutors ... after seeking for the significance of some of her remarks, hunting for double meanings and trying to work out some pattern from our times together, I finally burst out in exasperation at my tutor, "What are you looking for?", to be floored by the reply, "Why should I be looking for anything?". (17)

This reply appears less than honest in that there was little doubt that staff did have expectations of the students, over which (in the research courses at least) there was, as already suggested, a fair measure of agreement. From the kinds of performances students stated they were beginning to enact at later stages in the course it appeared that 'psyching out' had, in fact, revealed a particular conception of the professional role, held by both tutors and supervisors. Students were being encouraged to take a "psycho-therapeutically objective" view of the client, (18) to appreciate not only what clients say and do but what they feel, and to subject their own performances to the same kind of theoretical rationale and critique as that applied to clients. Students were encouraged to look at their own feelings and attitudes to particular clients and situations, and to connect their performances with different clients, their successes and failures, with elements in their own personalities.
Some students may turn their attention inwards to such an extent that they begin to consider psycho-therapy or even analysis. (19)

This marks the beginning of a convergence between student and teacher conceptions of the professional role and is, for the student, a momentous break with the past of considerable importance. These are comments by two students looking back on crucial events during the course:

"Four interviews ago I sat and watched a woman cry; before that I would have put my arms around her, now I don't. It's a detached reasoning process, before it was all emotional. I can separate out the fact that I am there to help and not to gratify my own emotions". (2nd year Technical student.) (20)

"I understood what professional work is all about; of what is going on in the client and myself at the same time. Made me face up to the relationship between me and the client." (2nd interview with University student) (21)

Students may also begin to recognise other ground rules for survival at this time; for example that 'fieldwork is of greater significance than academic work' in the total scheme of the course, and particularly when it comes to evaluation. (22) Again, this approximates to a teacher's view of the situation:

"When it comes to the crunch they (the students) have got to get through the exam. If only to scrape through; but however much they have annoyed college staff, if the casework supervisors have felt they are good with clients, they are through". (23)
Students may begin to simulate, or be 'converted' to, an approved version of the professional role gradually, but they may also experience dramatic incidents ('conversion experiences') which may bring home to them directly the 'true' nature of the work of the profession. In either case the student is faced with two kinds of problems; one is the dysjunction occurring between the actor and himself, the other between the actor and his audience. (24)

Firstly, if students are merely 'playing at being professionals', their performance may appear to themselves to lack authenticity and legitimacy, with the resulting feelings of guilt and hypocrisy. If these feelings were never relieved then the actor could never become convinced of the authenticity of his performance; and would always feel that he would be 'caught out' by the audience who would see his performance as a mere 'front'. In this case the assumption of any new roles in adult life would be almost impossible. But the student increasingly comes to find that he can convince others of something which he himself is in doubt - that his performances are authentic. He begins to adopt towards himself the favourable responses others adopt to him and his sense of in-authenticity begins to slip away. The student actually "becomes that status which his performances claim him to be". (25) Thus the stage is set for the transition to the final stages of the internalisation of the professional role.

The students of the research courses illustrated this problem, and its resolution, in a number of ways. Over a quarter of the 'conversion experiences' identified by students referred to assessment or evaluation in the eyes of significant others, either in college exams or supervisory sessions, or in practice situations involving other social workers or members of other professions (see Table 25).
TABLE 25

Conversion experiences

(2nd interview) (multiple coding)

Question: "Can you think of any experiences, or phases or highlights, in the course which were very significant for you personally; I mean times when you might have said to yourself, 'this makes me feel more like a social worker'?"

1. Able to apply theory to practice ... ... ... ... 4 10%
2. When could work on own without supervisor/do duty/autonomous ... ... ... ... 4 10%
3. Could help/offer something to client, felt had developed skills, etc. ... ... ... ... 10 24%
4. Change in/understanding of self; reference to self ... ... ... ... 10 24%
5. Successful evaluation, assessment, examination, etc. ... ... ... ... 7 17%
6. Accepted/treated as equal by other social worker or professional (doctor, etc.) ... ... ... ... 4 10%
7. Other ... ... ... ... 2 5%

I had a feeling after I had completed the first year, 'I can't be that bad as they haven't thrown me off the course'; I had the feeling all along that tutors said we weren't a bad bunch." (2nd year Technical student, ) (26)

"I had been told that I had done a good piece of work - when I went through my report with the supervisor; one of the probationers - I felt I had got through to him in terms of helping him with difficulties about car stealing - he said I had helped him." (1st interview, University student, ) (27)

However, students may not always successfully resolve such problems and the in-authenticity they feel may continue. For example, although a student has entered training, actual commitment to the
profession may be low and training is seen as instrumental to the attainment of some other end, such as class mobility or a form of higher education. Such students may be reacting to failure to gain entry to other forms of higher education, and professional training of some kind is seen as the only way of obtaining higher education. \(^{(28)}\) Because of the rigorous nature of the selection process, which is designed to test commitment, this 'instrumentalism' is perhaps less likely than a weakening of commitment during training. This latter occurrence may reflect a variety of situations, including a realisation of the discrepancies between the ideals with which the student may have entered training and the realities of practice, and a rejection of the professional 'rationalisation' of these discrepancies which is accepted by other students.

In either case this will mean that a 'front' is built up in which the role of student is still played, although with less than full commitment. Instead of the 'front' slipping away through the favourable reactions of others, the student continues to shelter behind it, to pay lip service to the course with the aim of qualifying at all costs. This illustrates the way in which trainees may manage and control their own experiences and what is happening to them to a much greater extent than is realised. \(^{(29)}\)

Another way of describing this is as 'independent socialisation' in which the student moves through the training process largely free from its influences, apart from the influence of fellow students and student culture. \(^{(30)}\) Shey has suggested, from his study of American schools of social work, \(^{(31)}\) that many students are disappointed by the course, particularly by its failure to confront the 'real' issues (e.g. of inequality, poverty) facing clients, and that a collective response to this involves students in 'fronting' on a considerable scale, resulting in 'negative socialisation'.
'Provisional' and 'stable internalisation' of professional role

Once the more dramatic events of the previous stage have been negotiated, the final stages are, by comparison, relatively uneventful. Provisional internalisation may be distinguished from stable internalisation by a tendency for students to retain a 'subterranean attachment' to their previously held lay imagery, which tends to surface from time to time in re-awakened feelings of doubt about their choice of career, motivation for work and so on. Two phenomena characterise the final movement to a more stable situation - professional rhetoric and its functions, and the emergence of positive and negative reference models.

Professional training is marked by the use of technical vocabularies which function not only as a technical language which fosters communication, but also as a means by which the student can delineate a particular field of work and come to see himself as a professional as distinct from a layman. In nursing training there are a number of technical terms in use which perform this function, such as 'patient needs', (32) or 'responsibility', (33) which students come to understand and use. Particular sub cultural settings therefore generate their own language, and in social work training terms such as 'capacity for growth', 'movement', 'insight' and 'self awareness' are examples of approved rhetoric which seem to perform much the same function. Another form of professional rhetoric adopted in social work is to see an individual's problems entirely in psychological or psychiatric terms, and to abandon any idea that these problems may have their origins in the wider social structure. (34) The use of professional rhetoric (or theory) helps to reassure the students that they are now different persons, 'professionals'.
"Client on probation; her mother started to talk about her in same terms as we had been using in the office. Their family situation had been a very typical one, and a 'crisis' had been identified - reassured me about the value of theory." (2nd interview, University student.)

Similarly, those who come to use professional rhetoric (both staff and trainees) may be defined as positive role models with which to identify as against the negative role models also encountered in practice who exemplify 'bad practice'. In social work one of the most typical negative figures is that of the ex Poor Law 'relieving officer' who has had no training in modern casework techniques. Such negative models also help to strengthen the bond between student and teacher.

The final stage is marked by a relatively assured belief in what is taken as approved professional practice; 9 out of 10 social work students at this stage had an image of social work in which understanding of clients' feelings and emotions were either of supreme importance or were of equal importance to the provision of material aid. The early lay image of a vague helping relationship in which material aid played an important part had almost completely disappeared. The students in Laycock's study had, near the end of their course, reversed their early tendency to self disparagement and their attitudes had changed in a direction consistent with the attitudes expected of social workers.

Another facet of the final stage is the reinterpretation of doubts and difficulties experienced on the course or before; in some cases students have become highly involved in understanding and interpreting their own internal processes, in particular their reasons for choice of the profession, and this is sometimes expressed
as a desire to enter therapy either to increase their therapeutic skills or to increase understanding of self. *(37)* This appears to be the logical outcome of the course based mainly on psychotherapeutic principles and comes close to resembling the experience of psychiatry students who come to see psycho-analysis as directly relevant to themselves. As Bucher comments:

"We have seen several generations of residents who, after entering analysis, become totally pre-occupied with observing their own internal processes, and noting similar processes in patients. They thus become completely immersed in viewing interpersonal processes in terms of psychoanalytic concepts." *(38)*

**Conclusion**

The process of doctrinal conversion described above, which was originally developed in respect of student nurses, would appear to have considerable relevance to the experiences of social work students and adds meaning to a number of the findings in this research. Social work students share a fate which is similar to that of other students who are asked to forsake a layman's conception of reality for that of a professional. This suggests that the model may have considerable general applicability. In the case of social work the dysjunction between lay and professional conceptions is perhaps more acute than in most other cases, for at first sight (and this may be something that attracts people to the idea of social work as a career) there appear to be few complexities or technicalities attached to the apparently simple business of helping others, which might be seen as an extension of everyday experience. It is all the more stressful, therefore, for students to have face to face conceptions of the professional task which are grossly at variance with this lay image and which ask a good deal of the student in personal terms.
Some of the major differences between social work and other professional training are that students enter at a number of different points and form heterogeneous groups in terms of age and previous experience. There is, therefore, much more variation in the way each stage is negotiated by a given group of students by comparison, for example, with nurses, most of whom enter training at the same age. Possibly the group which is most severely challenged by the demands of the new situation are those who are already experienced practitioners and who have come to regard themselves as already skilled in the professional role.

Although in the last stages most students have internalised much of the professional definition of the role, it is important to note that this has occurred within a specific institutional context (the college or school) and that, away from the controlling influences of this environment, a student’s newly formed identity may come under severe pressure. This issue will be taken up again in the final chapter of the thesis when the relationship between training and subsequent practice will be briefly discussed.

The extent to which the notion of ‘conversion experience’ is useful in interpreting change is difficult to assess from this research, although it appeared real enough to many of the students Bucher interviewed. (39)
References Chapter XIII


3. F. Davis, op.cit., the six original stages of the model were 'initial innocence', 'labelled recognition of incongruity', 'psyching out', 'role simulation', 'provisional internalization' and 'stable internalization'.

4. Interview No. G.31


7. See chapter on 'selection of students'. (Chapter VIII)


10. Interview No. 3.


16. The failure rate for Certificate in Social Work courses was between 2% and 5% for years 1963-7, rising to 7% - 8% if students who withdraw are included; this compares to a failure rate of about 1% for University undergraduates - see Chapter VIII on 'selection of students', reference 2, for sources of this reference.

18. This phrase is also used by F. Davis to describe the professional beliefs of nursing staff, a striking example of the diffusion of psychiatric ideas in a variety of professions.

19. G. Hamilton, op. cit. See also Chapter VI for discussion of staff attitudes to students' problems.

20. Interview No. C.27

21. Interview No. B.37


23. Interview No. 7.


25. F. Davis, op. cit.


27. Interview No. B.19

28. Two fifths of Tech. students had minimum University entrance qualifications and 44% came from manual (or working class) backgrounds - see Chapter IX for further discussion.

29. 'Trainee control' is one of the mediating variables in Bucher's model, and is also emphasised in Olesen and Whittaker, The silent dialogue, Jossey Bass, San Francisco, 1968.


31. T. Shey, op. cit.

32. F. Davis, op. cit.


34. B. Deacon & M. Bartley, Becoming a social worker, Department of Applied Social Studies, North London Polytechnic, 1972, unpubl.

35. Interview No. B.23


37. G. Hamilton, op. cit.


CHAPTER XIV

Aspects of professional identification

Introduction

In the previous four chapters a series of mechanisms of socialisation, or situations experienced by trainees which may have the effect of bringing about socialisation, have been discussed. Other mechanisms exist (such as transitional rites) which have not been considered because of lack of information. Again, some mechanisms appear to be more influential than others in laying the foundations for professional identity. This and other issues will be discussed in the concluding chapters.

In this chapter the focus alters and will deal with what might be described as the 'products' of socialising mechanisms. These include -

(i) the development of a professional identity or 'self image';
(ii) changes in membership of and attitudes to social work professional associations;
(iii) changes in degree of identification with social work as a career;
(iv) differences in professional identification in relation to the social class backgrounds of students; and
(v) differences in professional identification in relation to the differing settings (University and Technical College) of the training courses.
Introduction

During the training process students come to be seen, and see themselves, as professional practitioners; in some cases this has occurred before training and in some cases also this self image may fail to develop at all. The acquisition of a professional self image in training may also be important for the development of a full professional image in later career. Thus practitioners who have developed a professional self image during training may be able to carry out their professional role more effectively than those who have not fully incorporated such a self image. (1) Thinking of themselves as 'professionals' may help practitioners to deal with the rigours and anxieties of practice in the professional role.

Thus the extent to which trainees develop a professional self image may be one way in which the effectiveness of any socialising system can be assessed.

Professional identity may be categorised as complete, partial or negative. Again, identity may crystallise at different times, ranging from anticipatory crystallization (before formal training) to early and late crystallization. (2)
**TABLE 26**

Self images of students at beginning and end of course
- students who thought of themselves 'primarily as social workers' or 'primarily as students'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech. students</th>
<th></th>
<th>Univ. students</th>
<th></th>
<th>All students</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begin.</td>
<td>End</td>
<td>Begin.</td>
<td>End</td>
<td>Begin.</td>
<td>End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A, D/K</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant at 5% level; \( x^2 = 4.25 \)

A majority of the research students already thought of themselves as 'social workers' in the first few weeks of their course (62% - 23 out of 37 students; see Table 26 above). Close to the end of their course 90% (29 out of 32) of students thought of themselves primarily as 'social workers' rather than 'students'. Therefore for only a minority of students did experiences during the period of the course have the effect of changing self image.

It is not unusual to find a degree of professional identification amongst students of the professions in the early part of their training, although it is unlikely that this is as high as for these social work students. Thus nearly a third of Merton's 'student physicians' thought of themselves 'primarily as doctors' at the end of the 1st year of their 4 year course. At the other extreme, law students do not begin to develop professional self images in the main until after law school and even some years of practice. The proportion of social work
students with professional self images at the end of training is also high by comparison to student physicians (83%) and teachers (79%).

In the case of social work, nearly three quarters of the research course students had experience of full time employment in social work prior to the course, in the majority of cases of over a year's duration and for 11% of 5 or more years. Thus a professional image is likely to have developed over a period of direct contact with social work; entry to a training course can be seen in this sense as the attempt to legitimate an already established position through official certification. This appears an important element in the initial perspective of the social work student.

Table 27 below to some extent confirms this point (although the difference is not statistically significant), although a sizeable minority of those without previous social work experience also had a professional self image in this early stage.

One explanation is that the low level of public knowledge about social work in society (6) is such as to allow those with no experience of practice to feel able to claim this status. Again, the social worker self image may have positive functions for the older and experienced social worker who finds himself in the threatening position of being the student of a profession which he has practised for some years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self images of students at beginning of course</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>with/without previous social work experience</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% with 'social worker' self image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 28

Self image and class origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning</th>
<th>Finishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% with 'social worker' self image</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 23</td>
<td>M = 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The idea that professional identification is one way in which the identity crisis and 'marginality' of the working class student in a middle class situation of an institution of higher education is resolved receives no consistent support from this study (Table 20 above); the exception to this is in the case of beginning students where 77% of manual (as against 57% of non-manual) have a professional self image. By the end of both courses the vast majority of both groups had professional self images.

Variations in self images

Whilst the majority of students tended to think of themselves in general terms as social workers even in the early stages of their courses, this image varied when the student was asked to state how he thought of himself when interacting with people in different status positions who were associated with the course. These different positions make up what has been termed the 'role set', (7) which was introduced in Chapter III of the thesis.
TABLE 29

Self images of beginning students
in different role relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In dealings with</th>
<th>% who thought of themselves as social workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class mates</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutors</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other social workers in agency</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clients</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 37

Only 3 out of 37 students (8%) saw themselves as social workers in their dealings with one of the most influential and important members of the role set, the tutor. But the social worker self image is more in evidence where supervisors are concerned and is held by the majority in relation to other social workers with whom students are in contact and by the overwhelming majority where clients are concerned. But again only a minority thought of themselves as professionals where fellow students were concerned.

One explanation for this 'unstable' self image is the tendency for individuals to assign themselves to status positions they believe others assign them to, and thus to live up to the role expectations of those with whom they interact and to perceive themselves in accordance with these expectations. (8)

Table 30 below compares the percentages of students near the end of their course who thought of themselves as social workers, with the percentages of students who thought others in various status positions so defined them.
TABLE 30

Self images and attributed self images
of finishing students in different role relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In dealings with:</th>
<th>% who thought of selves as social workers</th>
<th>% who thought others defined them as social workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classmates</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutors</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clients</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 32

Note: It should be noted that independent reports of images held of students by other status occupants are also important. The images held by tutors of students were obtained but refer to only 7 tutors, of which 5 saw their students as social workers (72%).

Although there are discrepancies between the two sets of figures the above tables does suggest a broad congruence between self image and attributed image, (as in the case of Merton's 'student physicians') although this is stronger in some cases than in others. In relation to clients the vast majority of students feel themselves to be, and feel they are seen as, social workers. Many pointed out that clients had no idea that they were students and that there was no clear indication that they were to present themselves as students; thus in most cases students presented themselves as social workers, although this was not without its strains and problems. Still only a quarter of students (i.e. almost no change from beginning students - see Table 29) saw themselves as social workers in relation to their classmates and less than two fifths believed they were defined in this way by classmates. An increased proportion, but still a minority, had a social worker self image in dealings with tutors, although there was more confidence in images attributed to tutors. This is confirmed when tutors images are examined independently; five
out of seven tutors saw students as social workers near to the end of the course. There was considerable desire on the part of tutors that students should retain the student role as late as possible; a typical comment was "I see them as students until the last weeks of the course when they begin to seem almost like colleagues". (9) The neophyte student's estimation of his professional image (only 8% saw themselves as social workers) in dealings with the tutor was matched by the tutor's image of the student at this time - one out of seven (14%) only seeing the student as a social worker. The student's professional self image vis a vis the supervisor had also grown more pronounced since the early days of the course, although there was less confidence in the supervisor's image of students.

In general the greatest growth in professional identification was in the setting of the agency, in relation to clients and supervisors. Even the neophyte students had more knowledge available to him than the client and also finds himself in a position of authority over the client. Again, the supervisory relationship will be a familiar one for the experienced social worker and will become familiar for the newcomer; again the supervisor may not hold over the student the same kind of academic knowledge as possessed by the tutor. This does not, however, mean that the student-supervisor relationship is an unproblematic one, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter.
(ii) **Membership of and attitude to professional associations**

**Introduction**

Changes in membership of and attitudes to professional associations appear a primary indication of the development of identification with a profession. As Shey has suggested, "while it is logical to expect a large proportion of the entering student body not to have been a member of N.A.S.W., or to be aware of or have read the N.A.S.W. code of ethics, proper professional socialisation would imply that the proportion which does would increase substantially over time". (10)

Shey found that student membership of N.A.S.W. did substantially increase (from 17.6% amongst 'beginners' to 46.9% amongst 'finishers') over the period of the course. Again, most of those who joined did so in the first few months of their course and this early period of training was also of greatest importance for students' awareness of the N.A.S.W. code of ethics. Thus if a student had not joined the Association or become aware of its code of ethics by the end of the first year (of a 2 year course) there was an excellent chance he never would. Further, the proportion of students who think the professional code of ethics is important actually declines during the course. These findings contribute to one of Shey's main conclusions about professional socialisation in social work, that students tend to develop a negative, critical and even cynical view of the profession as they progress through graduate school.
TABLE 31

Membership of social work and other professional associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech. Begin</th>
<th>Finish</th>
<th>University Begin</th>
<th>Finish</th>
<th>All Begin</th>
<th>Finish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Membership of social work professional association</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Intending to join (non-members)</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Who thought it important to be a member</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Membership of non social work association (e.g. N.A.L.G.O.)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Who thought this important</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Favouring one association for all workers rather than separate associations</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=20 N=17 N=17 N=16 N=37 N=32

* Tech. students only.
* No information.

There was a considerable increase in membership of social work professional associations amongst the research students during the courses; by the end nearly two fifths were members of students members of associations and of the remainder nearly all were intending to join. Again, nearly all finishing students thought membership was important. Membership of other associations, mainly N.A.L.G.O., had by comparison fallen over the period of the course, as had the proportion of students who thought membership of this kind of association important.
The increase in association membership (about equal to Shey's U.S. sample) still did not result in a majority of students being members, and it is possible that association membership is a characteristic of a later stage in professional identification. Little emphasis was given to the importance of membership in the socialising programme. The fact that at the time of the interviews (1967-8) the associations were still fragmented into a number of small and mainly specialist groups may also have complicated the choice facing students and acted as a deterrent to membership.

