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S O C I A L   W O R K   S U P E R V I S I O N  
A   P O L I T I C A L   F U N C T I O N :

a critique of cognitive interests and  
the impact of the capitalist welfare state.

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Master of Social Work Thesis,  
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I N M E M O R Y O F M Y  
F A T H E R A N D M O T H E R

Whose deaths in 1985 and 1986 and  
whose lives up to then have  
profoundly shaped my life.

## C O N T E N T S

### Acknowledgements

Introduction	P. 5
1. Theoretical Framework to Critically Examine Social Work Supervision	P.15
2. The Apprenticeship Model	P. 33
3. The Professional Model	P. 53
4. The Radical Model	P. 79
5. Case Study of Social Work Supervision Within New Zealand	P. 111
Concluding Remarks	P. 148
General Bibliography	P. 151
Appendix One	P. 158

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J.E.D.

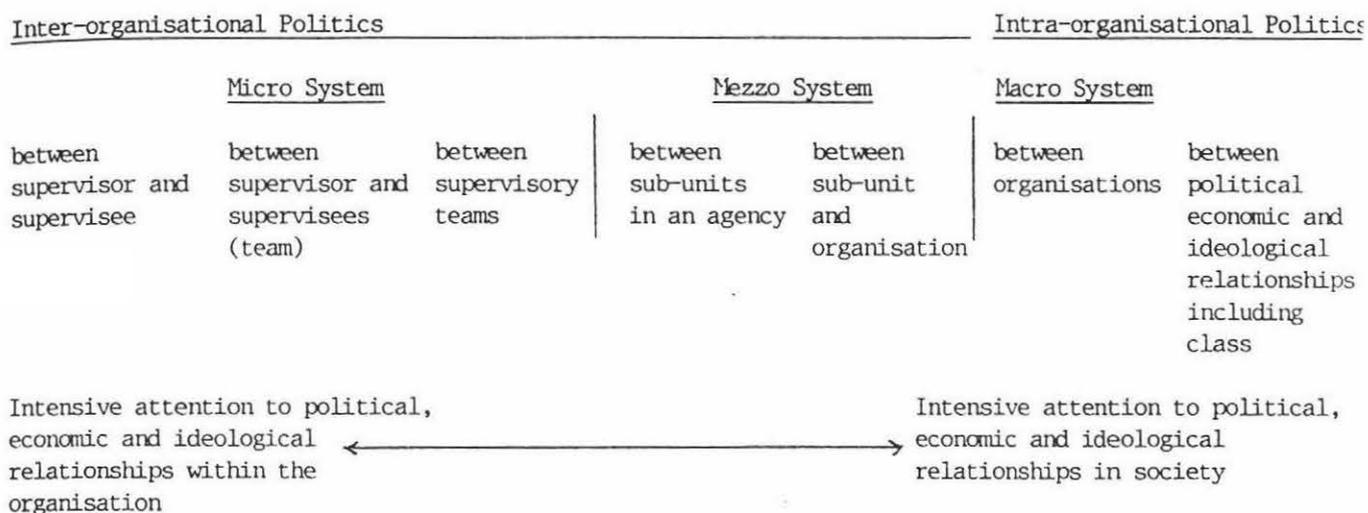
## INTRODUCTION

Social work supervisory practice is motivated and conditioned by political intent. For behind all supervisory theories, modes of practice, cognitive interests and interpretations of human social existence lie the ideological perspectives of the actors whether these are revealed explicitly or implicitly. Ideological perspectives affect and shape social welfare policies, organisations and agencies, therefore social work exists and functions in a political context, likewise supervisory practice. The content or functions of supervision are never a-political nor is supervision a neutral scientific practice. Rather what is done, or not done, is highly a political act.

The proposition that social work supervision is a political activity has not been argued by the numerous authors whose works have been critically reviewed as a background to this thesis. Such a proposition, however, is to argue an irrefutable hypothesis. This thesis, therefore, examines how social work supervision is a political activity driven by different cognitive interests and conditioned by its existence in a capitalist, social welfare, state. To critically debate this, the writer has used the Habermasian typology of alternative scientific traditions and different modes of practice. This provides a theoretical framework to canvass three different supervisory models and to critically examine supervision in New Zealand. The argument then in this thesis, is that three supervisory models exist: the apprenticeship model, the professional model and the radical model. The first two models have their genesis in the historical-hermeneutic and empirical-analytic scientific traditions, which in turn can be located in the functionalist

orientation or the market orientation of capitalist societies. The radical model has its genesis in the critical-emancipatory scientific tradition which in turn can be located in the social/marxist paradigm. It is only this, third approach, that can claim to be explicitly political, maintaining the prime function of supervision is political activity. The other two approaches remain implicitly political for they act to ensure the continuation and maintenance of the capitalist welfare state.

The political function of supervision could be developed at the micro, mezzo and macro levels. What takes place between supervisor and supervisee(s) at the micro level of interpersonal relationships is a political activity. All parties bring with them their ideological perspectives and a baggage of values. Supervision in New Zealand nearly always takes place in an agency, with an agency a sub-unit of the organisation. This relationship at the mezzo level is highly political. It is at this level that social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board analysed political acts. Gummer's (1978) power-politics approach of an agency, or an organisation, being a political arena in which various interest groups compete for the control of resources and thereby gain power is at the mezzo level. At the macro level politics between organisations could be analysed with regard to their impact on social work practice and thereby supervision. This thesis largely ignores all such possibilities. The focus at the macro level is intensive attention to political, economic and ideological relationships in society - class relationships are critically developed in relationship to supervision. Possible analyses of the political function are set out in Figure I.

F I G U R E ILEVEL LOCATION OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

At the macro level of political, economic and ideological relationships two approaches are possible. First, attention can focus on how policies, political and economic factors, as well as ideological hegemony affect and shape social welfare organisations, the agency, social work practice and supervision. Second, attention can focus on how supervision has an impact on social work which can affect and shape the agency, the social welfare organisation and state policies as well as the political-economy and ideological hegemony. Within this thesis both approaches are given attention though the second is deliberately pushed to counter the prevailing dominance of the first approach in analyses of the state in capitalist societies (see George and Wilding 1984). The examination of supervisory practice within a capitalist social welfare state has to be more than a concern with how this context shapes ideas held by supervisors. How supervisors use their ideas and class position to shape social work practice is an essential analysis.

Inevitably this thesis has to address to what extent are social workers liberated from ruling ideology that maintains bourgeoisie hegemony and mass loyalty due to the acceptance of professional knowledge, expertise and technical solutions? A thesis by Jakubowicz (1981) argues that the State (Australian) achieves legitimation for its action through ideology and at the same time maintains Anglo-Celtic bourgeois hegemony due to a legitimation/patronage system. Legitimation is given to certain groups, such as social workers, who in return, regardless of class or race, are incorporated into the State. Thus, though, social workers have power and status, they also have a patron-client relationship with the State. Subsidiary to this is to address the issue of determinism and voluntarism.

To examine the above mentioned issues the writer has made use of critical theory as developed by Jurgen Habermas. For Habermas moves away from a strict structural form of Marxism away from a mechanical society to consider the force of ideology. Any analysis that merely focuses upon structural factors, whether that be economic, political, social or cultural, remains insufficient. "One must also grasp the ways in which the attitudes and impulses of the individual are controlled by the social order" (Thompson and Held 1982:3). This does not however imply progress is impossible for at the heart of cognitive interests is emancipation. As stated by Heller (1982):

Habermas successfully combines critical and positive philosophy...He does not tell the world that all its efforts are doomed to failure, but he confronts the world with the values inherent in it, which although distorted still imply the possibility of progress...Critical positive philosophy is in itself a daring project in our times (Heller 1982:22 cited in Thompson and Held 1982).

Historically and currently virtually all the literature on social work supervision ignores a political function. It is the assumption that such a practice lies outside the domain of politics. Supervision is seen as part of professional practice. It relates to agency-based practice and forms part of the ethical means for ensuring competent and accountable practice to clients, community, agency, social service organisation, government, and profession. The New Zealand Social Work Training Council in May 1984 accepted a position paper "Supervision in Social Work". This paper arose out of two years of work by a working party who consulted widely throughout the country. The paper sets out the purpose of supervision:

Supervision is seen as ensuring that the following important components of social work practice are provided for the social worker:

- a) accountability to the client
- b) identification with agency functions and procedures
- c) accountability to the agency
- d) accountability to the community
- e) accountability to one's self and one's own development.

The paper goes on to state:

The Council believes that the role of supervisor, as well as providing effective and skilful supervision, is crucial to the quality of service offered in social work practice. (N.Z. Social Work Training Council, 1985:4-5)

In essence the push is for better management, desirable performance, efficiency and effectiveness in achieving the social policy of the agency. Far from being a neutral technology this approach is highly political. Instead of supervisory theory and practice setting out to solve political issues the attention is upon technical skills and administra-

tive procedures. The reason for this is that social problems, in the form of social sickness, has been sold as the ideology. As Rule puts it:

It suggests that political conflicts can somehow be resolved a-politically through the dispassionate intervention of experts instead of through political action. And this suggestion paves the way; in turn, for the imposition of partisan measures in the guise of non-political solutions to social problems. (Rule 1971:cited in George and Wilding, 1976:13)

Nearly all literature regarding social work supervision sets out to describe the functions, or criticism is levelled at current practice, or methods are suggested to improve supervisory performances. There lacks serious theorising, supervision is treated as if it exists in an autonomous manner outside the arena of social policy. George and Wilding argue:

This lack of theorising is not a politically neutral approach...as it is sometimes claimed, but an implicit conservative stand for it accepts existing social and economic relationships unquestioningly. (George and Wilding, 1976:1)

### Thesis Outline

In order to develop the thesis that social work supervision is a political activity driven by cognitive interests and shaped by the capitalist, welfare state this study has been divided into five chapters. Chapter One outlines a theoretical framework to critically examine social work supervision. In Chapters Two and Three the apprenticeship and professional models are explored. These models are driven from the his-

torical-hermeneutic and empirical-analytic traditions. We will evaluate, not only how they are derived from capitalism, but actually serve the interests of the State. Chapter Four is an exploratory and development approach to find a different model for practice. Hence the radical model is linked to the critical-emancipatory tradition. It must be remembered that the critical tradition does not set out to negate the other two traditions. Rather, the critical tradition can use empirical or experiential data and information along with a critical theory and practice (praxis) to discover new possibilities.

Chapter Five provides a case study of social work supervision in New Zealand that portrays the use of the apprenticeship and professional models. What is called for in New Zealand is an alternative form of supervision.