Students belonged to five different Associations which reflected, apart from the Association of Social Workers, social work specialisms in which they had been before training or were destined for afterwards. Section 6 of Table 31 indicates that the majority of both beginning and finishing students were in favour of one unified professional association; this response is also one which would be generally approved and professionally 'correct', and is another indication of high level of professional identification found in social work students in the early part of their training. Clearly the amalgamation of the separate associations into one British Association of Social Workers (from 1970) may have the effect of increasing the proportions of students who become members.

Whilst similar proportions of students in the two settings were members of social work associations by the end of the courses, a much higher proportion of Tech. students (20%) were members on entry to the courses than University students (6%). Thus University students had made greater moves towards this kind of professional identity during the course than Tech. students.
In addition, University students were also consistently more favourable, in the initial stages of the course, to membership of social work associations, and more were intending to join or thought it important to be a member, than amongst Tech. students. University students also were less likely to be members of a non social work organisation both at beginning and end of course than Tech. students, and a higher proportion of them (71% compared to 60% of Tech. students) thought that membership of a social work association was more important than a non social work association such as N.A.L.G.O.

The two groups also belonged to different associations reflecting the different specialisms for which the courses were designed. University students were members of either N.A.P.O. or A.C.C.O., two of the largest and most prestigious of the associations, whilst Tech. students were divided between the Association of Social Workers, Society of Mental Welfare Officers and the Institute of Social Welfare.

The view that membership of professional associations is related to previous experience in social work is supported for students at the beginning of their training, but not for students about to finish (see Table 32).

**TABLE 32**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous experience</th>
<th>No previous experience</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Membership Beginning</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finishing</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Amongst beginning students 22% of those with previous social work experience were members but none of those with no previous experience. The proportion of members in these two groups by the end of the course was rather similar. Thus in the case of students with previous experience, the likelihood of their becoming members during the course was fairly small.

(iii) **Career commitment**

Does commitment to a professional career such as social work increase during the period in which students are training? It seems reasonable to expect that students will develop during their course a more powerful commitment to their chosen profession, especially towards the end of training when the rewards of professional certification and impending practice as a recognised professional are very near.\(^{(13)}\)

From the information obtained during the research it is not possible to answer this question in any clear way, because the questions about commitment were asked in rather different ways in respect of students at different points in their training (see Table 33 below). Therefore any differences revealed may simply reflect the different way in which the question was posed. However, apart from the differences shown in the table below between 'beginning' and 'finishing' students (which should be viewed in the context of the difference in the question) there is also the question of differences between University and Tech. students in the same year.
TABLE 33

Career commitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning students</th>
<th>Finishing students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Do you feel that social work of some kind is the only job that can satisfy you?'</td>
<td>'Which of the following statements best describes the way you feel about social work as a job?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Univ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/D.K.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If 'beginning' and 'finishing' students are compared then commitment to social work has halved during training. The wider range of possible responses allowed for in the interviews with finishing students could of course account for this difference. However, a drop in commitment has also been noted by Shey in his study of social work students, although of a much smaller degree. However, a drop in commitment has also been noted by Shey in his study of social work students, although of a much smaller degree. (14) Whilst 80.9% of 'beginning' students 'would still go into social work if they had to choose a career over again', this was true of 75% of those about to graduate.

Another feature of the assumed fall in commitment is that it has taken place mostly among students with previous social work experience.
TABLE 34

Career commitment and previous social work experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Beginning students</th>
<th>Finishing students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not experienced</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those students who, through their previous work, might be expected to have the greatest commitment to an occupation (and Shuy found commitment greater amongst experienced social work students) are, in fact, those whose commitment has fallen most sharply. It was also shown in the previous section of this chapter that students with experience had a very small increase in professional association membership compared with other students.

In seeking explanations (or hypotheses) for these 'assumed' differences, one possibility relates to the 'reality shock' noted in a number of studies of the professions and professional socialisation. This refers to the discrepancies between the principles and values projected during training and the realities met with by the student in practice, both during and after training. (15) Although the student is in a relatively protected situation in the agency he may still be faced with situations, such as the scarcity of resources and unregulated demand for services, where his training cannot be fully or appropriately used. (16) In the case of students with previous experience, they may become disillusioned by the discrepancy between their previous experience of practice and the principles
and values conveyed during training, which is expressed in a decline in the belief that social work can provide a satisfying career.

The finding of decreased commitment by Shey, together with other findings of a similar kind, led him to view social work students as becoming 'negatively socialised' during training in that they become critical of and reject much of the formal content of the socialisation programme. The difference between the degree of satisfaction expressed by University and Tech. students is also difficult to explain. This is also one of the few situations in which University students show greater general commitment and identification with social work (see final section of this chapter). This difference may reflect differences in the social background and recent experience of the two groups. The University students' choice of social work as a career was less likely to be based on instrumental grounds than Tech. students, (see Chapter IX) and they also come to social work training after several years experience of higher education in which they had the opportunity to develop a realistic critique of social work. The 'reality shock' of the course and its discrepancies with practice may therefore be much less severe and may not present these students with the same kind of problem as that encountered by Tech. students. In the case of the latter, there has been no previous experience of higher education, as well as a greater likelihood of an instrumental choice of career, and therefore the course, with its heavy demands and the obvious discrepancies with practice, presents a considerable challenge and problem. The first experience of higher education, bringing with it new opportunities for contact not only with an exciting educational experience but with other
types of professional practice, opens out new and hitherto unlikely horizons for such trainees. The reality of entry into, or a return to, a local authority department may not be a particularly satisfying prospect. Tech. students expressed interest in social work jobs other than in the 'basic' health and welfare services (e.g. psychiatric social work) and obviously had aspirations to climb the status ladder of the profession. Whereas 100% of Tech. students would take a further course of training only 70% of University students were interested in further courses. In addition, the certificate in social work qualification is not accepted by some employing authorities as appropriate for some forms of social work, particularly in the more prestigious areas of medical and psychiatric social work. The university qualification is in many ways the accepted qualification for a wide range of jobs and, until the more recent development of masters degrees, was seen as the most prestigious award in the field. The distinction in status between the University and Tech. courses was expressed to an increasing extent by students in the research courses, and by the end of their courses nearly two fifths of students believed that it was important for the future career of a social worker to have taken a course of training at a university rather than a Technical college. This view was more likely to be held by University than Tech. students (see Table 35 below).

For all these reasons the Tech. student at the end of his course may therefore have a number of reasons for expressing dissatisfaction and feeling of negativism about social work.
TABLE 35

Difference in status between University and Tech. course

"Is it important for the future career of a social worker to have taken a university rather than a Tech. course of professional training?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Beginning</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Finishing</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st year</td>
<td>2nd year</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st year</td>
<td>2nd year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Univ.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Tech.</td>
<td>Univ.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A./D.K.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>N=37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>N=32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Professional identification and class origin.

TABLE 36

Professional identification and class origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Beginning</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Finishing</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role model identification</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social worker self image</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work professional association member (Significant at 5%; (x = 4.85))</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work only job that can satisfy</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N= 23</td>
<td>N= 13</td>
<td>N=36*</td>
<td>N= 21</td>
<td>N= 11</td>
<td>N=32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In one case father's occupation was not ascertained.

In Table 36 above various aspects of professional identity discussed in this and previous chapters are drawn together and analysed by the class origin of students (father's occupation).
The comparisons made above are of students both at the beginning and end of their course, although the latter comparisons are clearly the most important. Of the eight comparisons between manual and non-manual students, six are in the direction of greater identification by students with manual backgrounds, although in two cases the differences are very small. The major differences are in the important case of 'role model identification' (finishing students), 'social worker self image' (beginning students) and 'professional membership' (beginning and finishing students). In the cases of 'social workers self image' (finishing students) and 'commitment to social work as a job' (finishing students) the differences favoured the non-manual students. In only one case (that of professional association membership amongst beginning students) was the difference statistically significant.

Although professional identification is in general greater for students with manual backgrounds, if only students at the end of their courses are considered very few firm conclusions can be drawn from the figures. The only exception is the important index of professional identification, role model identification. Therefore little real confirmation emerges from this study of the hypothesis advanced in earlier chapters, that situations of 'marginality' involving a disjunction between the backgrounds of students and the educational and professional culture in which they find themselves in institutions of higher education, lead to a close identification with a role (such as a professional role) which offers the possibility of a new identity for the role player. However, it is also clear that students in a situation of marginality of this kind have not
identified any less with the culture represented by professional training than have non-manual students. The association of social work with specifically 'middle class' values and with a middle class culture, which is likely to be rejected by those with working class origins, is therefore not much in evidence here. This may reflect the fact that social work is changing in this respect, or that the association between social work and middle class values has been overstressed. It is also important to note that a positive association was found by Varley between the 'dependent' student (one important aspect of which was manual social origins) and social work values; this kind of student also showed the greatest degree of change during training in the direction of social work values.

Finally discussion passes to the relationship between professional identification and type of college.

(v) Professional identification amongst University and Tech. students.

The differences shown in Table 37 below indicate that out of eight selected aspects of professional identification, in seven cases the degree of identification is greater amongst the Tech. students (at the end of the course) than amongst University students, although in only four of these were the differences at all sizeable. One of the biggest differences was in the important area of role model identification. However, in the eighth case, an equally important area of general commitment to social work, there was a substantial difference in the other direction and University students showed a good deal more commitment to social work than their counterparts in the Tech.
TABLE 27

Aspects of professional identification:
University and Tech. students (end of course)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tech. %</th>
<th>Univ. %</th>
<th>All %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Role model identification</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social worker self image</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Professional association membership</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Professional association membership; intention to join if not member</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Professional membership important</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Social work only job that would satisfy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Has social work obtained professional status</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Is it important that social work seeks professional status</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher degree of professional identification on the part of Tech. students suggested here, which in part parallels the differences between students with manual and non-manual backgrounds, casts some doubt on the view expressed by critics of the extension of social work training to Technical Colleges, (20) that this would result in apprentice type professionalisation rather than the full professionalisation believed to take place in universities. Another question arises as to the nature of this professionalisation. The lower level of professional identification amongst university students may also reflect a more critical and less accepting attitude to the profession. For example, not only did most University students deny that social work had obtained full professional status but they were also much more critical of the negative aspects of professionalisation than were Tech. students, and were more reflective and critical of social work and its place in society in general.
References Chapter XIV

1. R. Merton et al., The student physician, Harvard University Press, 1957 (a).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.


7. R. Merton, The role set; problems in sociological theory, British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8 1957 (b)

8. R. Merton, 1957 (a) op.cit.

9. Interview No. 3


11. They were the National Association of Probation Officers (N.A.F.O.) Association of Child Care Officers (A.C.C.O.), Society of Mental Welfare Officers and the Institute of Social Welfare.


13. R. Merton (1957)(a) op.cit.


17. See Correspondence, New Society, 22nd June 1967, where a group of Certificate in Social Work students draw attention to the fact that a particular appointment in social work is not open to holders of the 2 year Certificate.


PART IV - Conclusion.

Introduction

This concluding section will be divided into two parts. In Chapter XV there will be a resume of some of the most important findings of the research as a whole, which will focus around the main models and concepts in the field of professional socialisation which were introduced in Part I of the thesis. Chapter XVI will consist of a more specific discussion of some of the assumptions, issues and problems in social work education, in particular of the light thrown on such issues by the present research.

In both chapters there is a return to a consideration of the questions and issues posed in the introduction to the thesis, including the way in which commitment to a profession develops during training, the kind of situations in which this occurs, the way in which particular educational institutions are organised to achieve socialisation into an occupation and the general relationship between professionalisation and professional socialisation.
CHAPTER XV
The research courses and their students: summary and conclusions

Introduction

The analysis of social work education has been carried out at a number of different levels. The main distinction has been between a series of structural variables (such as the 'host institution or organisation and its staff', 'the selection process') and the situations actually experienced by trainees as they passed through the training programme (such as 'playing the professional role', 'role modelling'). Structural variables have the effect of setting the 'stage' upon which the 'play' of the actual socialisation process takes place, in the sense that they will determine whether particular socialising situations exist at all. (See Diagram I, Chapter III.) A structure must be developed which is temporally in advance of the arrival of students, and one task of the research was to describe and account for this structure and its properties.

The situations which have been experienced by trainees, described as 'mechanisms of socialisation' or 'socialising functions', will also have a number of properties which will determine the importance of any particular mechanism. Another way of viewing student experiences is to see them as constituting a number of different 'routes' through the socialising programme, which relate to differing degrees of professional identification.

At a further level of analysis both structure and processes have been viewed comparatively, in terms of two differing educational institutions and differing socialising programmes. Apart from providing a broader perspective than is possible in just one college and course, this also relates to differing entry
points into a profession and to groups of students who differ in their social origins. Apart from an attempt to describe students socialising experiences in general, the research attempts also to say how these differed and what were some of the consequences of these differences.

The host institution and its staff

One of the most important structural variables is the host institution and its staff. In the case of social work training this is the college department which administers the course and its teaching staff, both social work teachers and others.

The first property of this variable is the external influences which enter the socialising system through the host institution and its staff. (1) The most important of these in the present research was the State, represented by the Training Councils (see Chapter V). The nature of this control varied but included financing, inspection, approval of course and curriculum, examination and assessment of students and award of certificates. It is difficult to assess the precise nature of this control and it is likely that any educational institution in which training courses are located will always possess a degree of autonomy, depending on its own status. For example, a University is more likely to be granted this autonomy than a Technical college because of the freedom which has traditionally been accorded to it; one potential source of conflict is therefore between the traditions of Universities and the State's concern to control training courses. The assessment and examination of students was an example of such conflict (see Chapter VII on 'college courses').
State control of social work education also reflects more generally the limits which have been placed on the autonomy of the professions (particularly semi professions such as social work and nursing) in a society where there is a degree of centralised control. Freidson(2) has shown how the nature of this control over professions such as medicine varies in relation to the political structure of a particular society. Another implication of State control of training is that the definition of the function of particular professions is also partly in the hands of the State.

Other external influences derive from the larger educational organisations of which training courses are a part. For example, the college (which was part of a University) which provided the immediate environment for one of the research courses, provided both a critique of the organisation and values of a social work training course, in particular of the way knowledge was organised and assessed, and also exposed students to a critique of social work practice through the teaching and research activities of its staff who were not social workers. The Technical college, with its lack of independent social science teaching staff and lack of independent academic traditions, provided what appeared as a more neutral environment.

Institutions which are used as resources for training may also have an influence on the training programme. The social work agencies, where students spend about half their time, have a long historical connection with social work training (described in Chapter IV), and the courses are entirely reliant on them as training resources. The agencies not only provide clinical teaching for the students, and therefore influence the way in which knowledge is selected and transmitted, but also help in the selection of students for courses(3) and provide employment
for those who are successful. The kind of influences which enter the socialising programme from this source are therefore a strong orientation towards the requirements of practice; as much as a half of the time students spend in college is also related directly to the learning of the practice skills. (4)

(See Chapter VII.) Students may also be exposed to experiences in agencies over which the host institution may have little control. In social work, because of the strong links and close identification between college teachers and supervisors, these unprogrammed experiences may be at a minimum. There may, nevertheless, be, in the eyes of trainees, a conflict between college and agency. In a variety of ways agencies may also be able to exert influence upon training programmes, for the purpose of training is to fit individuals for roles within these organisations. Since it was not possible to interview supervisors, the links between agencies and colleges have only been suggested here in outline.

External influences also entered the socialising programme through the affiliations of the teaching staff. For example, most teaching staff were involved closely with practice, either in social work or psychiatric/medical practice; if they were not they thought that it was important to seek such involvement. There was also involvement with the professional community outside the host institution in the form of professional associations. Whilst the level of outside involvement of this kind appeared high, (in comparison to what is known about the outside involvement of other academic staff) it is not easy to see how the training programme was influenced by it. The practice involvement of teachers reinforces the importance of social work agencies and organisations in the training process. Professional
associations are also likely to have 'policies' on training and in some cases (as with medical and psychiatric social work) such associations have had an important role in the training process.

A second major property of the host institutions and their staff, which may either circumscribe or enhance the training programme, is the extent to which they perform functions other than that of training future professionals. In the case of the University (as already suggested) other functions include the teaching of undergraduate and postgraduate students and research, all of which may widen the potential range of experiences and relationships open to trainees. This is not the case with the Technical college, where the department is entirely involved in social work training. Staff may also carry out other activities which may be important for trainees; in this case part-time social work practice. Because these activities were separated from the trainees they were not actually able to observe the staff at the work of the profession. This had important consequences for staff-trainee interaction, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Thirdly, the staff of the host institution may vary in the extent to which they define themselves and are defined as 'professionals'. The more likely they are to be defined as professionals the more are they able to exert control over the training programme. Alternatively, others may be able to control the programme in situations where staff are accorded less than professional status. Social work teachers do not, as has been noted, have complete control over training programmes and this is some indication of the semi-professional status of social work. Apart from the control exerted by the Training Councils and other professions (particularly the medical profession), the
college setting may also include members of academic disciplines who, because they occupy senior positions in the educational institution, may be able to influence the training programme.

A final major property is the professional identity and segmentalisation of staff in the host institution and affiliated institutions. Differences in the professional identities of the teaching staff broadly paralleled the historical distinction in social work between 'therapy' and 'reform', and there was also some indication of the socialising experiences which may have led to the formation of different kinds of identities. The extent to which these differences can actually be described as 'segments', (a grouping of people who share a professional identity and a common professional fate) is difficult to assess from the small number of cases involved. The research courses appeared dominated by those with a therapeutic orientation, although this did not exclude elements of reformism.

The segmental character of the staff has considerable consequences for the training programme. Thus therapeutic ideas are carried over into the selection of students, staff-trainee interaction, coaching and criticism. The strength of the therapeutic orientation may lie in part in the demand of social work agencies for a precise definition of the social work task which other segments are at the moment unable to offer.

It is also somewhat doubtful whether the term 'reformism' adequately characterises more recent developments in social work which derive from social movements outside the profession. For example, the idea of 'social action' appears to reject many of the principles of 'reformism'. 
The variations in the major properties of the host institution and its staff will have a number of consequences for the training programme. One consequence is that the shape of the training programme is a function of the professional identity of staff and the resources of the host institution, including also resources of sponsoring organisations outside the host institution. For example, both staff and sponsoring organisation formulated goals for the research courses (see Chapters V and VII), which were expressed in curricula and the organisation of practical work. Clearly not every aspect of the training programme had an expressly formulated goal. The importance of external influences is again evident here; 75 - 80% of the curriculum contents consisted of areas suggested by Training Councils. The therapeutic orientation of the staff is also expressed in the large amount of curriculum time devoted to subjects such as casework and human growth and development.

Another way of looking at the structure of the training programme is in terms of the selection and organisation of knowledge (see Chapter VII). The research courses are a public record of the organisation of knowledge in social work at a particular point in time, resulting from competition between a number of interests (the profession, the State, related professions, etc.). Not only are particular segments dominant in this conflict, in the sense that they define the knowledge that is to be transmitted, but knowledge is made available to different groups in different ways. The difference in the aims and status of the two courses was reflected in the differences in the syllabus of the two courses; the greater diversity of future professional roles (as teachers or policy makers) of the University course,
compared to the mainly practitioner roles in the Technical college, was illustrated by a number of important differences in the kind of courses offered to students.

One important qualification to the view that the training programme reflects the professional identity of staff is that there will be activities and experiences which were not programmed and are beyond the control of staff. These can occur in institutions used as training resources over which staff may have little control, but they can also occur because the trainee peer group programmes its own activities. This raises the problem of the relationship between the structural aspects of the training programme and the way these structures are subjectively experienced by trainees. It seems important to see staff and trainees as involved in a process in which alternative definitions of structural arrangements are exchanged, and in which both respond to and alter these arrangements. An example of this is where some structural arrangements or courses are prescribed by staff but are unpopular with trainees, which leads to low attendance (this occurred in both research courses) and to some change in these arrangements. Concepts such as 'negotiated order' have been used to analyse such situations in mental hospitals, (7) and concepts such as 'negotiated socialisation' or 'studentmanship' have also been suggested as ways of bridging the structural and subjective (or phenomenological) aspects of professional socialisation. (8)

Another related consequence of the way the training programme is organised is the structure and influence of the trainee peer group. Some situations encourage the development of a horizontally organised peer group (members of the same entry cohort), while others encourage a vertical grouping (including
members of two or more cohorts). The organisation of the research courses produced mainly horizontal groupings. In the University only one group was involved as only one cohort went through the training programme at a time; in the Technical college, although two cohorts existed, opportunities for their interaction were slight, and were mainly at ceremonial or ritual occasions. This was because the teaching programme was organised so that one cohort would be taught while the other was out of the college in fieldwork placements. Another way in which the peer group was weakened was that trainees were rotated through a series of practice situations mainly separately and not with their peers. An indication of the weakness of peer groups in social work courses is that senior trainees were rarely selected as role models (see Chapter XI).

A third important consequence of the character of the host institution and staff is the functioning of the selection process (Chapter VIII). This seemed to reflect the segmental interests of the dominant segment amongst staff, (based on the 'therapeutic' approach) and selection was based on such criteria as early commitment to the work of the profession, and characteristics variously described as 'social educability', 'self awareness', 'insightfulness' and 'capacity to relate'.(9) Selection was accomplished by seeking evidence of such characteristics through written statements and the presentation of the self of the candidate, and so called objective methods of selection, on academic grounds or by means of standardised tests, were not favoured. The selection process is of great importance for the socialisation process as it provides trainees who will be most fitted to the process (as seen by the selectors), and filters
off those defined as ill fitted. Selection appears a crucial structural variable mainly because the training programme is based on the actual work of the profession, and it is important that this be carried out by trainees who, although not totally socialised, can work at a reasonable level of competence. Selection has even been seen as replacing socialisation. (10)

**Situational variables**

In Part III attention shifted from structural variables to the experiences or situations encountered by trainees as they passed through the training programme. These experiences have been described as socialising functions or mechanisms of socialisation; like structural variables, each has a series of properties which are, in effect, a series of questions which can be posed about any of the socialising functions characterising a situation (see Table 4, Chapter III).