#### Development of Thesis

In 1983, this writer attended Massey University to complete the fourth year social work degree. Two papers were taken related to social work supervision and management. A major essay explored the functional role of supervision within New Zealand. The possibility of supervision having a political function, let alone a critical analysis of such a function, was totally ignored in all literature, class-room work, including the essay which was presented. At the end of 1983, the author began a student placement with the Auckland Hospital Board to research the practice of supervision. Forty-five social workers were interviewed, which included all but one supervisor and departmental head, as well as twenty-five basic grade staff selected from nearly every hospital. (See appendix one for research methodology) A set questionnaire covered

the traditional view of supervision having a tripartite function of administration/management, education/training, support or enabling. The questionnaire and approach was flexible enough to allow for the exploration of ideas, themes and trends. What emerged was that social work existed in a political arena within the Auckland Hospital Board and within a particular hospital. This gave rise to supervision being used to understand, analyse and respond to the politics. Supervision itself was seen by some as a political activity to counter the dominance of the medical model.

In 1984 the writer returned to Massey University to commence a Master's programme in social work. A paper was taken in supervision with the purpose of developing the idea that the prime function of supervision was political activity. A major problem to be faced was the lack of any written works to explore such an idea. Only Paul Abels' work (1977) "The New Practice of Supervision and Staff Development - a synergistic approach" gave any recognition to supervision having a normative stance. This writer believed that social work supervision, both in theory and practice, had not developed along with new ideas and developments in social work theory and practice. Social work theories and ideas, along with readings in social policy, accordingly, provided the motivation and ideas developed in this thesis.

The writer has had seventeen years of social work experience both within voluntary, statutory and hospital organisations. Five years has been spent as a supervisor with the last two years as a supervisor of a field team of social workers within social welfare. This has led to both theoretical and practical wrestling over what exists in supervision, what ought to be and how this could be achieved.

What lies ahead now is to set out a theoretical framework from which social work supervision can be critically examined. This is addressed in Chapter One.

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## CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO CRITICALLY EXAMINESOCIAL WORK SUPERVISIONThe Welfare State

Social work is intrinsically part of the welfare state. It receives its legitimation from state legislature, its resources from the state and its functions are ultimately accountable to the state, which in a concrete way can be illustrated by the tabling of annual reports to Parliament for scrutiny and debate. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted to the origins and functions of the welfare state (1), thus given remarks will be fairly brief.

In essence the genesis of the welfare state was derived from "the political process of the regulation of need" (Taylor-Gooby and Dale 1981: 4). The phrase, 'welfare state', being a powerful ideology to convey to society the state is benevolent and just, acting in the public interest. Government departments, such as social welfare, concretise the 'welfare state' ideology. The welfare state at the same time uses its power to directly serve the interests of capitalism by providing the climate for the maximisation of profits.

Bedggood takes a traditional marxist stance and regards the welfare state as the means to ensure the ruling elite continue to dominate and exploit the working class. In fact the welfare state "represents the most advanced form of bourgeois domination of the working class".

(Bedggood 1980:96) It even operates against the immediate interests of the working class. Such a view is deterministic and it follows that social work only functions to dominate the working class.

From the right, monetrists such as Friedman, argue that the welfare state is a denial of individual freedom. Yet, for political reasons, it does have a continuing role. As set out by Wilkes and Shirley (1984), Friedman accepts that, those who are unable to help themselves, require state help. The state also "should act as a rule-maker and arbitrator between competing parties; it should "act as an intervention agency in areas where competition is impossible or difficult". (Wilkes and Shirley 1984:14).

From the centre Hadley and Hatch (1981) propose welfare care being a partnership between the state and voluntary sector. State social workers, working alongside an army of volunteers to care for and help those residing in geographical patches.

These two view points are also unacceptable for they fail to address how the state serves the political-economy of a capitalist society. The writer, accordingly, accepts the propositions put forward by neo-marxist writers, who argue that while the state acts ultimately on behalf of the ruling interests it also provides concessions to the working class to maintain the existing system. Accordingly, Gough characterises the welfare state

as the use of state power to modify the reproduction of labour power and to maintain the non-working population in capitalist societies (Gough 1979: 44-45).

Ginsburg view is that

the welfare state has been formed around the contradictions and conflicts of capitalist development in specific historical contexts. From the working class point of view it is a response to their continual struggle to improve and secure their conditions of existence or standard of living. From the capitalist point of view state welfare has contributed to the continual struggle to accumulate capital by materially assisting in bringing labour and capital together profitably and containing the inevitable resistance and revolutionary potential of the working class (Ginsburg 1979:2).

By critically evaluating different models of social work supervision we can substantiate the claim that social work does serve the interests of capitalism unless a radical model is developed as an alternative.

#### Economic Considerations

Habermas argues that in mature capitalism, science and technology has been transformed into a leading productive force that has joined with labour power to create profits. (See Thompson and Held 1981:9) Two methods are used to create profits: first, by increasing efficiency and effectiveness through the use of science, technology and sound management, second, by a reduction of labour, though maybe an increase in specialist labour, using science and technology to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. In both cases, either indirectly or directly, unemployment will be the result. The unskilled, young people, minority groups and women will face the highest rates of unemployment. Social work services may then be called upon to ameliorate the worst effects of unemployment and its associated problems of poverty, poor housing, lack of self-esteem and family tensions. To provide such services, the state

in New Zealand has now begun to demand efficiency and effectiveness from social workers and this affects and shapes supervision.

To ensure capital accumulation and to provide social stability O'Connor (1973) has developed the argument that state expenditure has a two-fold function: social capital and social expenses with social capital further divided into social investment and social consumption. Thus we have:

1. Social Capital

(a) Social Investment which helps capital indirectly via services or projects to increase the productivity of labour. Education or childcare centres being examples.

(b) Social Consumption are services and projects which indirectly help capital via the support given to the reproduction of labour. The health care system being an example.

2. Social Expenses are services and projects which are a cost to capital but vital to maintain social stability. They fulfil the legitimate functions of the state with payment of benefits, or legal supervision of clients being examples.

O'Connor maintains that most welfare agencies are involved in all three forms.

Political Considerations

Social workers and supervision itself is part of a political system that uses both coercion and persuasion to maintain the existing social

and political order. Gramsci held to three sets of social relations within capitalist society: the relations of production (which we have outlined); the coercive relations of the state; and social relations which make up civil society.

Social workers are part of the coercive relations of the state, or what Gramsci termed political society - police, law courts, prison, armed forces and in some instances social workers. Indeed, all organisations that have at the last resort the full weight of the state behind them exhibit coercive relations. Social workers in psychiatric hospitals have considerable power over patients, they can recommend the continuation of committal. In social welfare, social workers can recommend and provide legal supervision, they can use a warrant to remove a child, they can initiate complaint action against parents, they can recommend guardianship, place statewards in various forms of institutional care and in the final analysis have the backing of the state.

The state does of course act to ensure consent in society. Its apparatus is not only repressive but also ideological. Whilst it uses coercion to maintain law and order and a stable society it does not, or need to, use powers of direct force such as the army. Instead its acts of coercion meet with general public approval; law and order being a case in point. Thus coercive acts by social workers are legitimised and sanctioned by the state on the grounds of being in the public interest.

Gramsci then argued that "the state is political society plus civil society, in others words, hegemony protected by the armour of coercion". (Simon 1982:71) Civil society being non-coercive relations embod-

ied in organisations and institutions such as the family, church, media and voluntary organisations. Civil society is the sphere where political and ideological struggles take place. Social relations of civil society are thereby relations of power. A hegemonic class exercises power over subordinate classes and groups by persuasion that its ideology, whether true or false, provides society with moral conduct and rules of practical conduct. (See Simon 1982:58-60)

Whilst the coercive relations of the state and non-coercive relations of civil society are distinctive relationships, they are nevertheless not separate areas defined by boundaries. In fact many organisations are typified by coercive relations or the repressive state apparatus, (R.S.A.) and non-coercive relations or the ideological state apparatus (I.S.A.). Benton makes the point that

as foreseen by Althusser himself...there is no absolute institutional separation of 'coercion' and 'persuasion'...the distinction is a matter of degree, a matter of whether force or ideology predominates in the functioning of the apparatuses (Benton 1984:101).

It follows then that social workers are part of a political system that uses both coercion and persuasion to maintain the existing social, political, economic and cultural orders with social work practice usually acting in coercive and persuasive ways to maintain the existing order.

Social workers in the state sector, including hospital boards, practice in bureaucratic organisations which are inherently political serving the interests of the dominant class. Taylor-Gooby and Dale (1981) maintain that the "bureaucratic form is determined not by technical neces-

sity of dealing with complex problems, but by the political role played by the bureaucracy in articulating and prosecuting the interests of the dominant class". (p.201) It is argued that civil servants influence ministers during policy formation; they "control the implementation of policy, and in the process redefine the aims set by the legislature" (Taylor-Gooby and Dale 1981:201).

Miliband has maintained that civil servants will be a conservative group.

He states:

higher civil servants in the countries of advanced capitalism may generally be expected to play a conservative role in the Councils of the state, to reinforce the conservative propensities of governments in which these are already developed, and to serve as an inhibiting element in regard to governments in which they are less pronounced. (Miliband 1977, cited in Taylor-Gooby and Dale 1981:202)

Or as argued by Poulantzas (1973) the bureaucracy fulfils the role of the state, for despite of recruiting various classes, it pursues the interests of the capitalist class.

Because organisations are highly political and the bureaucracy is the administrative arm it follows that social work supervisors perform in a political context and in political ways. Supervisors occupy a strategic position within the human service organisation. As argued by Swanson and Brown:

Supervisors, by virtue of position, possess considerable power in influencing organisational policies and practices. Supervisors can select what policies are to be enforced and in what manner. Supervisors can not only determine what policies are to be enforced, but can also bring to the attention

of policy makers those policies which are contributing to tensions and are in need of modification. (Swanson and Brown 1982:62)

### Class Considerations

The position taken by this writer is that developed by Wright (1979). What Wright argues for is that a cleavage exists within the 'new' petty bourgeoisie for all the contradictions in the capitalist system become crystallised within the 'new' middle class. This now becomes the site of class conflict. Economically social workers belong to the bourgeoisie. Ideologically some will be linked to the bourgeoisie, others to the proleteriat, hence a group divided in-itself. Ideology does not finally determine class positions. Political action is what in the final analysis determines class location. This analysis has profound implications for supervisors for it is expected that those at the middle and top of the hierarchy will align themselves with established policy, upholding the state, refusing strike action or protest.

### Racial and Cultural Considerations

Racism in social work practice exists at the macro, mezzo and micro levels. At the macro level it is social work services as part of the welfare state. At the mezzo level it is how an agency provides services. At the micro level racism exists with the individual social worker. Racism at the macro and mezzo level is institutional racism. Whereas at the micro level it is individual racism. Miles (1982) argues that racism is an ideology located in both ruling and working classes and exists as a consequence of a complex interacting economic, political and ideological relations. Walker (1972) and Sivanandan (1983) regard

racism being about power. Walker states:

the most critical issue facing New Zealand society is 'white racism' because it is the Pakeha who controls the economic and political power that effects the decision-making processes of the country. The Pakeha majority claims by democratic principle, that it has the right to exercise power... It is the Pakeha, rather than the Maori, who can translate his prejudices into overt discrimination (Walker 1972:54).