Some mechanisms are more important than others in actually bringing about socialisation and laying the foundation for professional identification, and here some attempt will be made to specify the relative strengths of each mechanism.

One of the most important mechanisms appeared to be 'playing the role of the professional'. Social work trainees play roles which are both real and central to professional identity, where within the limits of supervision they make important decisions and are responsible for their actions. Real role playing was somewhat delayed by the fact that trainees were asked to play roles as 'observers' in the early part of the course, and trainees did not encounter the whole range of practitioner roles during training. In comparison, in other professions role playing of this kind comes much later and with greater dilution of responsibility (for example
amongst medical students). Many psychiatric residents, for example, did not discover until late in the course that they had no experience of the activity that many staff considered the core act of the profession, the practice of individual psychotherapy.

Whilst many conflicts exist over the definition of the 'core professional act' in social work, there appeared a fair degree of consensus amongst the staff of the research colleges as to what this constituted and how it should be represented in the socialising programme. Basically this appeared to be the ability to work with individuals and families within the structure of a social work agency using both social service resources and the worker's capacities to build up a relationship with his client. There is not always such clarity or consensus about roles to be played; the psychiatric residents studied by Bucher found that what they had to do in different practice settings was often unclear and that there was a lack of consensus between the staff of different services.

Coaching and criticism also appeared a relatively powerful mechanism of socialisation. There was a maximum of personalised contact between trainees and teachers (both tutors and supervisors) and the former were criticised and evaluated on functions that were highly valued, namely in interaction with clients. Assessment is also carried out on a personal rather than impersonal basis, and formal examinations were played down wherever possible, except where it was necessary for students with no previous higher education to demonstrate a minimum of intellectual capacity. As with the rest of the training programme, there was a good deal of consensus amongst staff over the kinds of activities in which trainees should be criticised, and over methods of assessment. These coaching and
criticism procedures also allowed for a direct focus on the self of the student, although both the short length of the course and the circumstances under which interaction takes place implies that the effects of this may be slight. Although comparative information from other professions is lacking it is probably the case that the degree of personalised coaching received by social work trainees is greater than in most other professional training; as Eaton suggests, "learning (in social work) takes place within an atmosphere of more personalised attention to the student's emotional qualifications for practice than in other professional training". (14)

In contrast to the relative importance of these two mechanisms the provision of role models and conversion experiences appeared to be less important. Although social work trainees, unlike medical students, (15) are faced with a rather small number of potential models (most students had 1 or 2 tutors and 2 supervisors) and have the opportunity through frequent meetings to develop a close professional relationship with them, there were a number of problems surrounding identification with potential role models. The potential academic and practice models were seen by trainees as presenting rather diverse figures. The greatest weakness was that although both academic and practitioner role models were closely associated with the most important of trainee activities, client interaction, they were in fact at one stage removed from it in the sense that neither tutor nor supervisor were seen performing the core professional act. Trainees supervisory or tutorial sessions which, it has been suggested, are an attempt at recreating the conditions of worker-client interaction in order to present the trainee with a role model 'in action', were not entirely satisfactory in this respect, because of the difficulties that many trainees had in 'taking the role' of the client in a sufficiently thorough going way and thus absorbing the characteristics and qualities of the role model. The main consideration which
distinguishes the social work trainees' experience from, for example, the trainee psychiatrists' personal analysis are the short length of time of the course and the distinction made between the 'professional' and 'personal' aspects of the students development. Although the extent of role model identification increased during the course, in many cases this was less than a total or 'global' identification with one particular model.

The discussion of conversion experiences was part of a wider analysis of the process of doctrinal conversion. Although trainees, in making their passage from the status of layman (although in many cases, because of previous experience, this status is better described as 'informed layman') to that of professional, did in a number of cases encounter events which were dramatically experienced and were often close to the self of the trainee, the likelihood of this type of experience being of crucial importance in socialisation is doubtful. Because of lack of a peer group structure, these experiences (if they took place) were not sharable, and in general, the notion of doctrinal conversion implies a much more gradual, conflictful and complicated process than that suggested in Bucher's model. For example, whilst many social work students were 'converted' to a professional way of thinking, there was also considerable criticism of social work training, and in particular the kinds of theories and beliefs on which it was based. For some students the criticism was expressed in a reduced commitment to social work. Another problem was the 'instrumentalism' of students who wished to obtain professional qualifications as a means of advancing in the hierarchy of social work organisations, or more generally, into a higher social status.

To summarise, the mechanisms of socialisation or socialising functions which have been discussed here, vary in the importance of their impact on trainees and this variation depends on the properties of each mechanism. For example, the fact that trainees perform
highly valued roles over which there is a good deal of consensus amongst staff means that, in consequence, trainees are likely to successfully internalise modes of work in the profession and will be able to behave, in this respect, like professionals. Similarly the high degree of personalised coaching and criticism about important roles, and the closeness of this to the self of the trainees, increases the likelihood that trainees will internalise habits and standards of self evaluation which are important in the playing of professional roles, particularly the 'front line' and rather isolated roles which many field social workers play. But the difficulties involved in providing satisfactory role models, either from amongst staff or senior trainees, may lead to partial or varying identification with important models for practice, and thus to variations in practice performance.

Again, the process of doctrinal conversion was incomplete for some students not only because of the short time span of the course but also because of the unconvincing nature of the course as such. Consequently this may reduce the amount of 'affective involvement' of the students in the work of the profession.

Professional identification and modes of socialisation

The extent of professional identification is discussed in the final chapter of Part III. In perhaps the most important aspect of this, the development of a professional self image, 9 out of 10 students saw themselves as social workers by the end of the course. Nearly two fifths of students were members of professional associations by the end of their training and over four fifths of the remainder intended to join, and more than nine tenths thought it important to be a member. Nearly three quarters had role models.

Apart from changes during the course, it is important to recognise that a sizable proportion of social work students had already been socialised by previous work experiences. Thus 62% had a social worker self image, 44% identified a role model and 62% saw
social work as the only job that could satisfy them at or near
the beginning of training. Thus social work students differ from
others in that in some respects they do not actually pass from the
neophyte to the professional status during training but before it
begins.

Here Marsland's typology of modes of socialisation, (17)
(see Chapter III for more detailed discussion), which are in effect
four sociological routes through the system of professional
socialisation, is one way of clarifying a complex situation.

What has been briefly described in the paragraph above
can be defined as anticipatory socialisation; here professional
identity has crystallised before entry to the course rather than
at a specified point during training. In Marsland's study of
teacher trainees this is also associated with the adoption of a
joint lecturer/practitioner role model. (The association between
joint role models, held by about a quarter of students, and
anticipatory socialisation has not yet been investigated in this
study.) One difficulty here is that some interviews were held in
the 3rd and 4th weeks of the two courses, thus it has not been
possible to differentiate precisely between anticipatory socialisation
and crystallisation of professional identity in the very early part
of the course.

Perhaps the most important distinction in the typology is
that between professional and apprentice socialisation. In
apprentice socialisation there is an early development of full
professional identity coupled with an identification with practitioners
as role models. This appears to be one, if not the, most important
route through the social system of social work training: a supervisor
role model was held by 36% of Tech. students and 56% of University
students (44% in all). The importance of this mode of socialisation
for social work is also shown in much of what has been said in
previous chapters on 'professional organisation and identity of staff', 'organisation and control of social work education' and 'coaching and criticism'. The basic orientation of social work education is towards the 'field' and the agency. College tutors, in particular, have strong links with practice, both in the past and the present. Performance in fieldwork is much more important in the student's college career than classroom or examination work. Representatives of agencies are involved in various ways with the courses, including student selection. Selection itself appears also geared in part to the needs of agencies. Finally, courses are administratively controlled by various Training Councils, on which practitioners are represented.

Professional socialisation implies the late development of professional identity, which may in any case only be partially completed during the course and has scope for later development; this is coupled with an academic role model. This route was taken by only a minority of students; 28% made a late professional identification and 17% had academic role models by the end of the course. Implicit in this mode of socialisation is the function of agencies of socialisation, such as colleges, as insulators from the field of professional activity and the pressures and conflicts, ideologies and values found there. On the contrary, the research students appeared to be highly involved with social work practice at a variety of levels and consequently had a low level of involvement with the immediate college settings in which they were located.

A final route is that of independent socialisation, by which the student moves through the socialising system largely free of its influence, apart from the influences of fellow students and of informal student culture. Here norms and goals may run contrary to the official norms and goals of the socialising programme and the agents of socialisation. Thus 10% of students failed to achieve
any form of professional self image and 27% found no appropriate role model. 12% had no intention of joining a professional association and 8% did not think this important. This category has previously been defined as 'deviant' (Bucher(18)) or 'negatively socialised' (Shey(19)) and, whilst small in number in this study, is of great significance in the discussion of professional socialisation and the organisations in which it goes on.

Clearly modes of socialisation overlap in a variety of ways and it is difficult to be precise about the number of students who follow precisely the routes of socialisation indicated. (20)

The various modes of socialisation do not appear to distinguish very clearly between students with non-manual and manual social origins, but differences between University and Tech. students were more pronounced. Tech. students were more likely (by the end of the course) to have chosen role models, particularly from academic rather than practice settings, whereas University students chose no academic role models. In other ways Tech. students also showed greater professional identification, with the important exception that future commitment to social work as a career was greater amongst University students. Since no really clear distinctions emerge here in terms of modes of socialisation, it is not possible to categorise University training as likely to lead to full 'professional' socialisation in comparison to the 'apprentice' socialisation which some commentators have expected to result from Technical courses. (21) If anything, the differences that exist suggest the opposite tendency.

One way in which professional socialisation can be related to professionalisation is by assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the former in bringing about identification with the profession, its goals, values and practices. Social work is probably marked out from most other professions in the degree to which recruits to
training are anticipatorily socialised by previous experience of the work of the profession. Some degree of anticipatory socialisation is probably present in all such situations, but the degree to which social work students bring with them conceptions of the profession and definitions of its work is possibly unique. Because of the short length of training, as well as other weaknesses in the training programme, these early influences are not easily overcome.

The major weaknesses of professional socialisation in social work are the difficulty in providing satisfactory role models, and the underdeveloped basis of knowledge and theory which is presented to students. One problem here is that social work has begun to professionalise mainly on the basis of one particular area of knowledge and theory, social casework, and this is, in the main, the basis of social work teaching. Not only does this present particular learning problems for students because it represents a 'non-traditional' type of knowledge (for example, 'self knowledge'), but it is also discrepant with much of what social workers do, or what some people feel they ought to do.\(^{22}\) This is one aspect of the uneasy relationship between socialisation and professionalisation, and is the basis of some of student criticisms of their training.

Consequently social work training differs in a number of respects from training for what is often taken as the archetypal profession, medicine, and is likely to be less successful than medicine in producing identification with the profession.\(^{23}\) The training is much shorter, has much less established theory and knowledge, operates on those already partially socialised, and, above all, does not present students with clearly delineated and observable models of the practitioner.

**Models of professional socialisation**

The study described here was in no way designed to 'test' any particular model or theory of professional socialisation. The
models which were cited most frequently were, in fact, used as frameworks for the formulation of questions and to guide the collection and analysis of data in a substantive area in which little previous work had been done. The model which most influenced the study, that of Bucher, is in fact one of the few systematic attempts to construct a theory of professional socialisation. (24)

In many ways, the model does justice to the complexities involved in the study of professional socialisation, which includes the analysis of institutions and bureaucracies, of change in adult life and of changes in occupations. For example, the inter-relationship that is suggested in the model between structural and situational variables is an important step forward; in a very real way, the former do 'set the scene' for the action that is to follow. This is an improvement on other models in which the influence of structural factors is often neglected or is insufficiently related to inter-actional processes. (25)

The importance of the recruitment and the selection process in providing the appropriate material for socialisation, and thus lessening the 'problem' with which staff are faced, has been highlighted in this and other studies, (26) and is an important feature of the model. Another important feature is the detailed way in which properties of structural variables have been worked out, for example the idea of 'external influences' on the host institution and its staff. In this study, the importance of bureaucratic influences and of State control on the socialisation process has been suggested, and this also illustrates the consequences of the differing societal settings for the development of occupations and professions. In the United States, with a minimum of centralised control, the important external influence is that of the academic institutions. In Britain (in the case of semi professions like social work) this has been superceded by the State. The question of external influences and
controls is an important but rather neglected area in the study of professional socialisation, although it has been noted in studies of nursing and teacher training.\(^{(27)}\) It seems an important area for future research.

The concept of 'segments' within a profession, and the process model of the professions which is implied, did help to point to some important differences between staff which appeared important in the selection and socialisation processes. The tendency for segmentalisation in social work has probably not been as pronounced as in the medical field, but has probably increased in the period since this study was completed and would therefore also be an important approach in any future study.\(^{(28)}\)

Another structural factor, the social origins of trainees (not included in Bucher's model), was also seen as important in the design of the study, and one hypothesis was that there would be a relationship between the social origins of trainees (as well as other characteristics) and the course of events during socialisation. Whilst some differences emerged in the experiences of trainees with manual and non manual backgrounds, which suggested a greater degree of professional identification amongst the former, these differences were in the main too small to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn. The influence of the different college settings appeared in fact to be a more important factor in distinguishing between patterns of professional identification than that of class background. This does not mean that 'social origins' are unimportant as a factor in professional socialisation, but rather that the concept requires greater refinement and specificity in future studies.\(^{(29)}\) Thus parental occupation may be too coarse and inadequate an indicator of 'social class', and it might be necessary to refine this by including such factors as parental education, or the occupational status of previous generations as indicators of social class. Demographic variables should certainly
not be excluded from any model of professional socialisation and are important elements in Marsland's recent model.

At the second level of actual trainee experiences, Bucher's model has directed attention to situations which seem to have the effect of socialising, and has therefore avoided some of the difficulties encountered in other approaches based on concepts such as 'values' and 'attitudes', and measures of changes in those over time. For example, such concepts give little idea of how socialisation occurs, and are at a level removed from the everyday experience of those passing through a training programme, as well as those attempting to understand it. At least one 'criterion of adequacy' is that a concept points to acts, behaviours and meanings understandable to persons in everyday life, and Bucher's model (as well as that of Davis) comes nearer to fulfilling this criterion than most others. There does, however, appear to be a problem in quantifying some of the properties of Bucher's mechanisms of socialisation, particularly in reference to such mechanisms as 'coaching and criticism' and 'conversion experiences', and here there is the need to link such situations more explicitly to measures of professional identification.

Marsland's model is important in this respect, for it provides a means by which some of the variables noted by Bucher, such as role modelling, can be linked empirically to other aspects of socialisation, such as professional identification and attitude formation. The idea of a number of 'routes' through the socialising programme which are available to trainees is thus an attractive one.

Amongst the major omissions from Bucher's model one of the most important is the lack of any sequential analysis of the process of doctrinal conversion, although some of the mediating variables suggested by Bucher (such as trainee control, the audiences involved in trainee experiences) are relevant. The mechanism 'conversion experiences', although an important aspect of this sequential analysis,
is not sufficient to suggest the process in which students pass from one status to another. Hence, the model suggested by Davis needs to be incorporated into any general model of professional socialisation. (32)

Davis' model was developed in relation to nursing training, and therefore to an intake of students who were relatively homogeneous in terms of age and previous life experiences. It suggests a relatively smooth and uncomplicated process of doctrinal conversion; whilst the evidence from social work training is that some form of doctrinal conversion does take place and that some of the crises and turning points of Davis' model are also real for these students, the model does not quite do justice to the complexities arising from a group of mainly adult students with differing amounts of experience of the work of the profession, and with differing motivations in entering training. One specific point is that the inauthenticity experienced by all students may be a continuing problem for students whose entry to training was 'instrumental' or who become exceedingly critical of the training programme. Again it may be important to add the idea of 'independent' or 'negative' socialisation as one of the crises or turning points in this model.

Another major omission from Bucher's model is the social selection, organisation, transmission, assessment and stratification of knowledge, and the related issue of the function of the socialising programme (including its 'knowledge' component) in isolating trainees from everyday social activity. The focus on the social organisation of knowledge and its transmission in educational institutions is a comparatively recent one in British sociology, but almost no research has been carried out into what constitutes or stands for knowledge in different situations (particularly the professions) and how it is transmitted and assessed. (33) It should clearly constitute either a separate structural variable, or be part of the analysis of the training programme. In this research one way of approaching the
issue of knowledge has been to relate it to the socializing programme and to socialisation as such.

Whilst some professions are able to isolate their trainees from normal social activity, and thus put them through a process of 'hazing' or 'punishment' which functions to test commitment to the profession, others (such as social work) cannot do this, but attempt to approximate such social isolation by the sheer burden of work demanded of trainees in the socializing programme (including the selection process). The 'punishment centred' theory of socialisation states, therefore, that the initiate is put through a series of tasks and duties which are difficult and even unpleasant, where failure is a realistic possibility. Other features of the theory are that some tasks will be ritualised and arbitrary, and therefore seem pointless to the trainee, and that there will also be the requirement of the learning of a technical language. The experiences are deeper because they are often shared with a peer group who suffer together and form a brotherhood of suffering. Thus not only is commitment to an occupation secured, but there will also be identification with this brotherhood or collectivity which symbolises the occupation.

The learning of a technical language is clearly based on knowledge of various kinds and the trainee in this case is sequestered not only by language but by knowledge itself; in a setting such as social work training, this knowledge is not just in the form of technical knowledge (or a technical language) but involves possession of knowledge about a much more important area, the trainee himself. The social work trainee is thus isolated through the pursuit of one of the most compelling forms of knowledge that is available. The focus on knowledge and language does seem to fill a gap in previous studies of professional socialisation, and in the models available;
this approach has only recently been adopted in relation to educational institutions in general, but should also be part of future work in the sociology of occupations and professions.
References Chapter XV

1. External influences also enter through students, and are discussed under the heading of the 'social origins of students'.

2. E. Freidson, Profession of medicine, Dodd Mead, New York, 1970; it is significant that the only external influence discussed in any detail by Bucher is the educational institution in which the host institution is located, indicating the weakness of State control over the professions in the United States.

3. They may also control selection more directly by appointing to traineeships those who are later seconded onto training courses on full pay, and are often seen as 'preferred' candidates by college selectors.

4. If field practice and classroom teaching directly related to practice are combined, this makes up between 70% and 90% of the total curriculum in American Schools of Social Work; see J.W. Eaton, Whence and whither social work? - a sociological analysis, Social Work (U.S.), Vol. 1, No. 1, 1956.

5. Part of the minimum definition of profession is that it controls its own training process. (Freidson, op. cit.)

6. As supervisors were not interviewed it is not possible to say how far this was true of them.


9. The evidence from this research on the selection process was largely confirmed by a study of the selection processes on 11 two year training courses; see N. Jones, Selection of students for social work courses, Social Work (U.K.), Vol. 27, No. 3, 1970.


13. Ibid.


20. In Marsland's study of teacher training students only 39 out of 150 followed the four routes: professional 10, apprentice 5, independent 18, anticipatory 5.

21. See, for example, A. Willcocks, The Younghusband Report, Case Conference, Vol. 6, No.3, 1959, and the further discussion in Chapter IV.


23. This is also suggested by Shey, op.cit.

24. Olesen & Whittaker, op.cit.

25. Ibid.


28. The process model has been used in a study of social work by I. Epstein, Specialisation, professionalisation and social worker radicalism, a test of the process model of the profession, Applied Social Studies, Vol.2, 1970.

29. Olesen and Whittaker, op.cit.

30. For example Olesen and Whittaker, op.cit, suggest that 'attitude' as used in studies of professional socialisation tends to refer to properties of individuals and ignores structural or situational aspects.


35. Ibid.
CHAPTER XVI

Contemporary issues in social work education

Each year over a thousand students successfully complete professional training in social work, and others enter social work with pre-professional education of various kinds. These numbers are low when compared to the output of qualified teachers or nurses, but in an occupation which is of increasing importance in modern society, as well as undergoing rapid change, it seems important to focus attention on the way future practitioners are trained and educated. Whilst education and training of nurses and teachers have recently come under scrutiny (in the Salmon and James Reports), there has been no such enquiry into social work education since the publication of the Younghusband Report in 1959, which in any case did not deal with the whole field of social work practice and education.

However, discussion and criticism of social work education appear to be growing. There has recently been a reference to the 'crisis in social work education' in the United States, centering on falling State support for social work schools, the associated problem of recruitment and retention of staff, the criticism by students of curricula and the inability of schools to meet such criticism. There is also the beginnings of a critique of training in Britain. It is all the more timely, therefore, that this thesis should end by drawing together some of the most important research findings presented in the previous chapters in the context of some of the issues in social work education currently under debate.

The issue which seemed of primary importance at the beginning of the study, the extension of training for social work to institutions outside the Universities, is still important but has taken on new dimensions. It is difficult from this research
to throw much light on criticism of this policy, namely that it may lead to a dilution of the profession by giving professional status to those without University education who have been taught in situations which do not encourage critical, independent ways of thinking. In general the two year Certificate in Social Work courses have probably exceeded the expectations of most social workers and have managed to avoid most of the pitfalls that were predicted for them. For example, in terms of identification with the profession, the Tech. students in this study achieved in most respects a higher level of identification than their University counterparts.