Power, however, needs to be specified in terms whether the elements are ideology, economic or political power. Critical theory is able to address racial and cultural issues. Habermas has argued that the focus of critical theory is sensitive to contemporary history taking into consideration national traditions, regions and subcultures. It is concerned with how the state deals with conflicts and works at cultural integration. (See Thompson and Held 1981:222)

#### Ideological Considerations and Legitimation Crisis

If ideology is how hegemony is maintained through mass support to the notion the state acts in the public interest, and people can see the functions of the welfare state, as well as the state acting on behalf of capitalism, it is also how hegemonic power becomes threatened. The crisis faced by mature capitalist state is not economic rather what Habermas defines as legitimacy. Put simply, the state cannot perpetually act in ways to maintain mass loyalty. As it intervenes in market and social spheres, economic and social issues become political issues. As Habermas explains in Legitimation Crisis (1975) "a legitimation crisis is based upon a discrepancy between the motives necessary for

the continued existence of the political-economic system, and the motivation actually supplied by the socio-cultural system" (Thompson and Held 1981:10). People begin to see that the state acts on behalf of one class rather than another (the ruling rather than working class) and it cannot sustain mass loyalty to the notion it acts for 'public good'. Offe (1984) likewise sets out a theorem to explain why the welfare state faces a legitimation crisis. He argues that the welfare state is subordinate to the capitalist economy being not simply a provider of social services but by nature a powerful political force having multi-functional purposes:

It is exactly its multi-functional character, its ability to serve many conflicting ends and strategies simultaneously, which make the political arrangements of the welfare state so attractive to a broad alliance of heterogeneous forces. But it is equally true that the very diversity of the forces that inaugurated and supported the welfare state could not be accommodated forever within the institutional framework which today appears to be increasingly under attack (Offe 1984:148-149).

Hence the welfare state is in a crisis. It is attacked from left and right and its very subsystems themselves exist in antagonistic relationships. Social workers and supervisors exist in a system that continually generates more "policy failures, political conflict and social resistance than (it is) capable of resolving; the crisis management strategies of the welfare state themselves become subject to new forms of crisis tendency". (Keane 1984:14)

#### Emancipatory Considerations

Given citizen depoliticisation emancipation is the aim. Depoliticisat-

ion has occurred as a result of what Habermas describes as goal-rationality over value-rationality. Consequently while pragmatic-instrumental reasoning ensures mass culture, it also results in depoliticisation. (See Heller 1981:32-33)(2) In essence moral and political issues become technical problems based on science. What is called for is a pedagogic approach that engages people in moral-political discourse and action. Goal-rationality has distorted communication and action, it has resulted in repression of people, it maintains the state's power. Value-rationality brings personal growth and liberation in addition to the politicisation of society. It requires, however, the creation of conditions for open communication and democratic resolutions. What Plant (1974) calls radical democracy becomes achievable through the application of a critical-emancipatory science.

Habermas, likewise Freire (1970), recognises that in society two groups exist - the oppressed and oppressors. The assumption is that those who are oppressed will have the greatest motivation for emancipation, they are the target group. Through reflection/action (praxis) they find liberation, and then can conscientise other groups, including the oppressors.

We are left with a paradox, though, for on one hand we are affected and shaped by external politics or structures; on the other hand politics is a central activity which we engage in for it is our nature to do so, and as we do, we develop our personality and capacity. The fact that by nature we are political has been argued from antiquity by philosophers such as Aristotle. Being political by nature means we are not mechanically determined by structural forces that we can do

little about. Rather it means we can be autonomous thinkers engaging in rational discourse to arrive at our own conception of the world and at the same time an ongoing understanding of ourselves. This has been well expressed by Gramsci:

so one could say that each one of us changes himself, modifies himself to the extent that he changes the complex relations of which he is the hub. In this sense the real philosopher is, and cannot be other than, the politician, the active man who modifies the environment, understanding by environment the ensemble of relations which each of us enters to take part in. If one's own individuality is the ensemble of these relations, to create one's own personality means to acquire consciousness of them and to modify one's own personality means to modify the ensemble of those relations. (Simon 1982:91)

By recognising human potential to engage in emancipatory concerns and that people can develop their personalities means a distance from a deterministic form of marxism. I have rejected forms of marxism that have a strong tendency to presuppose linear causality with either economics, politics or ideology being a priori over one another.(3) Instead, I take the view that a complex interaction occurs between economic, political, ideologically, social and cultural forces with a form of circular causality. In the final analysis in each specific historical context it will be determined how important is any given force.

#### Habermasian Typology

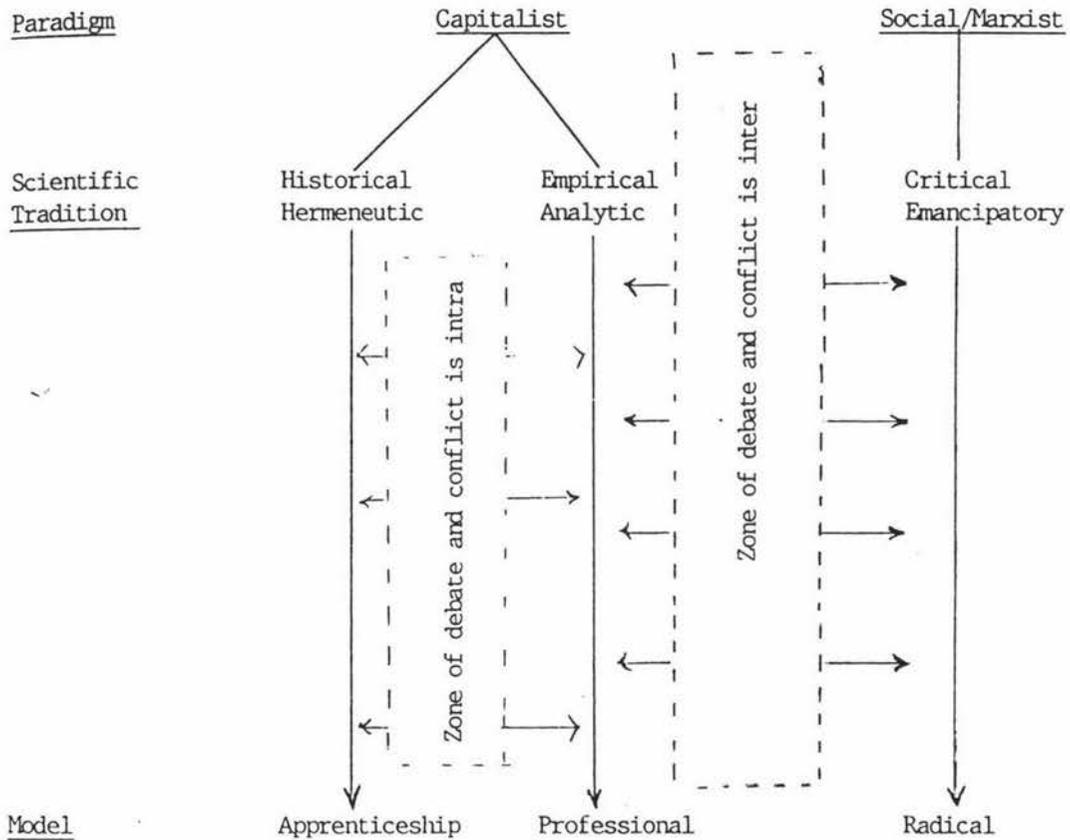
Habermas has argued that three scientific traditions have shaped theory and practice thus profoundly affecting individuals as well as society as a whole. These traditions, namely, the historical-hermeneutic, the

empirical-analytic and the critical emancipatory have their genesis in world-views or ideological perspectives. In turn the traditions relate to alternative practice models.

The historical-hermeneutic and empirical-analytic traditions are rooted in the capitalist paradigm. Consequently they function under capitalism with the explicit or implicit purpose being to maintain the dominate order. Habermas maintains that it is only the critical tradition that challenges the existing order in a way that strives for a transformed and humanised world. The critical tradition being rooted in the socialist/marxist paradigm directly challenges capitalism.

In social work practice, including supervision, the apprenticeship and professional models relate to the historical-hermeneutic and empirical-analytic traditions. While they are distinctive models, derived from alternative traditions, the fact remains the differences are of degree only for they function under capitalism. On the other hand, the radical model is a clearly defined alternative for it relates to the critical tradition which in turn functions under socialism/marxism. This analysis is of critical importance, for actual or potential conflict between the apprenticeship and professional models in supervision are merely adaptations within the capitalist paradigm. Whereas conflict with the radical model is not over adaptations but profound changes. Conflict is not only over scientific traditions; it is also over competing world orders as set out in Figure 2.

F I G U R E 2



In the next three chapters we will canvass the three supervisory models using critical theory to determine 'what is', 'what ought to be', and how to work towards what ought to be. It must be pointed out, however, that the three scientific traditions are not absolute categories. Habermas acknowledged that the critical emancipatory tradition drew from the other two traditions, recognising the validity of both experiential and empirical knowledge. This knowledge simply does not go far enough. Likewise the three supervisory models cannot be absolute categories. A radical model may well draw upon experiential knowledge, it may use the technology of the professional model such as goals, objectives and tasks to achieve its purpose. What makes the models and scientific traditions distinctive is the overall framework, cognitive

interests as well as the constellation of ideas. This has been set out in Figure 3 for our consideration:

F I G U R E 3

THREE SUPERVISORY MODELS

	<u>Apprenticeship</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Radical</u>
Paradigm	Capitalist	Capitalist	Socialist/Marxist
Orientation	Normative	Non-Normative	Normative
Scientific Tradition	Historical-hermeneutic	Empirical-analytical	Critical-emancipatory
Mode of Practice	Social Action	Local Development and Social Planning	Critical Practice
Cognitive Interests	Practical Wisdom	Technical	Emancipation
Human Social Existence	Interaction Between People	How Individuals function in Society	Power Relationships including Class
Level of Change	Individual/Group	Individual/Family	Individual/Social Structures
Political Stance	Explicitly Functionalist	Implicitly Functionalist	Explicitly Socialist/Marxist
Supervisory Stance	Implicitly Political	Implicitly Political	Explicitly Political

(Adapted from Shirley, Lecture Notes 1981)

NOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. For example, Bedggood 1980; Ginsburg 1979; Gough 1979; Martin 1981; Mishra 1977 and 1981; Taylor-Gooby and Dale 1981.
2. Weber and Parsons argued that rationality had two forms: goal-rationality, and value rationality being rational discourse of knowledge, ideas and ideology etc. Habermas accepts this analysis, then subdivides goal-rationality into:
  - (a) instrumental-rationality (work) and
  - (b) strategic-rationality (decisions that are goal-rational oriented). (Heller 1981:33)
3. Bedggood seems to hold to a form of marxism which places economic considerations a 'priori over politics and ideology. Poulantzas makes politics a 'priori over economic and ideological factors. Whereas Habermas tends to argue that ideology is a 'priori over politics and ideology.