But the Tech. students do face specific dilemmas and problems and it is possible to draw a close parallel between them and college of education students. Firstly the training and qualification received by Tech. students are not always awarded the same status by employers as are those of University students. For example, some appointments in social work are not open to holders of the two year Certificate. Whilst distinctions of this kind may be lessening, nearly two fifths of the research students recognised by the end of their course that 'it would be important to their future careers to have trained at a University rather than a Technical College'. The view expressed by the Seebohm Committee, that there will inevitably be differences between the two types of training, reflecting factors such as the greater length of the University students' total educational experience and the drawing power and greater resources of Universities, is therefore probably correct. Trainee teachers at colleges of education are in a very similar situation in relation to University graduates.

Secondly, the nongraduate two year Certificate social work qualification has no occupational currency outside the specific settings for which it is designed, and therefore has a 'trapping'
effect whereby students are unable to use this as a general preparation for the occupational system. Unlike teacher training students, who under some circumstances can convert their teaching certificate into a degree, social work students outside Universities cannot in most instances proceed to a degree. It is also interesting to note that although the different types of social work training were expected to lead to differing levels of practice, one small pilot study comparing University and two year trained workers in the mental health services found that there were greater similarities than differences between the work of the two groups.

Finally, whilst the substantial differences in the social origins of the two groups of students yielded fewer differences in professional identification than might have been expected, social work students with working class backgrounds still face a major dilemma which is again very similar to that faced by their counterparts in teacher training. On the one hand, whilst these students do not really represent the 'indigenous non-professionals' who have been recruited in the United States from backgrounds not dissimilar to those of clients, they do represent a major new source of recruitment into a profession which has, in the past, been associated with a very 'middle class' image. However, they are socialised, like teacher training students, in educational institutions which are "expected to be agents of social cohesion, to condition students to identify themselves as future teachers with a middle class profession and to accept the status quo of our class society". The critique of the social work profession and possibly the forging of new kinds of relationships between social workers and their clients, which might all have been consequences (although probably unintended) of the extension of training schemes outside the Universities, are therefore made less
likely by the traditions of social work education in Technical colleges which appear basically similar to those in Universities. It is, however, interesting to note that more recently much of the growing criticism of social work education and practice, such as the Case Con movement, originated in Technical colleges rather than Universities.

The over-riding impression that has emerged from this research is that the social work students who were interviewed were faced with broadly the same kinds of problems, irrespective of the kind of institution in which they were trained.

Firstly, students in both settings were faced by a teaching staff who appeared to be characterised by the homogeneity of their outlook on, and approach to, social work practice and education. Social workers have in general been categorised at various points in this thesis in terms of a distinction between 'therapeutic' and 'reformist' segments of the profession. The teaching staff of the research courses have been characterised, with some exceptions, as representing the broadly 'therapeutic' segment of the profession, described in such detail by Halmos in his study of the counselling professions and their 'faith'. Most of the social work teaching staff who were interviewed were themselves trained at a time when the 'therapeutic' conception of social work was at its height.

Another useful distinction amongst approaches to social work and social work training is between the 'technical' and 'influence of personality' approaches. In the former approach, the view is taken that social work consists of working for a series of fairly well defined objectives, using precise techniques or activities for the attainment of such goals, which can be taught like other technical skills. In the latter approach social work is
viewed less as a matter of applying techniques to a person or situation to produce change and more as the influence of the personality of the worker on the client; education for social work therefore consists of exposing the students to a series of situations and experiences in which the student will have an opportunity for greater understanding and development of his own personality in order to fit him for this task.

The teaching staff of the research courses, and the courses themselves, incline toward the 'influences of personality' end of this spectrum, and the same might be said for the study group on fieldwork training who have published a recent report on the subject.(14) It is, of course, difficult to know to what extent these two groups of teachers and their orientations are representative of all social work teachers.

Such homogeneity of approach, of which the 'therapeutic' or 'influence of personality' emphases are examples, has been described as a 'priestly' form of education, characterised by the induction, examination and ordination of candidates in an almost religious atmosphere.(15) One possible consequence of this mode of education is that it inhibits innovation on the part of students who, in time, will become practitioners and therefore reinforce the status quo within the profession. As Robins comments, the priestly mode of education, characterised by the homogeneity of its dogma, "is a strength for the collectivity. It leads to what has been called a trained incapacity and is .... dysfunctional with respect to the ultimate outcome of education, an effective practitioner". (16)

As this study has not followed students into practice situations it is difficult to comment on this statement except to say that homogeneity of outlook on the part of teachers may well
have such dysfunctional consequences for future practitioners including making the task of further training programmes, in which a variety of theoretical approaches is introduced, all the more difficult.

Apart from their homogeneity of approach the social work teachers of the research colleges also faced considerable difficulties in the development of academic roles, as is suggested by the relative failure of students to adopt college teachers as academic role models. Social work teachers tended to define their roles, other than classroom teachers, as practitioner roles, both by direct involvement in social work practice or by a stated intention to be involved in practice. This meant that other potential roles, for example in research, consultancy or administration, were undeveloped, although such activities might have provided a wider or more diverse definition for the academic roles performed by teachers.

This point leads into another major issue facing social work education, the relationship between the academic and practice sides of the teaching programme. The courses under discussion appeared so dominated by practice, not just in the amount of time trainees actually spent in social work agencies but in the whole orientation of course work, that the researcher into social work education is led inevitably into issues of what social workers do as well as how they are educated. The effects of this kind of dominance are that students have an early acquaintance (or renewal of acquaintance) with the role of practitioner, and therefore tend to become insulated from the role of students, and from activities and contacts in the college setting. The students in this study, apart from their formal membership of students' unions, had almost no contact with, and little knowledge of, college activities and students on other courses. At the same time the development of
Trainee peer groups was also hindered by the constant pull of practice which split the typical college week into two. The existence of a vertical peer group structure composed of different cohorts was made impossible by the fact that the two groups were in college on different days of the week, and rarely met elsewhere. In most cases trainees were placed in agencies apart from fellow trainees. The lack of trainee role models was also a feature of these courses.

Apart from the tendency to attenuate student peer groups and student culture in general, the emphasis on practice, alternated with an inevitably heavy timetable of classes during the days in college, meant that students had little time to 'stand back' from the course as a whole, and therefore had little chance to consider some of the wider political and philosophical issues of social work, or to formulate any real criticism of the course. (17)

Thirdly, the selection process probably represents the key structural variable in social work education. It is vital because it acts as a filter by which those who are seen as 'fit' to be professionally certified are separated from those who, in various ways, are not. The process selects out those who are already minimally fit for practice in what appears to be a rigorous manner and therefore makes the task of socialisation during training easier. This again serves to weaken the potential impact of training. Bureaucratic influences also enter the selection system in that courses give some priority to candidates who are already in posts, who are then seconded onto courses on full salary. This has the advantage of increasing directly the number of trained workers, but also reinforces the grip of social work agencies on training. Thus agencies select trainees who are then passed on to courses as 'preferred' candidates.
Apart from the bureaucratic-professional dilemma illustrated here, the selection process exemplifies another dilemma central to social work in general. On the one hand there is an emphasis on science-based knowledge (in psychology, psychiatry and sociology) as a major justification for the claim that social work be regarded as a profession based on knowledge not generally available. On the other hand there is also the belief that social workers are special 'kinds of people' who have special qualities of 'insight' and capacities for 'relating to others' which are not wholly based on such knowledge. This dilemma is well illustrated in the selection process, for when selectors are asked to make explicit their criteria for selection they put emphasis on 'abilities to relate to others' and 'capacity for insight', often judged by the presentation of the self of the candidate. By comparison so called more 'objective' tests of academic achievement, intelligence or personality appeared of minor importance. The lack of explicit criteria for selection and the emphasis on selection by social work teachers suggests that social work is as much, if not more, a 'self selecting' profession than most other professions. Selection might be improved if more attention were given to 'objective' testing, and if those who play a part in teaching social work, or in contributing to its knowledge base, other than social workers (e.g., psychologists, sociologists) were to have an opportunity to participate in selection.

One possible effect of the kind of selection described here is the exclusion of the innovator and the recruitment of trainees with rather limited perspectives on the kind of experience that training represents. It is, for example, perhaps less likely that a trainee in receipt of a full time salary will feel able to be critical of course structure, or content, than a student not so tied. The selection process may perform a similar function to that
of the 'set' in nursing training in excluding the non conformist. Because of its demands for group loyalties and adherence to group standards "the non conformist has no legitimate place ... the prime consequence of the set stratification pattern is that the hospital is denied the leaven of atypical professional personalities which it ultimately needs".\(^{(19)}\) This passage might refer to social work training, if selection is substituted for the set as the key variable. In spite of this, it is important to note that some students at least found their way along the path of 'independent socialisation', which means either that the selection process was more flexible than it appeared and/or that some candidates are successful in presenting a 'front' to the selectors.

Perhaps selection criteria which are less tied to professional or bureaucratic requirements, combined with a greater variety of selection techniques, would ensure that a wider spectrum of trainees is recruited and social work thereby enriched. The James Committee proposals for a two year Diploma in Higher Education to be taken by students prior to professional or further academic training may also be important in freeing students from a too early commitment to a profession by ensuring that they obtain some form of general higher education.

Finally, it is important to consider some of the consequences of State and bureaucratic control of social work education. One of the consequences of greater bureaucratisation (and professionalisation) of service occupations like social work is that they become more subject to what Titmuss has described as 'codes of neutrality'. Social workers are, according to Titmuss, increasingly subject to codes of conduct by employing, and professional bodies which ask for, neutrality on political and social issues. In a similar way, although it has performed many
valuable functions in raising the standards of the courses, State financing and control of social work education may have an equally 'neutralising' effect on such matters as course content, selection, evaluation and this research has, in fact, suggested that this might be the case. Yet, as Titmuss argues, it is the schools of social work which bear a heavy responsibility for directing the profession towards a critical, protesting and educational role, in particular by applying their research activities to the problems of social policy.

But the kinds of controls that have been described in the foregoing chapters appear so powerful that unless they are counterbalanced by other forces, for example from within educational institutions, schools and departments of social work in Britain may be unable to perform this function. This control has appeared particularly powerful in the educational institutions outside universities, for here there are few traditions of independence from outside control and it is all the more likely that neutralisation will occur because of the dominance of professional or bureaucratic interests. This reflects the development in recent years of the public sector (educational institutions other than universities financed mainly by local authorities) of the so-called 'binary' system of higher education, one function of which is to be more sensitive to 'social needs' than universities. (21)

The danger of this is that 'needs' may be defined in ways which are acceptable to a particular set of interests, for example the professions or the State. The universities therefore bear a heavy responsibility for the future of social work education in the sense that they are more likely to be able to counteract such codes of neutralisation. In addition, it is necessary for non-university institutions and their staffs to be sensitive to such developments and to work towards a more independent control of their destiny and that of their students.
Although it was not the purpose of this study to follow students into practice after their training, this research may have some relevance for the problem of 'wastage' and 'dissatisfaction' amongst social workers in the early years of training. Whilst the raised expectations of training (the 'halo effect' of training), which must inevitably be put to the test against the realities of practice, may account for some of this dissatisfaction, a negative experience of training may also sap an individual's will or desire to go on in the job.

The evidence of this study suggests that commitment to social work as a career was rather low amongst students at the end of their course, and almost certainly fell during the course. This was particularly the case with Tech. students. There seemed to be a variety of reasons for the disenchantment of some students during training. For those with no previous experience of an educational culture, the course may well have opened up potential avenues of work other than social work. But the actual quality of the course, the supervision and teaching, the offerings of a curriculum which seemed too narrowly based, may also have been disillusioning experiences. The doctrinal conversion which the student is expected to undergo, from a generalised and spontaneous desire to help to a controlled, concerned and self conscious therapeutic skill, is not to the taste of all students, and is a rather unexpected feature of training in this field. It is dearly an important task for future research to trace the relationship between features of the training programme and subsequent work experience.

It is unlikely that social work education in Britain faces a crisis, in all the senses that this term has been used to describe the American situation, but the urgency of current discussions of the subject of social work training cannot
be accounted for solely by changes in the organisation of practice, although this has been a stimulus to change. Some important changes are taking place in most of the areas just discussed, and it seems useful to mention some of these as a postscript to the thesis.

Whilst the distinction between two year certificate and University postgraduate courses continues, there are instances where this division has been challenged and where there has been the opportunity for all students to be taught on the basis of the same syllabus and course structure. This has occurred in Aberdeen with regard to postgraduate students of the University and students of the Institute of Technology. (24) It should also be noted that the Seebohm Report emphasised the need for the fullest co-operation possible between the two sectors; in their words "university students ... should begin social work only with those assets which stem from ability and training and not from the formal status of university as compared with other training". (25)

Another development has been that of undergraduate degrees which combine social science training with a professional social work qualification; these are available both in universities and technical colleges, and in the latter are under the auspices of the Council for National Academic Awards. (26) The award of a degree circumvents the 'trapping' effects of a specialist non-graduate professional qualification such as that currently awarded to the two year social work certificate student and the three year teacher training student.

The need for greater heterogeneity in relation to both education and approach amongst social work teachers is probably one of the hardest problems facing social work education, particularly in a situation where the financial rewards of practice are in some
instances greater than those of teaching. Apart from recruiting those with wider interests within social work, another possibility is that specialist staff other than social workers (such as psychologists or sociologists) be employed in greater numbers in schools and departments of social work. For this to occur with any success it is necessary for such staff to enjoy the same prospects of promotion, opportunities for research and so on, as that enjoyed by the professional staff and by those in the same disciplines but who remain in purely academic departments. (27) Social work teachers may increasingly be defining their interests outside teaching as being something more than a continuing concern for practice. (28)

The particular way in which the needs and concerns of practice tend to play such a dominant part in social work education have also been challenged. In a two year course for mature but inexperienced students the first year is mainly given to college based academic work, and the second year spent full time in practice. (29) Although this departure from the time honoured 'concurrent' method of training has occurred for practical reasons, it may have the unintended effect of demonstrating the benefits of freeing students from their insulated position in college and enabling them to play the role of 'student' in a more normal way, away from the pressures and constraints of practice. This may encourage constructive professional self criticism in a way that seems difficult when there is an immediate concern with practice, although much depends on the way that such practice is organised.

Another related issue is the domination of curricula (at least as shown by this study) by methodology and theory of casework; it is obvious that students should be offered the opportunity to specialise in other social work methods as a regular part of their training (as in most American Schools of Social Work, where group
and community work are growing in popularity. This means larger courses and departments to make specialisation possible, but largeness of size seems to run against the cosiness and closeness of personal relationships some social work teachers see as the merit of small courses. Larger courses would also allow the recruitment of a more varied staff.

A recent development is specialised courses in social work methods other than casework, such as the community and youth work courses, although such courses are not given recognition as professional qualifications. These courses prepare students for a variety of roles in the community, with youth clubs, community centres, as community relations officers and so on. Perhaps the most important feature of such courses is the fresh approach to the contents of social work education that they represent, and the critique of traditional education and professional attitudes that is implied. For example, in the course at Goldsmiths College (University of London) "in the first year at least there will be no compulsory lectures or reading lists. This is because there is no agreed framework of formal learning relevant to the exploratory professions, such as community and youth work, as there is for the more established professions. The early stages of training for medicine or law ... are concerned with known and tested facts, and students work towards the less certain areas of human behaviour. For the youth worker there are very few agreed facts and theories".

Selection methods in social work are at last being challenged and experimentation is occurring. Although new methods and processes of selection will improve the present situation, the problem remains of how to combine criteria relating to 'suitability for practice' with other (e.g. academic) criteria.
It is difficult to see how social work education could be entirely free from external control, and in fact this may not be entirely desirable. But social work education in the future needs to be less tightly controlled than at present and this means less bureaucratic control and a greater representation of other interests, including those of the profession, college and university teachers, students and clients. The new Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work bears a heavy responsibility for the future, not least of which is to achieve a better balance between the variety of interests involved in social work education.

There may be no crisis as yet in British social work education, but there is a tendency for events in the United States to foreshadow the future in this country, and this may be as true in social work education as in other spheres. Thus one aim of a radical group of social workers which has achieved some prominence in the last few years is "to oppose the authoritarian organisation of training courses and a curriculum biased solely towards the location of problems in individual pathology with a consequent emphasis on a casework solution. We support the democratic organisation of courses with full involvement of students in decision making".

This statement probably represents the views of a small minority of students, teachers and practitioners, but is an indication of more widespread criticism of social work and social work education which may grow in the future. Whilst there have clearly been considerable improvements in social work education in the recent past, some of which have been noted in this chapter, these developments may themselves be threatened by the rigidifying effects that professionalisation can bring. Thus the seeds of any future crisis in social work education may lie more in the possible
dysfunctions of increased professional status, rather than in attacks from a militant minority group.

Whatever is the future of social work education, it is to be hoped that those with administrative control over it will take seriously the comments and criticisms of both students who have passed through the training process and those who have sought to analyse and understand it. It is also to be hoped that increased attention will be given to research in this area. It is important to remember that social work students, like the clients of social workers, are on the receiving end of policies and practices which have developed in a rather piecemeal and ad hoc fashion and over which they (as recipients) have had little control. In an era where the importance of client control is increasingly accepted it is scarcely surprising that students are beginning to claim the same rights.
References Chapter XVI


5. See Chapter IV for a resume of this.


7. Although this varied from 25% in the Technical college to 50% in the University; see Table 36, Chapter XIV.


9. With the exception of those students who are training for social work in the context of the degrees of the Council for National Academic Awards.

10. M. Wittman, Meeting the challenge of change; new developments in social work training and education, Journal of Education for Social Work, Vol.3, 1967; both groups were carrying the same proportion of 'intensive service' cases involving casework in depth, but university trained workers had smaller caseloads and CSW students had more supervision. However, one study of the work experiences of two year certificate holders found that where these workers were asked to supervise students, in 80% of cases these were two year certificate students and not university students; see M. Ward, Survey of Holders of the Certificate in Social Work, 1963/4, City of Birmingham College of Commerce, unpubl. 1966.


14. ibid.


17. This is also noted by C. Cannan, op.cit.

18. C. Cannan, op.cit; see also N. Jones, Selection of students for social work training, Social Work (U.K.), Vol.27, No. 3, 1970.


22. For a discussion see J. Haines, Dissatisfaction in social work, New Society, 5th Jan, 1967.

23. A. Rosen, op.cit.


26. Degrees of this kind currently exist at Enfield College of Technology and Hatfield Polytechnic.

27. A similar point has been made in regard to social scientists employed in medical faculties; see M. Jefferys, Sociology and medicine - separation or symbiosis, The Lancet, 7th June, 1969.


31. University of London Goldsmiths College, Community and Youth Work Course: a statement about the course, undated.

32. N. Jones, op.cit; see also B. Munday, op.cit.


34. Case Con, Statement of aims, June, 1971.
APPENDIX I (v)

Student interview guides

SPECIMEN COPY

Research in social work education

Interview guide for social work students

(a) First interview

**A. PRELIMINARY INFORMATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview No.</th>
<th>Age last birthday</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student's educational level (O/A level, degree, professional qualification, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Father's occupation:

Father's educational level:

Seconded/not seconded (delete)

If seconded

(a) For how long must you return to your seconding agency?
(b) What kind of social work job will you be returning to?

If not seconded

(c) What kind of social work job are you interested in on completion of course?
(d) Are you interested in any other kind of job besides social work?

**B. CAREER DECISIONS AND ENTRY TO SOCIAL WORK.**

1. At what age did you start to think about social work as a career?
2. At what age did you make the decision to enter social work and/or apply for training?
3. Did you consider other occupations besides social work? YES/NO.
4. IF YES (i) What occupations did you consider?
   (ii) What occupations did you enter and for how long?
5. Why did you eventually choose social work?
6. What do you think were some of the most important influences on your decision to enter social work?
7. What did you know about social work at this time - for example, what kind of things did you think social workers actually did? From what source did you obtain this knowledge?
8. How much competition did you feel that there was to enter social work?
9. Would you consider a further course of training in social work?

10. Do you feel now that social work is the only kind of job that can satisfy you?  
   YES/NO/D.K./OTHER

0. STUDENT'S EXPERIENCES DURING THE TRAINING PROCESS

11. Thinking of the people you are meeting during the course of your training, how have you tended to think of yourself during your most recent dealings with them; primarily as a **social worker**, rather than a **student** or primarily as a **social worker** rather than a **student**?

   a) Fellow students on your course (classmates)  
      A (Social worker)  
      B (Student)

   b) Teaching staff of your course  
      A  
      B

   c) Supervisors of practical work  
      A  
      B

   d) Other social workers at your placement  
      A  
      B

   e) Clients  
      A  
      B

   (Ring A or B)

12. Now thinking of all the people you have met so far in the course of your training, how, in relation to them as a whole, have you tended to think of yourself; primarily as a **social worker** rather than a **student** or primarily as a **student** rather than a **social worker**?

   A (Social worker)  
   B (Student)

13. Can you think of any major phases or highlights in the course which were significant for you personally; I mean times when you might have said to yourself, "This makes me feel more like a social worker".

   IF YES, describe.

14. Can you think of any social worker you have known, before or after the start of this course, who in your opinion comes close to being the kind of social worker you would like to be?

   YES/NO

15. IF YES (to question 14): Is the person you have chosen

   a) Your present tutor?  
   b) Your present supervisor?  
   c) Other social worker you have met since start of course?  
   d) Other social workers you knew before course?  
   e) Other fellow students (on this course or previous courses)?  
   f) Other categories (specify)?
16. **IF YES** (to question 14):

Can you describe what you consider to be the main characteristics or qualities that the person you have chosen has as a social worker?