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## C H A P T E R   T W O

THE APPRENTICESHIP MODEL

The apprenticeship model is the oldest supervisory model, existing from the foundations of modern social work practice that came into being in the later part of the nineteenth century. It also relates to the historical - hermeneutic tradition which is the oldest of the three scientific traditions.

The historical - hermeneutic tradition is based upon practical wisdom. Knowledge is obtained through participation in and observation of the private troubles of individuals, families, groups or communities. It is an existentialist position as practitioners immerse themselves into private troubles and take these troubles and turn them into public issues.

Social work as typified by the apprenticeship model is what Smith (1971) labels as 'heart work'. The orientation emphasises the emotional rather than the intellectual, it is existential rather than empirical, it is based on practical experience rather than theory. As argued by Halmos (1965) it is reliant upon the 'faith of the counsellors'. Knowledge and skills are subservient to concern, empathy, and insight, into clientel problems gained through getting 'inside the client'. As summarised by Smith:

Whereas as 'head work' stresses the importance of being able to generalise, theorise, abstract and consider evidence apart from the immediate caseload, 'heart work' stresses the idiosyncratic

nature of each situation, the wholeness of each client as a human being, the importance of personal experience and the centrality of the practical task. (1971:26)

We thereby have four dichotomies:

<u>'Heart Work'</u>		<u>'Head Work'</u>
Practical	v	Technical
Experiential	v	Evidential
Holistic	v	Abstract
Idiosyncratic	v	General

The historical-hermeneutic tradition is also a psycho-social approach that gives attention to malfunctioning individuals as well as to the social context causing in part individual malfunctioning. While it is normative in its orientation, wanting changes for the better, it is nevertheless explicitly functionalist for change is only within ruling capitalism. This can be observed by the stance taken by early pioneers in social work such as William Booth. On the one hand he sought to transform and liberate the morally weak and fallen from the clutches of alcoholism, prostitution or poverty. On the other hand he attacked the institutions to shame them into action to care for the 'fallen' whether that be by alms, care or legislation. Religious and moral concerns were never a challenge to capitalism itself. Indeed it was openly advocated that christianity, civilisation and commerce went hand in hand.

#### Early Forms of Social Work in New Zealand

Many of the nineteenth century settlers to New Zealand brought with

them christianity, civilisation and commerce that was paternalistic towards the Maori population.(1) They blended together genuine social concern and outright social control to provide a 'better life' for the Maori. Lady Martin, for example wrote a book in 1884 titled 'Our Maoris' for the society promoting christian knowledge.(2) She held to the view that everything in the Maori's social habits were "against the influences of christianity and civilisation". (p.138) She referred to her Maori servants as 'boys', used Anglo names for them and would not allow them in the house unless in English clothes to induce habits of cleanliness and self-respect. (see p.19) Pearson and Thorns (1983) argue that this form of paternalism has marked the past 140 years of Pakeha administration. (see pp198-199) What we have then is an early form of social work that is inherently racist believing in the cultural superiority of the Pakeha with social action to assimilate Maori culture into Pakeha culture. Today, as stated in Puao-te-Ata-tu (1986) (3), "despite the fact that there is nothing in the social institutions which have grown around us which is supportive of our traditional economic and social systems, they have survived and continue to sustain many" Maori people. (p.8 appendix 1) Take adoptions as a case in point. Western adoption laws were introduced which was an alien concept. Until 1955 Maori parents could not adopt Pakeha children (it was maintained Maori people did not live in a way proper for Pakeha children), whereas Pakeha parents could adopt Maori children. (see Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986,pp 22-23, appendix)

Early social work was also directed towards the 'fallen' Pakeha. During the 1860s and 1870s New Zealand experienced prostitution, destitution and illegitimacy of such proportions to arouse social action. Women's

refuges, samaritan homes, orphanages, industrial schools, charitable aid boards, benevolent institutions, including the 1877 Education Act, provided the means to rescue and shape wayward and 'larrikin' women and children. Social policies were directed towards amelioration of the worst problems and at the heart was the determination to maintain and strengthen capitalism.

Previous social action and educational development had no answer to the depression of the 1880s and early 1890s. Poverty, wide-spread unemployment, crime, general immorality and the like resulted in the rise of further forms of social action. As expressed by Summers, "God's Police marched to centre stage" (cited by Olssen and Levesque 1978:6). Women backed by organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Plunket Society sought to strengthen the family and make the home the sphere of morality. Successive governments passed a raft of social policies to tackle social problems and at the same time to support and strengthen the family.

From the foundations of colonial New Zealand to the present time the historic-hermeneutic tradition has continued unabated. Today movements such as Youthlink - therapeutic communities for 'at risk' adolescents run by Father Felix Donnelly, Arohanui Trust founded by Betty Wark to provide homes for street kids or those from prison etc, Women's Refuge Centres, are examples of social action in the historical-hermeneutic tradition. It is within this long tradition that social work practice and supervision has and still has the apprenticeship model.

### The Genesis and Development of the Apprenticeship Model

It is argued by Kadushin (1976) that social work supervision had its origins in the Charity Organisation Society (C.O.S.) movement that flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and continued into the first two decades of the twentieth century. Private or voluntary charity was organised and monitored to ensure almsgiving and personal help went to the 'deserving poor' - those who were in poverty due to factors outside their control rather than due to a weak moral character. Bosanquet (1901) expressed the dominant ideology maintaining, "social disorganisation is the outward and visible form of moral and intellectual disorganisation" (Cited in Jones 1982:77). Within New Zealand moral and personal development was seen as the cure for social ills. Early prison reform was to "preserve health, improve morals and enforce hard labour". (Crimanon 1977:8) Or as best expressed by Sir Truby King, central to the development of moral beings was the need for methods to ensure citizens did not lack self-discipline, thereby lead a life of vice. (Olssen 1981:17)

At the same time supervision existed for surveillance of charitable and correctional institutions so changes would make them more efficient and economic in provision of resources and help to the poor and stigmatised. Hence the level of change was at the organisational level as well as the individual level.