17. Do you feel that you have yet developed any skills/have learnt anything from the course which will help you to be a better social worker?

18. Can you say which of the courses (listed below) have so far been most/least helpful to you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most</th>
<th>Least</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social casework</td>
<td>Human growth and development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social administration</td>
<td>Sociology/social influences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other courses (specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP, ETC.**

19. Are you a member of any of the following social work professional associations?

   a) Association of Social Workers.
   b) Society of Mental Welfare Officers.
   c) Institute of Social Welfare
   d) Association of Family Caseworkers.
   e) Association of Socialist Social Workers
   f) Any other social work association (specify).

20. Are you a member of any other professional association connected with your work but which is not specifically related to social work? **YES/NO.**

21. **IF YES** (to question 20) - specify.

22. Do you think it is important to be a member of a specifically social work association? **YES/NO.**

Why?

23. Do you think it is important to be a member of an association not related to your work but which is not specifically a social work association? **YES/NO.**

Why?

24. Which type of association do you think it most important for you to be a member of at this stage (as a student at the beginning of the course)?

25. If you are not a member of a social work association, do you intend to join in the near future? **YES/NO.**

26. If you are not a member of an association other than a social work association, do you intend to join one in the near future? **YES/NO.**

27. Do you think there should be one professional association for all social workers or separate associations for each branch or speciality in social work? **A (One association) B (Separate associations)**
28. Thinking about your training so far, do you think it will be important for the future career of a social worker to have trained at a university rather than a technical college (or other non university college or polytechnic)?
APPENDIX I (b)

Student interview guides

SPECIMEN COPY

Research in social work education

Interview guide for social work students

(b) Second or final interview.

Note: For students who were interviewed near the end of their course but who had not been interviewed initially (that is, Tech. students) the questions under the heading 'Preliminary information' (Section A) and the first eight questions of Section B were repeated.

C. CAREER INTENTIONS.

1. To seconded students:
   Do you expect to stay with your seconding agency after completing the period of service for which you have agreed to return? YES/NO.

2. IF NO: Do you expect to continue in social work? YES/NO.

3. IF YES: Which type of work do you think you will be interested in?

4. IF NO (to question 2):
   a) What kind of work are you now thinking of doing other than social work?
   b) How long have you been considering an alternative to social work?
   c) Did you have any experiences on the course which influenced you in this decision?

5. To Non seconded students:
   On completion of the course do you expect to:
   a) Enter a social work job?
   b) Enter another kind of job?
   c) Other/d.k. (specify).

6. IF Answer (a) to Question 5:
   a) What kind of social work job will you enter?
   b) Can you think of any experiences which have influenced your choice?

7. IF Answer (b) or (c) to Question 5:
   a) What kind of work are you considering other than social work?
   b) How long have you been considering an alternative to social work?
   c) Can you think of any experiences which have influenced your choice?
D. STUDENTS EXPERIENCES DURING THE TRAINING PROCESS, VIEWS OF COURSE, ETC.

8. Thinking of the people you are meeting during the course of your training, how have you tended to think of yourself during your most recent dealings with them; primarily as a social worker rather than a student or primarily as a student rather than a social worker?

   a) Fellow students on your course (classmates) A (Social worker) B (Student)
   b) College teaching staff of your course A B
   c) Supervisors of practical work A B
   d) Clients A B

9. Now thinking of all the people you have met so far in the course of your training how, in relation to them as a whole, have you tended to think of yourself; primarily as a social worker rather than a student, or primarily as a student rather than a social worker?

    A (Social worker) B (Student)

10. How do you think the people listed above have viewed you, primarily as a social worker or primarily as a student, in relation to them as a whole?

    At beginning of course Now
    a) Fellow students A (Social worker) B (Student) A B
    b) College teachers A B A B
    c) Supervisors A B A B
    d) Clients A B A B

11. Of those listed in Question 10 above, whose view is most important to you?

12. Can you think of any major phases or highlights in the course which were significant for you personally; I mean times when you might have said to yourself, "This makes me feel more like a social worker". If YES, describe.

13. Can you think of any social worker you have known, before or after the start of this course, who in your opinion comes close to being the kind of social worker you would like to be?

    YES/NO.

14. IF YES (to Question 12): Is the person you have chosen

    a) Your present tutor?
    b) Your present supervisor?
    c) Other social worker you have met since start of course?
    d) Other social worker you knew before start of course?
    e) Other fellow students (on this or previous courses)?
    f) Other categories (specify)?
15. **IF YES (to Question 13):**
   Can you describe what you consider to be the main characteristics or qualities that the person you have chosen has as a social worker?

16. Thinking about the course itself, did you have any expectations of the course before starting?

   **YES/NO:** if YES - describe.

17. Looking back on the course, has it lived up to your expectations?

   **YES/NO:** In what way, etc.?

18. What do you think you have learnt from the course which will be of use to you as a social worker?

19. Could you say which of the courses you have taken (see below) have been and/or will be most/least useful to you as a social worker and why?

   **Most**
   - Social casework
   - Human growth and development
   - Social administration
   - Sociology/social influences
   - Other courses (specify)

   **Least**

20. We all know the courses you take, and the books and journals recommended, have more information in them than anyone could remember. How do you decide on which courses are most important and which books or journals to read?

21. Can you give any examples of the way in which you have been able to use knowledge from any of the above courses in your practical work?

22. How would you describe the place of practical work in the course?

23. Have you noticed any differences in the kind of supervision you have received during your practical work on the course; for example - have the kinds of cases given to you by supervisors changed at all during the course?

24. Do you know if your supervisors have been professionally qualified in social work, and if so in what field?

25. Do you have much contact with students in the same year in your own course; how many friends have you in your own year - I mean people you might meet outside as well as inside the college?

26. Do you have much contact with students in the other year of the social work course/or in other courses in the Department or college; how many friends have you in these other courses - I mean people you might meet outside as well as inside the college?

27. Have you during the course come into contact with any Certificate in Social Work/University Applied Social Studies students (delete one). **YES/NO**
28. Could you tell me what you know about the Certificate in Social Work/Applied Social Studies courses (delete one)?

29. Do you think it will be important for the future career of a social worker to have trained at a university rather than a Technical College (or other non-university college)?

30. What do you think was your single biggest problem during the first months of the course?

31. How did this work out?

32. What do you think has been the single biggest problem you have faced in the last half of your course?

33. How is this working out?

34. If you were in a position to reorganise any aspects of the present course, what suggestions would you make?

35. If an opportunity offered would you consider coming on a further course in a few years time?

36. What subjects/areas would you like the course to include?

37. Which of the following statements best describes the way you feel about social work as a job:
   a) It is the only kind of job that can really satisfy me.
   b) It is one of several careers that I could find equally satisfying.
   c) It is not the most satisfying career I can think of, everything considered.
   d) It is a career I decided on without considering whether I would find it the most satisfying.

38. How would you now describe (for example, to a non-social worker) the kinds of things that you see social workers as doing?

39. Could you say how you think this view differs from the view you had when you entered the course?

8. PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP, ETC.

40. Are you a member of any of the following social work professional associations?
   a) Association of Social Workers
   b) Society of Mental Welfare Workers
   c) Institute of Social Welfare
   d) Association of Family Caseworkers
   e) Association of Socialist Social Workers
   f) Any other social work association (specify).

41. Are you a member of any professional association connected with your work but which is not specifically related to social work? YES/NO.

42. IF YES (to Question 41): Specify.
43. Do you think it important to be a member of a specifically social work association? YES/NO.
Why?

44. Do you think it important to be a member of an association not related to social work but connected to your work? YES/NO.
Why?

45. Which type of association do you think it is most important for you to be a member of at this stage of your training?

46. If you are not a member of a social work association, do you intend to join in the near future? YES/NO.

47. If you are not a member of an association other than a social work association, do you intend to join in the near future? YES/NO.

48. Do you think there should be one professional association for all social workers or separate associations for each branch or speciality in social work.

A (One association) B (Separate associations)

49. Do you consider social work to be a profession in its own right, or as an occupation which seeks professional recognition?

50. Do you think it important that social work should be recognised as a profession, or seek this status? YES/NO.
Why?
APPENDIX II

Interview guides for college teachers and supervisors

SPECIMEN COPY

Research in social work education

(a) College Teachers.

INTERVIEW NO:

1. PRESENT POSITION, CAREER, ETC.

1. Are you (a) tutor to the course; i.e. primarily concerned with professional aspects?
   (b) other type of teacher (i.e. lecturer)?

2. What subject are you mainly concerned in teaching?

3. What are your main qualifications?
   Academic: Graduate/non graduate (delete).
   If graduate: Social science/other.
   Other academic qualifications.
   If non graduate: What other academic qualifications have you?
   Professional: Social work
   Other.

4. What were the major appointments you held before taking up your present post?

5. Did any of these involve student supervision or teaching?

6. Do your activities outside teaching include any of the following?
   Ministry committees/school or hospital management/extra-mural lecturing/Voluntary social work/other social work?
   Would you like to mention any other activity outside your present appointment not included above?

7. Are you a member of any of the following professional associations?
   Association of Psychiatric Social Workers
   Institute of Medical Social Work
   Association of Social Workers
   Association of Family Caseworkers
   Institute of Social Welfare
   National Association of Probation Officers
   Other (specify)
   Do you encourage students to join after completing training?

8. Which journals do you subscribe to or read regularly?
9. Could you list any books, or articles in professional journals that you have written or are due to be published?

10. Could you describe the major influences on your decision to teach social workers?

Perhaps we could think of the questions I am going to ask you now in terms of a sequence from the time the student applies to the college to the time he passes or otherwise terminates the course.

B. SELECTION OF STUDENTS.

11. How many applicants do you have for the course in the first instance?

12. How do you go about selecting from this initial group of applicants those applicants who you will interview?

13. Are there any major characteristics which you would say would distinguish those selected for interview from those not selected for interview at this stage?

14. How would you rank in order of importance the following qualities which applicants for the course might possess at this stage?

   a) A high intelligence.
   b) Outstanding educational qualifications.
   c) An ability to relate to people.
   d) An interest in political issues.
   e) An interest in society/human behaviour.
   f) An interest in people.
   g) An interest in helping people.
   h) A religious interest.

15. What other qualities would you consider important?

16. In your final selection of short listed candidates, which of the following methods of selection do you use and how do you rank them in order of importance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. (i) An intelligence test.
   (ii) A personality test.
   (iii) A written educational test (e.g. precis).
   (iv) Candidates participation in group discussion.

B. (i) Selection by single tutor.
   (ii) Selection by panels of tutors and supervisors.
   (iii) Selection by panel of tutors, supervisors and other teaching staff.

C. (i) References from social workers who are professionally trained.
   (ii) References from untrained social workers.
   (iii) References from University or college teachers, school teachers, etc.
17. *Repeat of Question 14.*

18. Are there any major particular characteristics which you think distinguish those finally selected for the course from those who are not successful?

**The training course**

19. When starting to teach a new group of students, do you have any idea of the kind of 'end product' which you are seeking (either in respect of the course in general or your own teaching subject)?

20. Do you have any specific expectations of students at particular stages of the course?

21. On what grounds would you feel that a student had failed to live up to these expectations?

22. Could you identify any stages of sequences in the course which you feel are important for the student to negotiate successfully (either from the student's or your own point of view)?

23. On what grounds would you feel a student had failed to negotiate these stages?

24. In what way are assessments or evaluations of students made during the course, including the final assessment for the award of the professional qualification?

25. What do you do about failing (or failed) students?

26. How would you describe the function of the (social work) tutor on the course?

27. How do you see the functions of other lecturers on the course?

28. What would you say is the special contribution of your own teaching to the course as a whole?

29. In what ways do you go about selecting from the material available in your own subject for the purpose of teaching on this course?

30. Do you take any particular theoretical approach or approaches to your subject?

31. In teaching your own subject, what do you feel are the respective merits of the lecture/seminar/tutorial as a method of teaching? Which method do you favour most?

32. Do you think it is particularly important for social work teachers to have special training/to take a special course before taking up their appointments?

33. How do you think you are seen by students; more as a teacher than a social worker, or more as a social worker than a teacher?

34. What is more important to you; to be seen as a teacher or as a social worker/practitioner?
35. How do you see yourself; more as a teacher than as a social worker/practitioner, or more as a social worker/practitioner than a teacher?

36. Could you describe any work you carry out as a social worker/other practitioner; how many hours per week, type of agency, etc.

37. How important is it for you to spend some time in practice?

38. Do you teach on any other courses in the Department/College besides this course?

39. How do you see the students on your course, more as students rather than social workers, or more as social workers than students?
   a) Near beginning of course.
   b) Near end of course.

40. Do you think students will be under any advantages in their future career if they have taken a course at a University rather than a Technical College (or other non university college)?

41. Do you see social work as having obtained full professional status, or as an occupation which is moving towards professional status?

Fieldwork

42. I have heard it said that 'a course is only as good as its supervisors'; what do you take this to mean?

43. How would you describe the functions of the supervisor? How do they differ from other teachers.

44. How are supervisors selected?

45. Do you have preferences for particular kinds of professional qualification when selecting supervisors?

46. How are assessments/evaluations made of students' performances in fieldwork?

47. What kinds of problems typically occur in fieldwork situations - for supervisors, other agency staff, students and tutors?
APPENDIX IX (Cont.)

Interview guides for college teachers and supervisors

(b) Supervisors

Note: This questionnaire was prepared by the college tutors of the University course. Some of the information in the completed questionnaires has been used in this study, with the permission of the tutor in charge of the course. Comparable information was also obtained from the Technical College involved in the study, and this was also used with permission.

SPECIMEN COPY

NAME:

Agency:

Position held:

Qualifications and training:
(Degrees, professional courses, etc.)

Previous experience:

Types of students previously supervised:
e.g. Diploma
Younghusband
Professional
In-service, etc.

What are the kinds of students you most enjoy teaching?

Men
Women
Beginners
Experienced, etc.

Within the general run of work at your agency, what special opportunities for learning are there?
APPENDIX III

Bibliography

(A) Books and articles


Brandon, S., The role of the medical teacher in social work education, Vol.15, No.6, 1968, Case Conference.


Brown, R., & Reeve, K., Probation work and child care work: a survey of attitudes and knowledge amongst undergraduates, University of Leicester, 1964, unpubl.


Buckley, R., Occupational ideologies and professionalisation in social work, Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana University, 1959, unpubl.


Coxon, A., Sociological perspectives on clergy selection, unpubl., no date.


Deacon, B., & Bartley, M., Becoming a social worker, Department of Applied Social Studies, Polytechnic of North London, 1972, unpubl.


Gockel, L., Silk stockings and blue collars; social work as a career choice of America's 1961 graduates, National Opinion Research Centre, Chicago, 1966.


McDougall, K., Thinking aloud about basic social work training, Case Conference, Vol.8, No.10, 1962.


Seed, P., Current developments and issues in Scotland - the organisation of courses and fieldwork; in Association of Social Work Teachers, Social work education in the 70s, 1971.


Sociology and social work - a students dilemma (anonymous), Child Care News, Aug., 1966.


Varley, B., *Social work values; changes in value commitments of students from admission to M.S.W. graduation*, Journal of Education for Social Work, Fall, 1968.


Young, M.F.D., Curricula as socially organised knowledge, in M.F.D.Young, Knowledge and control: new directions in the sociology of education, Collier MacMillan, London, 1971.


Younghusband, E., Social work in Britain, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1952.


Younghusband, E., Tasks for the social work council, British Hospital Journal, May 15th, 1971.
(B) Official and other publications and reports

Association of Child Care Officers, Seebohm and the organisation of training, Child Care News, No. 81, Dec. 1968.

Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, Memorandum on standards of training, unpubl. 1964.


Case Con, Statement of aims, 1971.


Home Office, Probation and After Care Department, Recruitment of candidates for probation places on applied social studies courses and certain postgraduate courses, unpubl. 1967.

Home Office, Reports of the Childrens Department, 1964-66.


Report of the Committee on Senior Nursing Staff, 1966. (The Salmon Committee.)

Report of the Committee on Social Workers in Mental Health Services, Cmnd. 5260, H.M.S.O., London, 1951. (The Mackintosh Committee.)


University of London Goldsmiths College, Community and youth work course: a statement about the course.
Students in Institutions—A Survey

B. J. HERAUD

Introduction

Although periods of practical work make up part of the education and training of social workers and other professions there have been few empirical investigations of this process, although a number of more general studies have been made. As social work training develops, so the range and diversity of such practical experience is growing. Increasingly, students are being placed in various residential institutions as part of this training. This is a recognition of the importance for social workers of gaining an idea of the kinds of situation in which some of their clients are likely to find themselves at one time or another.

In order to gain information about this process the Department of Child Care and Social Studies of the North-Western Polytechnic carried out a survey on the experience of students during periods of residential training. It was felt that this would be valuable not only as a guide to College tutors and the students' supervisors in the institutions, but as a contribution to the growing body of knowledge on the institution as a social system.

An attempt has been made to measure the students' actual experiences (as reported by them) against the aims of practical training. In particular there has been an attempt to see the role in which the student was placed by the institution. Clearly, practical training is of immense importance to the student and occupies a central position in the course. Each student was asked finally to record the "degree of satisfaction" he felt with the placement as a
However this is interpreted, the importance of a "successful" period of practical work need hardly be stressed.

Over half the students were placed in Children's Homes, the remainder going to a variety of other placements, including Approved Schools and Special Schools. The students spanned a wide age range, the youngest 19, the eldest 46. The largest number were in the 26-35 age range. There were equal numbers of males and females. All students had previous experience of various types of residential work ranging in length from less than two months to 19 years. The largest number had between 1 and 3 years' experience.

The group studied was thus heterogeneous in a number of ways and the institutions in which students were placed also varied both in size and type. These differences should be taken into account when considering students' responses and clearly create difficulties for this kind of study. For example, older students who in most cases have had considerable previous experience have different expectations of and reactions to practical work. Students in different types of institutions may face different situations and therefore different problems. A small Children's Home with two staff members and a dozen children will clearly differ considerably from a large Approved School. Again, students' reactions may be expressions of their subjective feelings and may not reflect actuality. However, all open ended questions inviting students to express an opinion have been prefaced by factual questions relating to the subject on which the student is invited to express an opinion. Again, the report has been prepared with the help of College tutors who are well aware of the practical difficulties facing the staff of residential homes.

It is hoped, therefore, that despite all these difficulties a balanced account will be given of the students' experiences in their placements.

Findings

In many cases students reported satisfactory experiences from their placements. Two-thirds felt satisfied with the degree of responsibility and the supervision they had been given. 60% experienced increasing responsibility during the placement and only a very small number were given no responsibility at all. Four-fifths of the students found there was some relation between studies during their College period and what they did during their placement. When asked to give examples of this most students said they had been better able to understand and appreciate the behaviour of children in the Homes because of their College studies ("as the first term's lectures were based on the five-year-old child and under, I was able to identify the lectures with the actual children"). Another important link between theory and practice was the helpful attitude of the staff in the Home. ("I talked with the housemother about my studies in the College and (she) having taken a similar course we discussed the practical application of the work"). A third link was afforded by the visits of College tutors to the students during their placement. All students were visited at least once during their placement and in nearly two-thirds of cases this made a difference to the success of the placement. Many students clearly relied to a considerable extent on these visits and some said that they could not have got through the placement otherwise. The visits seemed valuable not only to discuss issues concerned with the students' work in the Home but also as a means of relieving general anxieties about the course or personal matters. In some cases such anxieties were exacerbated by a period of residential work in unfamiliar surroundings and the visits were important for this reason. Even students who claimed that tutor's visits had made no difference to the success of their placement often qualified this by saying that it was important as a morale booster.

Students were able to make relationships with the children or adolescents in the institution quite easily and valued this aspect of their placement highly. The main feeling on leaving the placement was, in fact, regret at having to say goodbye to the children.

Mainly favourable comments were also made about living conditions and the amount of off-duty time. Four-fifths felt the amount of time off was sufficient, but only half felt they had enough time for study purposes. In many cases
CASE CONFERENCE

study took place during off-duty hours in the case of those who were given little special time for this. The high level of satisfaction with off-duty time is remarkable in view of the exceedingly long hours worked in many Homes.

Again, over four-fifths of students found their living accommodation adequate. Of the remainder the majority complained of badly furnished, small and cold rooms. Two students on the same placement were asked to live in a caravan (to which they had previously agreed) and two shared a bedroom. There was little indication that living accommodation was a major source of discontent.

However, experience of practical work was undoubtedly accompanied by strain of various kinds, particularly before and at the start of the placement. Nearly three-quarters of students felt apprehensive before arrival, usually expressed as "anxiety". In many cases this proved to be fear of the "unknown" and was dispelled on arrival. Nearly a third of students continued to feel uneasy for a period after their arrival. Most expressed this in terms of feeling "awkward" or "unwelcome". Again for some students this feeling gradually disappeared as relationships were formed with staff members and particularly children. The visit of the College tutor was also important and helped many students to settle down. In spite of this, a persistent minority (about 15%) continued to be dissatisfied during the placement. There is, of course, the possibility that these persistent expressions of dissatisfaction were made by students who would have had difficulty in any situation.

However, genuine areas of difficulty arose with a sufficient number of students to warrant comment. The student-supervisor relationship appeared a particular problem. Often this was seen as a satisfactory social relationship which was not carried over into work situations ("on a social basis it was all quite friendly but the Head was too overpowering to form a good teaching relationship"), or as the supervisor's uncertainty about what the role of the student should be. This role uncertainty was demonstrated by the ways in which students were introduced to children. Some were introduced and described as "temporary staff members" or "student visitors", others were introduced under the guise of descriptions like "a new Uncle" or "a student Auntie"! In particular, contact with the supervisor was not always maintained satisfactorily. A quarter of students did not have a preliminary discussion with their supervisors about their function and duties and four-fifths had no final discussion about their report before leaving. However, two-thirds of students felt at ease with their supervisors and stated that this was a helpful and understanding relationship.

Students' Evaluation of their Experiences

Finally, each student was asked to evaluate his or her experience during the placement on a three point scale. 45% stated that in general they had "good experiences", 44% had "mixed experiences" and 11% had "bad experiences" during their placements. Differences in age and length of previous experience in residential work made little difference to these attitudes. Certain factors stood out clearly as influencing the quality of practical experience.

(1) Preliminary discussion with supervisor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good Experiences</th>
<th>Mixed Experiences</th>
<th>Bad Experiences</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had preliminary discussion</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No discussion</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 55</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Feelings after arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good Experiences</th>
<th>Mixed Experiences</th>
<th>Bad Experiences</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Felt welcomed</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mixed feelings</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Felt unwelcome</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 55</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
None of those who reported “bad” general experiences had a preliminary discussion with their supervisors about their function and duties on arrival in the institution. But 75% of those with “mixed” experiences and 88% of those with “good” experiences did have such a discussion. Secondly, all of those reporting bad experiences felt unwelcome at their first contact with the institution compared with only a third of those with “mixed” and none of those with “good experiences”. Thirdly, of those reporting “bad” experiences only 40% saw some relation between College work and practical work, compared with 70% of those with “mixed” and 100% of those with “good experiences”. The function of the placement as an integrator of theory and practice therefore seems important. Where this integration fails to take place students are more likely to have bad overall experiences. Finally, none of the students who reported bad experiences had a good relationship with their supervisor. However, 40% of those with mixed experience and 100% of those with good experiences had a satisfactory relationship with the supervisor. This relationship therefore seems of key importance in the success or otherwise of the placement.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The experience of students in training for work in residential child care establishments is inevitably part of the whole problem of the staffing and administration of such institutions. A study of these problems was made in 1961-62 by the Government Social Survey in collaboration with the Home Office (the Monsky report). There are three main but related aspects to the problem. First and most important there is a shortage of staff, in particular those with appropriate training, which necessitates long hours of duty and often allows insufficient free time. This is associated with a rapid turnover of staff. Secondly, the residential nature of the work raises problems of personal privacy and the adequacy of accommodation. Thirdly, there is the problem of friction in relationships between staff members, in particular between junior and senior staff. According to the Monsky Report, there was some indication that “role conflict” between different members of staff might be at the centre of this problem.

Against this background the student arrives for training with certain expectations which, although modified by previous experience, have been formed mainly by the nature of studies during the first College term. The student is anxious not only to see how he or she fits into an institutional setting but to experience first hand the difficult and skilled task of handling deprived children and to try out in practice theoretical College studies.

What emerges from this study is some conflict between the institution and its needs on the one hand and the students’ requirements on the other. Faced in many cases with a staff shortage and the need to maximise daily administrative efficiency, many Homes see students as sources of additional labour and allocate them a role as “just another member of staff”. Some students, in fact, simply replaced existing staff who were on leave and carried out similar duties. Here, the needs of the student become lost, perhaps inevitably, in a welter of everyday activity and there is failure to accord the student the role of “student”. This is perhaps seen most clearly in the lack of attention given to discussions about
the student’s progress, in particular on departure. The student is looked upon as yet another member of a staff departing for perhaps another appointment at a similar institution and with no particular needs or requirements at this stage. The lack of proper time for study purposes is another reflection of this conflict of aims.

This process makes the student’s status a very difficult one. Clearly, the student cannot really be regarded by other staff members with whom he is in daily contact as anything but a temporary visitor, yet he is asked to perform duties and functions similar to them. The student is in reality perhaps somewhere half way between the status of “staff” and “visitor”, yet has a foot in neither camp. In particular, the student does not seem part of the informal social relationships which exist in many institutions alongside the formal structure. Amongst other things, these provide means by which grievances are aired and frustrations worked through. For example, students commented on the fact that they felt unable to participate in discussions about children or about administrative details with other staff members for fear of causing offence. Thus the students were neither part of that informal structure in which opinions and grievances were being expressed in a recognised form nor were in an independent status as “student”, who might be consulted or feel able to give an “outsider’s” view on the matter.

These findings fit in with much of the previous research carried out in institutions of all kinds. Broadly, social relationships become highly “structured”, and lack the fluidity found in the wider society. There is a strict formal hierarchy dividing “staff” from “inmates”. Individual differences are smoothed out and conformity to a set of rules and regulations is given a high premium. The essence of the student’s situation would seem to be that he sometimes fails to fit tidily into one of these administrative categories of “staff” and “inmates” and that his individual needs at a period of particular stress are not (and perhaps cannot) be fully catered for. The student in the institution can be compared with the student in a non-residential social work agency. Here there is also evidence of considerable role strain and conflict between student, supervisor and College tutor. But this is mitigated by the non-residential nature of the situation and the fact that the student is perhaps in weekly contact with his College life which serves to moderate the strain during practical work. In an institution the student is in a “total” setting of a very different nature and such strain inevitably becomes exacerbated.

In order to improve the student’s position during practical work, some resolution of the conflicting needs of the institution and the student is required. In the long run, one obvious way in which this might be brought about is an improvement in the staffing situation in residential establishments. This would reduce everyday pressure and would make it less likely that the student would be looked upon as a source of additional labour. However, a more positive initiative might be needed in the short run. There seems to be the need for an agreed programme of training between College and institution which might focus principally on the needs of the students during training and the ways in which the supervisor could meet such needs. The kind of practical priorities which seem to emerge from this study are:

1. The need for better organised supervision and improved communication between student and supervisor

This could include regular discussion of the student’s work and progress during his placement, with particular emphasis on the initial stage of the placement and the student’s departure. The student should feel able to have regular access to the supervisor during the placement and in all cases the final report should be discussed, if only in outline, with the student before departure. Much will depend on the way in which supervisors view their own role. Some confusion arises because supervisors are not clear about the role they are expected to play. The process might be assisted by closer contact between supervisors and tutors and the former might be asked to visit the College regularly for
discussion about the Course as a whole with both tutors and students. In the Polytechnic this is being attempted but it is impossible to ensure that all supervisors attend the meetings. Unlike other social work training courses, it is difficult to build up a regular nucleus of supervisors who gradually become accustomed to the needs of students. This is largely because of competition with other courses for practical placements and a high turnover rate amongst supervisors. Another difficulty is that other staff members besides the supervisors help in the training of students and it is impossible to inform all concerned about the aims and objects of training.

The other possibility is a number of short courses run especially for supervisors at regional centres. This year the Central Training Council in Child Care is, in fact, running a series of courses of this kind and it is clear that these should become a regular part of the whole training process.

2. **Agreement of the kinds of duties and functions appropriate for students during placements**

The students should be prepared to participate in most of the work of children's homes, but not all of this will be appropriate for students under training. Where alternatives present themselves, the supervisors should bear in mind the kind of work the students have been doing during the period in College studies and the need to integrate this with practical work. This would serve to focus and draw together the different elements of the course in the student's mind. Clearly, visits from tutors during the placement are of the greatest importance here. Again, the process might be assisted by closer contact between College department and supervisor.

3. **A changed administrative procedure for the arrangement of practical placements**

As many of the foregoing improvements depend in part on improved administrative machinery for securing practical placements, attention should be given to the problem. There is a shortage of such placements and Courses must compete with each other for the places available. Amongst many other drawbacks, this means that some students have to wait until the last moment before they secure a placement, which might be anywhere in the country.

One suggestion would be that each Training Centre (or College Department) should cooperate closely with a number of Children's Departments in a particular region. A definite number of placements would be reserved for each period of practical work and possibly students might spend all their periods of practical work in the same placement to gain experience in depth rather than breadth.

**Summary**

The principal weakness of practical training as it is at present organised appears to be the equivocal status in which the student finds himself placed. In addition there are certain associated organisational and administrative problems. Any new programme should aim at sharply defining this status and of providing an agreed role for the student to play. This in its turn means a closer integration of the course as a whole, with College tutors, Training Officers, Supervisors and students working closely together. In addition, attention could be given to the kind of administrative difficulties which are associated with some of these problems.

There is an inevitable conflict between student needs and the administration of the institution in which a part of their training takes place. There is also a limit to the extent to which such needs can be reconciled. This study will be valuable if it has shown some of the very simple needs of students in their placements and the possible changes required. If the ultimate answer to the problem is an improvement in the staffing situation in the institutions, it is as well to remember that this can only come about through the successful training of
students. Experiences during training will act in a powerful way to form general attitudes to forthcoming careers. Only if these experiences are satisfactory, therefore, can we hope in the future for a growing nucleus of trained workers in this field. It is refreshing to note that a Working Party has recently been set up by the Central Training Council in Child Care to investigate possible changes in residential training programmes.

REFERENCES

CHANGE OF ADDRESS
Please note that the address of the International Review of Community Development has changed from Piazza Cavalieri di Malta, 2—Roma C.C, Postale 1/20100 to: La Guilde Librairie, S.A.R.L., 1 Quai de Montebello, Paris—5e.

The Social Needs of the Over-80’s
FRASER BROCKINGTON, M.D., M.R.C.P., M.Sc. & S. M. LEMPRT, M.B., Ch.B.

Owing to the advances in preventive medicine, the numbers in the over-80 age group have increased greatly, but the disabilities of advanced age have not yet been overcome. However, a full understanding of their socio-medical background is essential if the best ways of treating the old are to be discovered. Based on a survey carried out over a period of four years, this book delineates precisely the social background of the over-80 group as a whole. The findings, many of which are new and of much interest, should be of value to all who are concerned with old people.

Demy 8vo 35s. net
MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF SOCIAL WORKERS AND ADMINISTRATORS
Lighthouse Settlement, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
September, 1967, to September, 1968

Applications are invited from young British social workers and students with experience of work in settlements, youth clubs and other organisations for two vacancies at the Lighthouse Settlement, Philadelphia, for one year from September, 1967.

Successful candidates will spend one year working at the Lighthouse from mid-September, 1967. They will receive free board and lodging at the house of the Settlement Warden and $70 per month for pocket money. In addition the Settlement will pay their fees for special part-time courses at one of the local colleges and the fares to attend these classes.

Travel Arrangements
Successful candidates will be recommended for Fulbright travel grants for their return fare to U.S.A. The number of these awards is limited and recommendation by the Committee does not automatically mean that an award will be made. Those who do not get awards will be asked to pay their own fares and make their own travel arrangements.

The Fulbright Commission will make the travel arrangements for those who succeed in getting grants.

Information and application forms from:
Miss N. RICE-JONES,
British Committee for the International Exchange of Social Workers and Administrators,
26 Bedford Square,
London, W.C.1
before March 1st, 1967.
The formation of a national association is only one indication that a helping profession has achieved a considerable rise in status in recent years.

The formation of the British Association of Social Workers in April 1970 marked a milestone in the history of the social work profession in Britain. The path that has been followed has been long and difficult. Within the social work profession there has been continuous struggle to create some form of unity out of the diverse occupational groups that are involved and controversy over the form that professionalism should take. The failure of an earlier attempt at unity by the British Federation of Social Workers, founded in 1936, was not a good omen for the future. Outside the social work profession there has been much skepticism about the claims of social workers to any form of exclusive competence and doubts about the basis of the knowledge that the profession employs.

Nevertheless, social work in Britain may be said to have "come of age" in 1970. This development can be attributed to several factors, including the work of a dedicated band of leaders and changes in British society. Social work, as well as the other "counselling professions" as Paul Halmos calls them,¹ has been projected into a position of far greater importance than previously seemed possible in the eyes of even its most enthusiastic supporters. The creation of a new national association, comparable in importance to the founding of the National Association of Social Workers in the United States in 1955, will mean a changed professional environment for social workers in Britain. A number of separate professional associations—many with long histories and distinctive entities of their own—representing such specialties as psychiatric or medical social work will have been merged into a new national body that will represent the profession nationally and internationally. The major exception is the probation service, an influential group within the profession, which has decided to remain outside the new association. A number of social work journals—some of which will be familiar to American readers—have been merged into the new Social Work Today, which has been followed by a new venture, The British Journal of Social Work.

In this article, which discusses the nature of the professionalization process in social work, perspectives from the sociology of occupations and professions will be utilized. The process by which social work in Britain has become professionalized has yet to be fully chronicled, and there has been little research in this field. One requirement for research—the construction of a framework within which further inquiries can take place—might also have relevance for the under-

standing of the professionalization process in other occupations.

**Professionalization**

Sociologists have given considerable attention to the description and analysis of the professions and have suggested a number of models of the process of professionalization. William J. Goode suggests that professionalization is a transactional process involving the members of a particular occupation, other related occupations or professions, and the wider society. These transactions take place within the markets of prestige, income, and power. A professionalizing occupation has to offer reasons for its being granted more prestige than in the past or more prestige than competing occupations; if transactions in this area are successful, increased income and power may accrue. Competition among occupations and the evaluation of claims to professional status by other occupations provide a means by which such claims can be judged by the wider society.

The process by which a profession establishes itself, the natural history of professionalization, includes such steps as the establishment of university training, a national professional association, and a code of ethics. Goode, however, distinguishes between "the core, or generating, traits" or characteristics of a profession and those that are derived from such traits and "are a predictable outcome" of them. The "two central generating qualities" are held to be "(1) a basic body of abstract knowledge and (2) the ideal of service." Both contain a number of subdimensions, and each can be seen as a continuum. Occupations may distribute themselves anywhere between the professional and nonprofessional ends of the continuum. It is unnecessary to elucidate the dimensions of those generating traits except to mention some points for the purposes of this article. Characteristics that are important in the acceptance of an occupation as a profession include the organization of abstract knowledge "into a codified body of principles... The knowledge should be applicable to the concrete problems of living," and it should be believed that "the knowledge can actually solve these problems." The profession should also be exclusively concerned with solving such problems through knowledge not possessed by others and "should help to create, organize, and transmit the knowledge."

According to Goode, the service ideal implies that professional acts should be based on clients' needs rather than on the interest or needs of the professional or of the wider society. Relevant subdimensions include the requirement that it is the practitioner rather than the client who decides the nature of the client's needs and the means for the solution of the client's problem. The professional, therefore, is not dominated by the judgment of the client. The profession may demand real sacrifices from the practitioner, including both a lengthy period of professional education and socialization—during which the privileges of adult life may be deferred—and a threat of opposition from laymen to the ideals and values of the profession.

These core traits generate other traits of a recognized profession by raising the prestige, income, and power of a particular occupation above those of others. The derived traits include greater autonomy than is granted to other occupations and a common identity among members.

**The rise of social work**

Without considering the four great "person" professions that have been recognized for many years—that is, medicine, law, the church, and university teaching—Goode suggests that, in relation to his professionalizing traits, occupations be divided into three groups: (1) those that have become profes-

---

British social work: a profession in process

sions in the last generation, (2) those that will become professions in the next generation, and (3) those that will not achieve professionalism. The first category includes dentistry and clinical psychology; the second includes social work; and the third includes librarianship and school teaching. Goode justifies his prediction of the rise of social work as follows:

For the past generation, social work has moved steadily toward acceptance as a profession. It has done so primarily because training standards have risen substantially, and its knowledge base has widened and deepened. Not only have social work schools utilized the newest scientific knowledge from sociology, psychology, and psychiatry, but they have also been carrying out research programs of their own. Goode suggests that social workers have been accorded more prestige than in the past and have been evaluated more highly by other occupations. They have been favored because there is no strongly entrenched opposition. Those professionals who are most likely to be in competition with social workers—the psychiatrists—do not, according to Goode, take exception to the claims of social workers that they carry out psychotherapy and do not compete with them for clients. Social work is thus accepted by this important reference group, and its claims are validated by the views of the wider society. By comparison, librarianship will fail in its claims to full professional status because, among other factors, the university teachers, its most important reference group, are unlikely to accept that its knowledge base meets the specified requirements.

There is little reason to doubt that social work, both in the United States and elsewhere, has achieved a considerable rise in status in the recent past. In Britain, the formation of the national association is only one indication of this changed situation. Possibly of greater importance is the Seebohm Report, the work of a government-sponsored commit-


---

2Ibid., pp. 280-81.

3Ibid., p. 290.
as few as 16 percent of all American social workers had a minimum of two years' training in a graduate social work school, and there seems to be little reason to think that this proportion has increased very much. As one reviewer states, "It is hard to ascertain the nature of the social work that Goode sees as moving toward full professional stature." In Britain, where the formation of a unified professional association and far-reaching changes in the administrative and organizational basis of social work practice will undoubtedly enhance professional claims, there is reasonable doubt that such changes necessarily relate to the generating characteristics of professionalism that Goode and most other students of the professions have suggested.

Education and training

Of the eleven thousand social workers included in the Seebohm Report, only about 38 percent were professionally qualified; the figures range from 70 percent for probation workers to 12 percent for welfare workers. Although strenuous attempts are being made to train more workers, demand is also increasing. If professional claims are based on knowledge and if knowledge is to be transmitted mainly through a formal training process, then claims for professionalization have a long way to go in Britain. New appointments in school teaching, however, will shortly be restricted to the professionally qualified.

Apart from the number of social workers exposed to professional knowledge there is the question of the actual knowledge that is being transmitted. For example, a distinction can be made between knowledge that is "conceptually" helpful (for example, much of psychoanalytical theory) and legal and administrative knowledge of a more "factual" kind. Knowledge of any kind, however, has ideological or value components, generally not articulated, that determine how it will be used.

Another problem is the distinction between scientific knowledge as the basis for practice and of experience gained from practice. Although one of the main bases for professional claims is science-based knowledge, social work relies considerably on knowledge gained from experience—on drawing from a wide range of specific instances rather than on generalizing from theories. Thus, Goode's assertion that "social work schools [utilize] the newest scientific knowledge from sociology, psychology, and psychiatry . . . [and] have also been carrying out research programs of their own" appears, in the British context, vastly optimistic. Sociology, for example, appears to be utilized in some social work courses as a framework in which the more important questions of individual behavior are considered; thus, sociology courses are often entitled "Social or Cultural Influences on Behavior" and are rarely developed in a way that gives a satisfactory account of the contribution of sociology. This practice is linked to the persistence of social casework, based on a kind of eclectic Freudianism, as the central teaching concern of many courses.

One recent inquiry into the extent to which practitioners actually drew upon sociology and psychology after completing courses (based on a survey of reading habits) suggests that these areas were placed at the lower end of a scale of "usefulness" by comparison with other features of the training process. This situation is paralleled by an

14Goode, Theoretical Limits of Professionalization, p. 250.
apparent lack of interest on the part of social scientists in social work; an analysis of the research interests of the members of the British Sociological Association revealed so little interest in social work that it did not merit a separate category in the study. The situation may improve when the committee on sociology and social work set up by the Council for Training in Social Work makes its report. The extent of research by schools and departments of social work also appears limited and confined to the leading institutions. In part, this lack of research efforts reflects the small size of many courses and the need for specialists who are both social workers and skilled researchers. Research methods courses rarely make up a regular part of the typical social work course.

By comparison with the United States, there are few fully established schools of social work in Britain. Many departments are small, and courses sometimes are incorporated within a sociology or social studies department. It has, therefore, been difficult to develop a range of options within each course similar to those available in American schools; for example, group work, community work, and research methods apart from the basic course in casework. Moreover, although the principle that students, irrespective of their specialty in social work, should be trained together is widely accepted, training has been fragmented into numerous small courses that cater to different occupational groups and that reflect what has traditionally been a fragmentation of social work practice. With the coming of the new social service departments, it is clear that courses will have to be combined. There will also be a new national training council to replace three existing specialist councils. Although these steps will all help to improve and widen the basis of training, the ethos of the old system may remain for some time. Describing professions that are going through similar transitional periods, Everett Hughes states:

"... early teachers are enthusiastic leaders of a movement, or protagonists of some new technique (such as casework) who have little conventional academic training... they or some leader among them institute a curriculum which is likely to persist for some time and to be thought so sacred that to propose to alter it drastically is considered heretical."

Other problems arise from the diverse institutions in which social work training goes on. In the last ten years major provision for training has been made outside the universities in technical colleges for students who do not have a basic university education. These students have a total length of education and training of only two years; the university-trained worker normally has either four or five years of education and training. Nevertheless, as indicated in a small pilot study by Milton Wittman, there is little difference in the standards or practices of the two groups. Workers with two years of training, however, usually have had no formal education beyond secondary school. What general education they do have must be combined with social work training. This training system is subject to criticism because it is often difficult to combine professional training, in which the objective is the development of professional identity and an acceptance of professional norms, with the general educational development of the individual. Without the critical perspective that a basic university education can provide over a longer period of time, individuals may be inclined to accept professional norms, values, and ideology and to develop professionally in an uncritical way, thus hindering the development of constructive self-criticism within the profession. In social work, as in other profes-

---


tions, there is always the possibility that administrative needs for more trained workers will take precedence over the educational needs of students. There is also danger in erecting barriers among groups and creating an elite of the university-trained worker within the wider elite of those who have trained at all. In order to clarify these issues, a program of research into the differing cultures of social work courses and the socialization of students needs to be instituted.

The service ideal

The considerable controversy surrounding the question of the service ideal in social work, the second of Goode's generating traits of professionalism, has been given impetus in Britain by the Seebohm Report and subsequent developments. The kind and adequacy of the services rendered, the role of the social worker in the welfare state, and the general significance of the counseling professions in an industrial society have all been areas of controversy. On the one hand the unification of the personal services and the social work profession itself may lead to improvement in service to the client; for example, the specter of multiple visiting may be banished. On the other hand there is the danger, as Adrian Sinfield suggests, of "rigor professionis"; unification may lead to further bureaucratization and a withdrawal of the profession into a concern for the refinement and development of skills, rather than an active concern for the changing needs and expectations of clients and the community. It is significant that no research was carried out by the Seebohm Committee on the latter issue, although the need for such research was recognized.

It is possible that the needs of the profession and even of society—or of its dominant classes—may come before those of clients and that a true service ideal may fail to develop in social work. For example, social work in Britain increasingly is having to face the charge that it manifests a social control rather than a welfare function in relation to clients.20 The social control function is especially apparent in relation to such problems as poverty and deviance. The "problem" that the client has is in many cases one of poverty; the social worker can do little about it because material aid, in the form of money and housing, is either not available or is insufficient to make much difference.

An industrial society based on the values of striving and achievement needs a group at the lower end of the scale to remind those above of the virtues of hard work. Britain, however, is also a welfare state with a commitment to a minimum level of subsistence and broadly humanistic values. It is therefore necessary for the poor to be "treated" in some way without actually changing the structure of society; by concentrating mainly on individual clients rather than on the structure that contains them, social workers can perform this task. This approach becomes "functional" for society and is one way of accounting for the rise of the modern counselors. A number of social workers are aware of this conflict. John Rea Price suggests in relation to deviance:

The caseworker's approach is one which consoles, which detects the problem in the individual and not in his society. The community can retreat from the complexity of it all, delegate its responsibility to its professionals . . . and forget.21

Some of the most recent evidence for the existence of the gulf between social worker and client comes from a study by John E. Mayer and Noel Timms of clients and workers in the London Family Welfare Association.22 The authors distinguish between a social worker and a client system of problem

---


solving, the former involved with the exploration of the causes of individual problems and the latter concerned with settling the issues and curing the symptoms. Both orientations are supported by the social systems in which the worker and client find themselves and may be reconciled by a greater understanding on both sides of the difference. It must also be added, however, that the social worker has the power, regardless of his understanding of the client’s orientation, to define the situation in his own way; he has command over resources, however slender, that the client may desperately need. Thus, the power element in the relationship between the two sides needs to be central to an analysis of the situation; moreover, it is less likely that working-class clients of social workers will organize countervailing pressure groups than will other middle-class client groups.

This interpretation suggests that British social work may have become a neutral conductor of the demands of an industrial society. With its traditional concern for the individual, something of a blind eye has been turned both to the situation in which the individual finds himself and to the forces that determine this situation. In measuring social work in Britain against some of the subdimensions of the service ideal, these arguments appear persuasive. Social work is not alone among the professions in experiencing such problems, but perhaps it is in a weaker position at the moment than other professions to evolve a distinctive conception of client needs in the face of pressure from other quarters. The employment of the unqualified and the heavily bureaucratized positions of so many social workers, which imply a lack of autonomy, inevitably lead to this conclusion. Nevertheless, there is a struggle taking place for the “soul” of social work; the “identity” of the profession is being fought over.

Professional identity

Conflict over identity, inherent in the situation of the professions today, is one aspect of the crisis in which the professions find them-
emergence of the social work profession, it is
doubtful that psychiatrists in Britain would
accept the statement that social workers have
a major role in the practice of psychotherapy
or that they would be prepared to recommend
this idea to the wider society. Nevertheless,
the Seebohm reorganization will result in the
loss by the medical profession of a number
of senior administrative positions. Another
important area in which social workers have
been given new tasks is in the field of juvenile
crime. New legislation has largely removed
proceedings against children from the court
setting; there is now an informal process of
cooperation among social workers, police, and
others, thus reducing the involvement of the
legal profession in the process. It is scarcely
surprising that some members of both the
medical and the legal professions have been
less than enthusiastic about the increased im­
portance of social work and its capacity to
fulfill new tasks. One medical officer described
the Seebohm Report as “a national disaster.”

Social workers can respond to these reac­
tions either by seeking a reinterpretation of
their role or falling back on what are con­
sidered basic professional values. The former
position may involve a revision of the idea
that the profession’s expertise excludes politi­
cal activities and skills and involvement in
policy making. Increased interest in commu­
nity work gives some indication that this area
should be included, but there is obvious
doubt about the extent to which this aspect of
the social worker’s role can be utilized in pub­
lic agencies. The alternative is for social
workers to claim autonomy on a more tra­
ditional and more narrow basis, by giving
up any attempt to control or to influence
policy and by assuming that the profession’s
traditional values amount to a concern for
the underprivileged rather than with the
processes that have generated poverty.

An alternative approach to the professions
An alternative approach to the professions is
the “process approach.” In the broadly func­tionalist theory outlined previously, a profes­
sion is regarded as a homogeneous group
whose members share a common identity and
have similar values and definitions of rules
and interests. Socialization of new members
involves exposure to a common professional
culture and a movement toward such culture.
This approach, however, neglects certain as­
pects of professional life, in particular the
conflicts that may arise over clashes of inter­
est in the profession. The idea of homogeneity
within the profession is an obstacle to the
analysis of conflict and change. An alternative
is to distinguish among a series of coalitions
or groupings that can be termed segments.
A profession may be viewed as a loose amalgamation of segments pursuing different ob­jectives in different manners and held together
under a common name at a particular period in
time. Segments in a profession may involve
different career patterns and conflict over the
socialization and recruitment of new mem­
bers, the kind of public image to be projected,
and relations with other professions.

Thus, an alternative way of exploring de­
velopments in British social work is to view
the drive for professionalism by means of the
process approach. It is appropriate, therefore,
that the merging of a number of separate
associations into a new national association
has been accompanied by the birth of a new
association in the last year, the Association
of Community Workers. The national asso­
ciation has no specialist section that is appro­
priate for community workers.

The most typical distinction made in social
work, which is in part suggested by the two
associations, is between the segments repre­
senting social reform and therapy. As Meyer
points out:

In its history, social work has long had a double
focus: on social reform on the one hand and on
facilitating adjustment of individuals to exist­
ing situations on the other. These two themes

27Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, Professions in

Social Casework: June 1971
British social work: a profession in process

reappear in various forms: as environmental manipulation or promoting psychological functioning, as concern with people through mass programs or casework with persons one by one. Social workers have been conscious of these two approaches . . . and have often sought to reconcile them . . . But these two viewpoints are still not integrated, and both are represented by acknowledged spokesmen for the profession.39

The new community work association also represents a move toward "deprofessionalization" rather than toward a development of features characterizing a typical professional association. Full membership may be obtained not merely by having the appropriate qualifications but on the basis of appropriate skills and experience. By comparison, full membership in the national association requires formal professional qualifications. The community work association is attempting to forge primary links with workers in other fields, such as education, rather than striving for a distinctive social work entity. Avoiding certain negative aspects of professionalization, its members are demonstrating how present-day rethinking is creating additional alternatives in social work.

Finally, there are other groups found in social work today representing the movement toward the political left that has recently attained greater significance in British society.81 These groups reject equally both "therapeutic" and "reformist" notions of social work. The emphasis is on the exposure of the kinds of functions that social workers are asked to perform in what is viewed as a capitalistic industrial structure in order to expose this structure more clearly. This movement, which may grow in importance in the future, has particular appeal for those social workers who find the bureaucratic and official settings in which they work a particular contrast to the idealism with which they may have entered the profession.


Conclusion

Social work in Britain is beginning to develop a knowledge base that includes some widely recognized dimensions and is involved in a widening debate about the nature of the service ideal. The present developments can only be welcome and are sure indications of professional growth. It is important to clarify, as this article has attempted to do, the limitations involved in the present situation as well as those more fundamental to the development of professionalism in social work. In regard to professionalism, it might be important to compare Goode's confident predictions about the kind of professionalism to be expected in social work with the more sober reflections of a British social scientist. David Donnison argues that social work, unlike professions of a more technical nature, cannot be defined in terms of skills alone; what is important are the ethical and moral contents of the problems to which skills are applied. "There is no generally accepted state of 'social health' which everyone strives to achieve." 82

This argument has implications for professionalization in social work; social work appears so much a response to changing needs and problems that it is not only difficult to define the skills required but also to accept that these skills are the only basis for practice. The social work profession, therefore, offers a degree of insecurity and a status that is inevitably less distinctive than in other professions. The greatest contribution that social work can make, however, is to seek "to live with the insecurity of a profession devoted chiefly to recognizing and meeting human needs rather than to seek the more distinctive status and more vigorous esprit de corps of a profession defined by the skills employed in direct service to clients." 83 In the present atmosphere of British social work these sentiments appear well worth repeating.

83Ibid., p. 67.
"TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN PROFESSIONAL
SOCIAL WORK TRAINING COURSES."

by

B.J. HERAUD
Lecturer in Sociology, North Western Polytechnic.

(Paper given to Sociology Teachers Section of
the British Sociology Association at
Conference on Teaching of Sociology in
professional training).

JANUARY 1967
It is perhaps appropriate that this Conference begins with the discussion of sociology and social work, because the relationship between sociology and social work appears, when comparing it to that between sociology and the other professions, the closest of all. Sociology and Social science in general seem to me to make up the knowledge base of social work in a quite fundamental way — a way which is quite special to social work which is not quite so fundamental for the other professions. Thus sociology and social science in general is to social work what the biological sciences are to medicine. For Doctors, Managers and Teachers sociology is important, but it does not make up the knowledge base of their profession in quite such a fundamental way as in social work. The relationship between sociology and social work thus raises some special problems and I hope to outline some of them this morning.

The relationship is of considerable antiquity. Sociology has been taught to social workers since the very early days of social work training, some of the first students of social work at the London School of Sociology, in the early part of this century, were taught the principles of sociology based on the work of Hobhouse.

What I want to say first is why in fact social workers rather more than anyone else need sociology, and in so doing sketch out what seems to me one line of approach in teaching; secondly to look briefly at what evidence there is about sociology actually taught to social workers; thirdly, to say something about the main problems involved in this relationship; and fourthly to suggest how they might be tackled, and what further questions arise. I stressed in my title "The Teaching of Sociology in Professional Social Work Courses" so I don't want to discuss the so-called pre-professional 2-year Social Science Courses which some
students still take as a preparation for social work because these courses can lead to other work besides social work and are gradually giving way to full professional training for specific branches of social work. My remarks therefore relate to both University and non-university professional courses of training, including the one year generic and 17-month courses at the universities and the Young Husband and Child Care courses outside the universities. One complication here is that some entrants to the university courses are already social science graduates and go on to take professional courses which contain little further social science. My remarks will be further limited therefore to students who come forward for professional training with little or no social science teaching, and this will especially apply to the non-university courses on which I have some experience of teaching sociology. I have also tried to gather information about sociology in university training courses and hope my remarks will apply here as well.
THE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

Now to answer the question why social workers need sociology depends on the answer to another question: what is it that social workers actually do? Most of us know what teachers and doctors do because we have all been through school, we have been sick at times, but few of us have ever consulted a social worker. Before deciding how sociology can help, it is important to get clear what process we are helping in. This is difficult because there have been few analyses of the social work process. As a non-social worker this task fills me with trepidation as I am bound to get some of it wrong and offend somebody. However, it seems to me that the central concern of the social worker is with her individual client and the object of social work is to help the client to function in or adjust to the society in which he or she is living. This central concern with the individual or client or case exists in whatever connection the individual has sought help, although this is not to say that some social workers do not also work through groups and indeed through whole communities. In some cases the client will simply be made aware of the kind of services that are available to help him, and if necessary brought into contact with them. But it is an essential premise of social work practice that the mere existence of services and statutes will for some people be insufficient and that they will require help of a more personal nature. This help, which takes the form of casework, implies an enduring personal contact between worker and client and also the existence of what you might call a therapeutic relationship, and ideology, as against a reformist ideology, i.e. one that relies on statutes and changes in social structure to help each individual case. Now what I have described would not appear to have very much to do with sociology
Apart from the need to know about various social services, the focus is with the individual and this suggests a psychological or psychiatric model rather than a sociological one. In fact this psychiatric approach developed out of Freudian theory in the more recent history of social work and marks the turning away from the more sociological concern of the early social workers, of which the American Mary Richmond is an example. However, the pendulum is now beginning to swing back again towards sociology and a sociological perspective, and the attempt to make social work once again "social", is recognized by social workers as of vital importance in the training of students. If the key to social work practice is this question of the individual functioning in society or in a social setting, then quite clearly society and the social setting just as much as the individual should be the object of attention and study.

What should be the main kinds of focus for this study? One focus is that of "cultural variability". Thus for example the social work student from a middle class home counties background who finds herself working in a Northern mining village, say the one described by Norman Dennis and his colleagues in the study "Coal is our Life", will find herself in a foreign land. She might/well be in Tikopia. For example, the patterns of relationships she observes between husband and wife will be totally different from that which she is familiar with from knowledge of her own parents. The couple's social life is likely to be lived in separate 'compartments' and with the woman scarcely entering the man's circle of social activities which are focused around his work mates. There is little of the sharing of social activities and friends which characterise the Southern middle class. At the same time the relations between man and wife may appear cool, distant and even unloving; there will be little of the conjugality characteristic of middle class background.

Our non-sociological middle class social worker may perceive in this pattern a number of stresses and tensions which
to her may constitute a social problem, or pathology which require urgent remedial action of a casework nature. She may be unaware that what she is viewing is a normal state of affairs in this particular context. Knowledge of this kind, then, can prevent her from coming to wrong conclusions about a case and can help her towards a more realistic assessment of the needs of a situation. This kind of knowledge can, therefore, actually alter the way in which the social worker functions with her clients.

This is a terribly over-simplified picture and makes a point almost too obvious to state - that if the social worker is going to work with people against the background of their society or sub-culture, then she will need to be equipped with knowledge of the social situation. She cannot rely solely on casework i.e., the 'handling' of the relationship between herself and the client. Otherwise there will be considerable conflict between the expectations the social worker has of the client and the client's willingness or ability or need to fulfill such expectations.

Now it might be possible for the social worker to gain such knowledge through long association with a community, but it is unlikely that a full appreciation of cultural variability will come from everyday living without systematic study. Everybody has in their minds a model of how they think society functions gained from individual experiences, which are usually also mixed up with 'value judgements' about how people 'should' or 'ought' to live. This model will have to be un-learned if the student is to work with other people in a counselling relationship - this implies the radical challenging of the student's pre-conceptions and stereotypes about society and particularly about the values that underpin social interaction. One way of doing this is to show how a society or sub-culture can still 'function' with a different value system and a different system of social relationships.

This seems to me one of the clear functions of sociological teaching - the student can learn through the specialised discipline
of sociology something of the social situation of her clients rather in the same way as a doctor learns his way about the human body through physiology or anatomy in order to treat his patient.

Once this basis has been established, that sociology is actually relevant to decisions made by the social worker in the field and it is not just a kind of educational background to the social work course then - and only then - can one begin to explore the meaning of the sociological approach in more broad terms. For example, doubtless in his discussion of the coal mining community the teacher has used terms like "class", "status", "sub-culture", "socialization process". The student can be introduced to the fact that these are variables used by the sociologists in the study not only of small scale communities but of whole societies and social structures. Again perhaps the student will soon be asking questions as to why such diversities of class, family life and so on, exist. This will call for an answer in terms of a theory or an explanation, and can lead on to the point that sociology, like all social sciences, is not just concerned with a series of social facts but seeks above all the theoretical analysis of them and all that this implies.

Further questions can now be asked: have social workers always existed and if not, why not? How is it that men got along for thousands of years without social workers? What are the origins and nature of the social problems of which the clients of social workers are individual representatives?

The explanation of this can again be sought in sociological terms. Certain social problems, revealed in the personal difficulties of individuals, can be seen as emerging in response to situations over which the individual has little control, for example the process of social and industrial change. Here the individual sometimes finds himself in situations with which he is unfamiliar and to which he finds difficulty in adapting. An example of this might be the disruption of family relationships caused by industrial relocation - a well worn theme, but all too familiar to many social workers. A family who have for generations relied on extended kin and a close community for support find themselves because
The social worker has not yet entered the scene. She has only
been envisaging the potential scene realized by the close kin
community, of filling up a social vacuum. But the relationship between
social worker and client in different forms that between kin or friends
is if you like, an "involuntary relationship" about personal things
and thus liable to strain of its special sort. This generates the
few rules and regulations, or professional ethics, to govern this
situation in the same way as the professional ethical code.
Without them this close relationship may become impossible.
Thus social work can be seen as arising partly out of the needs of a changing society
and as developing professional attitudes characteristic of other
professions which have grown up in response to similar needs. Thus
a study of the social workers' code and of the social work profession
seems another important further focus for teaching.

Again the point might be made here that certain strains and
conflicts in society are perhaps inevitable and that the social worker
should not always be seeking to "adjust" the individual or to make him
"function" better. There is considerable danger in constantly under-
pinning the social workers belief in the need for personal adjustment.
She may begin to see clients as nuisances who need to be case-worked
back to some imagined state of normality. Deviant behaviour could
also be seen as the logical outcome of the individuals social situation
as for example the response to be expected in a situation where the
means to attain the cultural ends of a society are unevenly distributed,
that is in a society characterised by considerable social inequality.
Where this is the case the form of deviance, whether it
be crime, drug addiction or alcoholism is less important
than the social context in which it takes place. The
Implications of this might be that the social worker has to stand by as an onlooker and deliberately take no action, always seemingly a difficult thing to do, or if she does it should be of a political rather than a casework nature. This is one of the hardest things to put across to a group who seem particularly imbued with traditional and perhaps religious ethics and is where the logic of sociological enquiry begins to conflict more and more with what the social worker implicitly believes is right. This may be a conflict of values impossible to resolve, but is important because it provides a challenge to the therapy oriented professional ideology of the social worker without which the education of the student would be sadly lacking. Again this informed professional criticism may help the social work profession to develop and move ahead and an absence of informed criticism may prevent this.

Finally, now that the focus is on the social worker herself let this be deepened. It is not only the client who has a social context but also the social worker. In her work situation for example this is increasingly one of large scale organization and bureaucracy. The social worker, like many other professional or semi-professional employees, finds herself caught up in such organizational situations which often appear irrational and hamper her proper functioning. Committees meet infrequently and are peopled by those who do not understand social work, administrators are hard hearted and are unmoved by a special pleading for a particularly deserving case. There is the danger here that such things might be put down to problems of personal relationships, that he or she dislikes me or this or that administration has this or that kind of personality difficulty. Again what is the likely impact of a mainly female profession on the bureaucratic situation? Perhaps here the social worker is most unaware of the social and structural context in which such individual processes occur and sees the bureaucracy as hindering or obstructing the proper performance of duties rather than facilitating their performance. The remedy might be strict diet of Scott and Blau. These problems can only, in a sense, be illuminated by analysis of the structural rather than personal conflicts within bureaucracies.
particularly for example that between the administrator who owes allegiance mainly to the bureaucracy and the social worker, whose main loyalty is perhaps outside the organisation, to her profession or professional association, thus inevitably breeding conflict of various kinds which have little to do with 'personalities'.

It would, however, be quite wrong for the whole context of the sociological teaching to be an applied one, that is focussed wholly around the needs of the social worker in the field. The danger here is that the student will begin to feel that all sociology has to offer is a series of statements about a limited number of localised situations in which she may find herself, and this is particularly likely where the student is completely new to sociology. It is important, therefore, to give as a second major focus some idea of, for example, the origin and development of sociology and its relation with the other social sciences, particularly psychology; the point might be made that sociology, like social work, grew in part out of the problems of 19th century industrialisation. Something of the broad sweep of sociology, on the one hand; and on the other of the implication of this for the individual; might be conveyed by the famous dictum of Wright Mills that the essence of the sociological imagination is the ability to see "the personal problems of the milieu" in the "public issue of the social structure" and to be able to constantly shuttle between the two. This second focus is probably the most difficult to get over to students and is most distrusted by tutors - it is not necessary for the professional functioning of the social worker. Yet without it only a stunted view of the subject emerges which in fact may detract from the practical contribution that sociology can make.

One can now begon to see how the sociologist can help the social worker at a number of levels. Firstly, starting with the social worker and her client; the client must be seen against the appropriate social background, particularly that of his family, otherwise his problems will be totally misunderstood. Secondly, what kind or category of problem, if any, does the client pose to
why has society designated this situation a "problem" and what are possible explanations for the existence of this kind of problem in society? Thirdly, once problems have been identified, how are they dealt with in a modern society? and why have counsellors replaced traditional solutions - what are the implications of this? Fourthly, in what kind of organizational setting does the counsellor function and what are the merits and merits of this situation? Finally, in what kind of operational setting does the role function and what are the merits and merits of this situation?

What are some suggestions about the possible criteria which might govern the selection of sociological material in the teaching of social workers and these can certainly be modified in the light of special needs or particular circumstances. All courses which contain sociology should, however, begin by approaching the subject in a general way before specific implications to particular fields are made.

What I have said involves the rationalising of the experiences of the social worker in all the professional situations in which she finds herself - the ability to be able to define universal and ideal types in these social situations. This can lead directly to a better use of what remedial resources are available - it might for example reduce the time spent on social casework by getting to the crux of the individual problem more quickly. Casework being as one of the most financially expensive aspects of the welfare state, this could then result in a considerable and immediate saving of money which could then be used for other purposes. But this doesn't imply a "take-over bid" in the sense that sociology should replace other kinds of teaching, neither does it imply the replacement of the student's intuitive desire to "help" individual people - what it does offer is an alternative frame of reference to that offered by purely 'professional' social work teaching. Neither does it attempt to treat the student as an undergraduate of sociology - here one can distinguish between the "sociological intellectualisations"
expected of the undergraduate and the "sociological empathy" we should expect of the social work student - the "feel" for the situation described by T.H. Marshall as "sociological wisdom" and by C. Wright Mills as the "sociological imagination." The approach I have outlined is deliberately dissimilar to that of the traditional university sociology course, for example, in the Social Structure of Modern Britain, where you may get a run through of the main elements of social structure, perhaps starting with population structure and proceeding via social class and urbanisation to the mass media. This approach would I think be inappropriate for the social worker, who will soon be asking herself the question "what has all this got to do with me?" The approach I have outlined starts where the student is, that is in social work and in the community. I have implied the use of community studies as an initial focus for sociological teaching and I certainly believe this is one way to start. This is a point that Margaret Stacey is always making and I have come to agree with her from my experience of teaching social workers. Not only her own book "Tradition and Change," but Ronald Frankenburg's "Communities in Britain" provides an excellent teaching text. This latter study of Frankenburg's analyses communities at different stages of development and shows how social relationships undergo structural change as one moves from simple to more complex societies, and the kind of problems thrown up by each type of social situation. Again theoretical points are introduced in this context of community studies. This is, to me, for the student completely new to sociology, one of the most useful approaches I know.

Finally, a point that has to be got clear at some stage is the precise relationship the sociological teaching is to have to the ends or values of social work practice. What is the function of the sociologist in this and other applied fields?

Here the aims or values of the social worker must be made quite distinct from the aims or values of the sociologist. The aims or values of the sociologist are not necessarily therapeutic or reformist, not necessarily designed to improve the individual's functioning.
is the business of the social worker. What the sociologist can do is to provide knowledge which may assist in this process in the same way as he would in education or medicine. This does not imply that he is identified with the aims of social workers, teachers, doctors or managers. He could also for example give advice to the client of the social worker on how to get what he wants out of the social worker or to understand the social worker in her social setting. Just as he could give advice to the patient or the industrial worker on how best to deal with or to get what they want out of the social situation in which they find themselves.

Sociology could in this sense be said to be value free and this, I feel, must be clearly stated to all practitioners who seek to use it.

Against this, it could be argued that social scientists who work in applied fields are inevitably, willy nilly involved in the ends of the practitioners, whether they like it or not. However, Robert Molver, writing some 30 years ago in one of the only books by a sociologist which seeks to work out this relationship with social work, certainly felt that it was possible for the sociologist to remain on the sidelines in this sense. Making the distinction between sociology as a "science" concerned with social relationships and social work as an "art" whose object is to relieve or remove particular maladjustments from which individuals suffer, he made the point that "science is not a ready reckoner ...... it never offers immediate solutions to problems of living". What sociology can do is to suggest how social problems arise and how, if change is desired, this might best be achieved.
SOCIOPOLITICAL TEACHING RECEIVED BY SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS

Secondly, apart from what seems logically the kind of sociology most suited to social workers, what kind of sociological teaching have social workers actually been receiving? This is a difficult thing to find out because of the number and diversity of social work courses up and down the country. Again, one can look at syllabuses, but these may provide little indication of what is being taught, in actual practice. What I have done is to analyse questions of a sociological nature which appeared in the final examinations for the Certificate in Social Work at eleven polytechnic and technical colleges in 1964-65. These are in no sense representative of sociological teaching in social work courses in the country as a whole but give some indication of what is going on in the non-university institutions.

Looking at the papers it is seen that sociology questions normally appear in a paper labelled "social and cultural influences on behaviour". And occasionally become mixed up on the same paper with social policy and administration questions and questions in the field of human growth and development. Only rarely does sociology as such merit a section of the paper to itself. In this process sociology seems to have become reduced to something generally "social"; thus social aspects of or "social influences" on certain things predominate and little attempt is made to delineate the subject as a field of enquiry in its own right. Questions of an anthropological or psychological nature also appear alongside sociological questions.

The approach then seems here of a multi-disciplinary nature in which existing subjects have become fused into a new synthesis. It is interesting to note that psychology has gone through a rather similar process and become reduced in most cases to the subject called "human growth and development".
Analysis of the questions reveals certain inevitable biases. The largest group of questions relates to marriage and babies and some familiar topics. (1) The relationship between the family and society; (2) the changing relations between the nuclear and the extended family; (3) the effects of social change on the family, child rearing and socialization, the position of women and of the aged in the modern family. The second largest group of questions concerns general theoretical topics, including the relationships of the social sciences to social work and the use of concepts like role, network, culture, culture patterns, sub-culture. In some cases such questions were ingeniously phrased to tie in with social work theory. For example one question read sociologists talk about function; social workers are interested in adjustment. What connection do you see between these two concepts? Apart from these two major groupings, few other areas stood out for special treatment. In terms of the number of questions asked the following remaining topics appeared in descending order of importance: Social class and social mobility, social aspects of health and welfare, crime, including juvenile delinquency, education, social aspects of industry and work, immigration and problems of immigrant settlement, community and neighborhood studies, population growth and distribution, social isolation, social change, religion, mass media, small group studies, government and politics, and finally the study of total institutions.

Compared with what appear to be the main sociological needs of social workers, some requirements are obviously relatively well met by these questions. Most courses clearly contain discussions of the family in modern society, though in some cases questions are phrased conventionally and don't do full justice to the more recent work done in this field. A specially heartening aspect is the use of theory in the sociological questions. However, it appears that sociology, to those who set the papers, is mainly concerned with questions about the family and that this is the main reason for having sociology in the course.
A lack of consensus with the social world of social a trend in opposition is another indication that the social work, the increasingly....

First, there is the recognition of the whole remains of sexual abnormal in society, and that this would be illustrated by sociological analysis. A sociological study of phenomena parallel for an approach to the social structure. At this point, one cannot help in this way. Then one can see these people in the apparent inclusion of a sociological content to a generally social abnormality. In general, this has the advantage of breaking down existing subject barriers, but if not done well has the disadvantages of confusing these different frames of reference in the student's mind; and secondly there appears to be an extremely unclear concept of work in the relevant sociological content.

And development, social policy and administration, the principles and practice of social work, the various settings courses for specialized areas of social work have to be fitted in. The task of doing this without doing an injustice to one subject is extremely difficult.
PROBLEMS WHICH ARISE FROM SOCIOLOGY TEACHING

One can now begin to have some kind of conception of the kinds of problems which arise in the application of sociology to the professional field of social work and presumably similar kinds of problems arise in the application of sociology in other professional fields or for example in application of the natural or physical sciences to, say, medical practice.

The problem of 'Selection'

Here, in a course limited in time and also by what may be the intellectual limitations of students, to choose from the mass of sociological material available. Obviously unless judicious selection of material is made disaster is certain, but what criteria should govern the selection? And has this ever been worked out? Certain kinds of selection, for example, may give a most misleading impression of sociology. This can happen for example in the field of theory.

As Peter Leonard has pointed out, with limited time it is difficult to fully outline the range of theoretical systems which exist in sociology. Often, as he says, functionalist theory is stressed at the expense of anything else. This is because the functionalist theory which stresses the subjective, non-structural approach to society appears to fit in better with the individualistic view of the social worker. The one major British sociological text which is addressed particularly to social workers and administrators, that of Duncan Mitchell, bears a strongly functionalist stamp. But to ignore, for example, conflict theory, which stresses the objective facts of the system of social class, of social control, is to ignore a large and important area of sociological thought. It is interesting to reflect that Marxist sociologists view the social services and social workers not as serving the needs of society, but as a means whereby social inequalities are perpetuated, see social workers as the unwitting tools of this capitalist society.

The problem of 'Application'

Another kind of problem is posed by the requirement that students should immediately apply their knowledge and that this should be integrated with social work practice as a whole. In fact the key
In Social Work Training, the general principle that "knowledge is quickly applied becomes more deeply ingrained," although no evidence is given of how this principle was arrived at. In practice this means that students should attend college and do practical social work during the same week, although not, fortunately, on the same day. The implication of this for sociology teaching is that everything put over is likely going in the test of "whether or not is useful in dealing with people" or "whether it fits in with what happens in the real world." After a lecture on immigrant settlement I can remember a woman saying the lecturer had provided her with a means of calming down her nervous clients with the news that there were less than one million foreign immigrants in the country. But the incoherence of the sociological approach in sometimes highly and emotionally abstract, for example models of society often used bear little resemblance to society, as such, e.g., such as the Marxist theory of social class, there is a danger here that students, believing they have to validate everything taught by practical application, will reject a subject which does not appear more, unlike to this approach. One problem here is that practical work is almost exclusively social work, and in many cases case work, thus giving no real chance for the students to understand and learn sociology through practical work.

Again, those responsible for practical work supervision are practising social workers who may, from lack of sociological training, be unable to exploit the aspects of social work in case work which could be used to deepen sociological understanding, in any case a very difficult thing to do. Thus one side of the course becomes consolidated by field work training and social work, whilst the other side becomes merely a classroom subject divorced from reality.

This is a serious defect when a student is taught to learn through practical experience and results in a serious weakening of the
sociological teaching. The result of this may be that the social worker, when eventually coming face to face with/client in a casework situation will just forget the sociological aspects of her training and simply revert to an individual or psychological frame of reference.
Finaly, I want to say something about possible solutions to some of these problems and to pose some further questions for discussion. Clearly, social work education as at present constituted requires a special approach from the sociologist implying the focusing of teaching in certain areas and the willingness to participate in what must to some extent be a multi-disciplinary enterprise. The social worker, like the doctor, manager or teacher is faced with a number of practical situations and seeks to understand and take action about them through social scientific knowledge wherever it may come from. Nor need this multi-disciplinary approach be so difficult to achieve in teaching; after all in research, in the field, people don't squabble about disciplines and their boundaries but about the problem to be tackled and the best way of doing it. However, there are problems and dangers involved. For example one way in which this multi-disciplinary idea has been expressed is that a new kind of social science, that of social administration, which embraces economics and statistics as well as sociology, is the ideal medium for the teaching of social workers. Its subject matter is the detailed analysis of the social services and of the problems which they are designed to solve. This raises several problems. Reasons why individuals are involved with social workers may have little to do with the social service but may relate entirely to questions of social relationships, a sociological concern. It is true that when the casework process is under way then questions of the use and administration of the social services, their adequacy and so on, become important. But this is only part of the story. An individual will view the social services through the context of, for example, the values of his sub culture or class and this fact has little to do with how the services are organised or administered.
Only too often, in this approach, the sociological component is left out of account in one way or another and a purely administrative or statistical or "social accounting" approach is taken. We are constantly told that X or Y% of the population is above or below some arbitrarily drawn poverty line or that this or that service is inadequate to meet some abstract level of need. This is really nothing to do with sociology, does not enable us to answer any questions whatsoever about social interaction unless built into some kind of more general theory.

There is the well known danger here of abstract empiricism — "facts for their own sake". Again, generations of social work students must have gained only this 'social accounting' impression of this area of the social sciences. Thus social administration cannot replace sociology — the two must exist side by side. It is interesting to reflect that 'social administration' as a subject doesn't exist in America, the whole thing being subsumed under a sociological heading.

However, there are further dangers to be guarded against. Often, the application of the social sciences to fields like social work are seen as opportunities of breaking existing subject barriers and of developing new theories — for example, the development of so-called 'psycho-social' theories of behaviour is a favourite in social work. The danger here is that we shall begin to run before we can walk. I am not sure that we have really, as yet, begun to satisfactorily apply the existing social sciences successfully in professional fields let alone being in a position to develop new theories about their interaction. Both sides are to blame for this lack of attention to the business of applying sociology to social work.

On the sociologists' side, few have given much consideration to what is required by students in this field, and this makes a lamentable comparison to what has been achieved elsewhere in the applied field.
One could count the number of British sociologists in any way interested in social work on the fingers of one hand and have a couple of fingers to spare. The lack of adequate sociological texts specially designed or adapted for social work is an illustration of this lack of concern and greatly hampers the teacher. There is nothing like Musgrave's "Sociology of Education" or Susser and Watson's "Sociology and Medicine". By contrast in America a number of such texts exist, for example Stein and Cloward's "Social Perspectives on Behaviour". In the last few months two small British texts have been published by P. Leonard and E.T. Ashton (15) which are immediately useful to teachers — although for students new to sociology they may be tough going because of their highly compressed nature. What is still required is an extensive teaching text along the lines of Stein and Cloward; this is perhaps one of the most urgent needs.

Again, sociologists often have little knowledge of or interest in the everyday practice of social work, something which clearly stands between them and the students and social work tutors. Often this is because lecturers in sociology are not full time members of social work departments. This means that there is often little interchange between sociologists and social work tutors and the function of sociologising over individual cases is left entirely to the social work tutor. Often the tutor sees herself as "interpreting" the sociological teaching in a professional way and again there is danger in this where the tutor herself has had little sociological training, and where ideological components of professional social work may become inextricably mixed with sociological contributions in a way that a sociologist would not want. In many ways it would therefore be better if sociologists were full time staff members of social work departments. This would mean a growing familiarity with the needs of social work practice and would not leave the incorporation of the subject entirely to non sociologists.

However, the danger would then be that the interests of the sociologist would be submerged in
professional ends, and that they would be unable to develop their interests in their own discipline. And this must be safeguarded against. The sociologist should not be asked to respond automatically to the professional needs of the social work course as seen by the social work tutor. Ideally he or she should be able to produce a syllabus which is a compromise between these professional needs and the academic requirements of a respectable course in sociology. This is something that takes a lot of argument and communication about and is sometimes difficult to achieve.

If sociologists are going to work in these applied settings the current discussions going on about a code of professional ethics for sociologists are important. Such a code could include not only ethics governing relationships between sociologists, but also governing relations between sociologists and practitioners who seek to use their services, as does the code of ethics of the American Sociological Association.

What may be uppermost in the mind of the sociologist in the social work field and probably in other applied fields is the extent to which he should be prepared to compromise between what he sees as the basics of his subject and the professional needs of the student. Is there a certain basic minimum of, say, sociological theory, without which no course in sociology, no matter to whom it is taught, should be without? To what extent should the subject stand and be understood in its own right — perhaps if this is not done to some degree at least the whole flavour of the sociological approach is lost. These are to my mind the questions to which most sociologists in applied fields must seek answers, but I don’t think we’ve found these yet.

On the social workers' side there are also limitations which prevent them making the fullest use of the sociologist. The main difficulty appears to be that there is often little thinking out of the way in
which the sociologist might be useful. I was struck when searching for material for this paper by the paucity of statements by social workers about how social science or sociology could be used in their courses. A number of professional associations of social work make references to the social sciences in their statements about courses, but avoid working this out in any detail. A reflection of the implicit belief that sociology can help in some vague but unspecified way as a sort of "top dressing" on top of the salad. In the Young Haberd Report the chance of sketching out this relationship was utterly missed.

Perhaps this also reflects the fact that sociology to the social worker is something of a double-edged sword, or a rose with a thorn. The social worker wants to embrace sociology in order to enhance her claims to professional status, but when examined closely sociology is seen as radically challenging some of the beliefs of social workers.

Social work is seen here as being characterised by ideological beliefs, which tend to be laid bare when subject to analysis by outside observers. This is particularly true of the principles governing casework practice. For example, principles like "client's self-determination", the discovery by the client, with the help of the social worker, of the client's own right course of action, when put under a sociological microscope these principles appear sometimes untenable in a real world. How, for example, it is possible for the client to determine his own actions when the social worker is increasingly working in the framework of statutes, particularly in the field of child care and mental health, which demand that the social worker take certain actions, vis-a-vis her client, with or without the consent of the client. The social worker then becomes an element in the whole process of social control, is invested by society with certain powers as I have already mentioned. This doesn't mean that a social worker has no functions but does mean that they are slightly differing functions from those at present believed in by social workers. This is in fact what Barbara Wootton was saying about social
Work some years ago but she said it in such a way as to alienate social workers from sociology for some years. However, sociology here could provide the focus for balanced criticisms of the profession without which the status and future development of social work is unlikely to improve. But sociology will inevitably, both for tutors and students, arouse anxiety and opposition and this should be a factor taken into consideration by sociologists.

One can perhaps sum up the situation then as the attempt by the social worker to incorporate sociology into the knowledge base of the profession, in order to make it more respectable in the contemporary world. But often this is done with little knowledge of, and in some cases fear and anxiety about, what is being incorporated. The pretence has been made, as someone has so well put it, to "hop aboard the bandwagon" of sociology, that is to get in upon the rapid recent development of the subject in this country. However, this has been done, as in other professions besides social work, with little appreciation of the nature of the journey that is being undertaken. I would suggest that before attempts are made to board this particular vehicle the intending passenger should study the nature of the journey about to be undertaken and have some concept of the final destination as well as likely stops along the way.

These difficulties are hardly surprising as sociology is a rapidly developing subject in which the teaching a student received ten or even five years ago will by now be out of date. It is then scarcely surprising that some social workers think of sociology as only providing statements about the family in modern society. This may well in fact be a fair reflection of the kind of teaching they themselves received some years ago. This underlines the fact that if social science is to be applied to professional fields, a real problem is raised for the practitioner by the especially rapid rate of growth of these subjects. They will become rapidly out of date.
not only because of new evidence about existing subject areas, but because of the growth of new areas. Who would have thought, ten years ago, that the whole field of linguistic sociology (of quite crucial importance for the social worker) would have undergone the development it has in this country.

Here the problem becomes one of "professionalisation" in general, and in presenting the need of the newly developing profession to construct theoretical knowledge bases which make their activities more acceptable in the contemporary world. Here perhaps we can begin to see some of the negative aspects of this process at work and to see some of the answers which exist - one of which is the incorporation in attempts at incorporation of self digested or non digested knowledge.

One solution here of course would be for social work tutors to receive some form of sociology teaching in refresher courses, or for the courses arranged for future social work tutors, such as the Fellowship course at the National Institute of Social Work Training to contain more sociology.

"Formally the sociology content of current courses could be much better, organised with a series of clear cut aims and an approach which does justice to both academic and professional ends. After several years of inter-professional conferences and discussions there is still nothing that could be dignified with the title syllabus or curriculum which can help the sociology teacher in this field. The result is argument and bickering about what should be taught. I would welcome as a teacher:

1. a series of well planned outline syllabuses as a guide to new and existing teachers. This should be undertaken by sociologists and social workers in collaboration, not by just one side or the other. I understand in fact that the Council for Training in Social Work are shortly to tackle this problem and I very much look forward to the result. The British
Sociological Association has begun an advisory service on
syllabuses but so far I understand has received no requests
for advice from social work courses, although requests have
been received from teacher training institutions — again a
reflection of the reluctance of those involved in social work
training to get down to the job of thinking out this problem.

Some way of using students’ practical placements as a means
of teaching the sociological approach

One idea would be to ask the student to describe and analyse
in sociological terms the situation in which he finds himself
in practical work, for example in the hospital or children’s
home or even social work agency. Here concepts like bureau-
cracy, role, etc. can be tried out in practice.

The development of the sociology of social work

There is no reason why sociological interest in this field
should not develop as it has done in education and medicine.
This means not only the development of teaching but of
research. Here the social worker could bring her incomparably
deep knowledge of personal predicaments to bear on the
problem of the kind of hypotheses that social scientists
might test. Little has so far happened in this country, by
contrast to America.

There is now the chance to develop the academic relationship
between sociology and social work more deeply by the possibility of
creating new degree courses both in University and non University
institutions, including the degrees which can be awarded under the
Council for National Academic Awards. Some of the syllabuses being
developed in these new courses, at Bradford and Bath for example, are
very honourable exceptions to the harsh things I have been saying
about the lack of real application of sociology to social work and
other applied fields. Clearly, these are the growth points for the
future.
All that I have been saying implies the much closer working relationship between social workers and sociologists, with all the agony that this implies. And I certainly believe that sociologists should involve themselves in these applied fields rather than being solely concerned with the production of more sociology graduates. The rewards to the sociologists in this are I feel very considerable. Until this co-operation is achieved none of the things noted above are possible. However, until something is done, life for the growing number of sociologists and social work tutors and students, particularly in the non University institutions which lack a tradition of academic sociology teaching to fall back on, will be problematic in the extreme.
1. This point has been made in more detail by Professor P. Halmos in "Problems arising in the teaching of sociology to social workers", a working paper presented to a U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference as "The Contribution of Social Sciences in Social Work Training", Paris 1960.

2. Her book "Social Diagnosis" (published 1917) represents the high-water mark in the influence of sociology on social work during this period.

3. See T. Parsons "The Social System" 1951, p. 428-79


7. P. Halmos, op. cit.

8. W. Hoffer "The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work" 1951

9. I am most grateful to Mr. H.C. Wright, Chief Professional Adviser to the Council for Training in Social Work, for permission to use this material.


13. E.C. Hirsch "Introduction to the Study of Social Administration"

14. For a discussion of this point see J. Bar "Key Problems in Sociological Field"

15. P. Leonard "Sociology in Social Work" 1956

16. The difficulties of the relationship between social workers and contributing social scientists, as well as some solutions to the problems have been outlined in the U.N.E.S.C.O. report on "The Contribution of Social Sciences Social Work Training", op. cit.

17. See particularly para 89, p. 254

18. For a discussion of this point see P. Leonard "Social Control, Class Values and Social Work Practice", op. cit.

19. B. Wootton, "Social Science and Social Pathology" 1959

20. B. Kent, "Friend or Foe?" Social Work, January 1966