Direct service workers, whether volunteer or paid, were under the direction of the agent-supervisor who was the administrative - managerial representative of the organisation. Consequently the supervisor's role

was in the literal sense of supervision, namely 'overseeing'. Smith (1901) required district agents to "look over the records of visited families frequently to see if the work is satisfactory or if any suggestions can make it so" (cited Kadushin 1976:6). In like manner Austin (1960) maintains:

"the supervisory task until the 1920s was defined in the literal sense of 'overseeing', watching the work of another with responsibility for its quality. The supervisor was responsible for the arrangements of the workload, checking on the worker's performance in terms of administrative rules and procedures, and making or confirming decisions in handling the case". (Austin 196);579 cited in F.W. Kaslow and Associates 1977:40)

Another stand in early social work was that many who took up the philanthropic work (as it was called) did so as volunteers under the oversight of a paid supervisor. It was this bringing together of paid and voluntary workers to solve individual and social problems that set the scene for an enduring theme. In Great Britain, under Thatcherism, the utilisation of volunteers received new impetus from the Barclay Report (1982). The Government pushed the idea that volunteers were social workers who really cared for people. Hadley and Hatch (1981) proposed state and voluntary workers being the 'army in local patches'. In a market economy as set out by the right wing, and typified by Friedman, social work should be directed to those unable to help themselves.

The apprenticeship model is an intrinsic part of capitalist welfare societies. Its foundations lay in the Victorian era of moral welfare and settlement movements as a response to urban poverty and its associated ills. It was christian charity in the context of the market economy. Side by side grew production, accumulation of wealth and the

growth of voluntary charitable activity with the development of paid social workers. Then, as today, capital accumulation and social stability (legitimation) were two fundamental functions. The apprenticeship system in social work ensured control over expenditure and whether it was social investment, social consumption or social expenses the driving interest remained to serve capitalism. Wittingly or unwittingly it did much to pacify urban unrest which was always a potential threat to the ruling class.

Politically social workers and supervisors were, as today, seldom identified with the working class. Women were largely recruited from the upper and middle classes to work as almoners in hospitals. Men were more likely to be recruited to probation services and while from the working class, it was from the respectable working class. Jones (1979) takes a stance that maintains the Charity Organisation Society's work was governed not just by concern about poverty, but also by the place of the working class in society. He states:

it is clear in the writings of the Society's leaders that they hoped that training programmes, even of the apprenticeship mode they initially adopted, would impress upon philanthropists that their intervention in the lives of the working-class poor should not be whimsical or guided by their emotional response to squalor but should instead be informed by a wider and long-term perspective of the character of the working class and its place in society. (1979:76)

Social workers and supervisors were part of the coercive relations of the State. The task was to reform individuals and institutions, to provide resources, to show the state really cared for its people. Those who were 'wayward' were helped so they became integrated back

into society. Supervisors saw to it that social workers accomplished the agency's social purpose. This curious mix of paternalism, which was really control, and genuine humanitarian concern was the mandate given to social work in New Zealand.(4) This can be traced in childcare epochs.(5) In the nineteenth century the child had no special rights before the law, nor protection from maltreatment or neglect meted out by parents or employers. However, working conditions for children, baby-farming scandals and the like meant a public outcry with resulting reform to alleviate the social ills. Then between 1900-44 the child was seen as social capital (McDonald 1978). "Childrearing was deemed to be too important to be left to the discretion of the family" (McDonald 1978:47) Accordingly, the State legislated for children's well-being. Private troubles became public issues. Public issues would be rectified by the welfare state. Social workers and other groups had the right to intervene in the 'interest of the child,' at the same time the family was to care for its children. In effect it meant social workers intervening when a crisis occurred and having to find immediate solutions. A situation that is just as prevalent today. The Barclay Report (1982) found that in Great Britain over 60 percent of client referrals to social service departments came from official third parties such as police, courts, housing, health and education departments. Department of Social Welfare social workers likewise receive most referrals from official third parties. The expectation is that social workers must intervene to resolve the problem. Supervisors play a key function in this process. They normally act as a broker between referring source and social workers, they have the power to accept or reject referrals, unless the law and department dictates they have to act,

they have the authority to allocate work, indicate priority as well as influence intervention methods. Historically intervention has been based upon caring for the child or young person to provide, protection from parental failures, and conformity to social norms. Court reports, legal supervision, fostercare, adoptions, institutional care and the like has meant social workers have considerable power over what happens to children and young people.

Inevitably the welfare state could not ameliorate child care problems. Psychological adjustment work was added to existing forms of socialisation following the second world war. Casework became the vogue; counselling a new skill for clients' personal development.

In the last decade another shift has occurred. Children's rights and the rights of ethnic minorities has followed in the wake of civil rights. Social Welfare institutions are being challenged to change to meet children's needs rather than children having to adapt to the institutions. Employment of ethnic minorities as social workers, particularly Maori people, and the move by the present Government to close down some Pakeha oriented Social Welfare institutions and give resources to the Maori community illustrate moves by the State in response to political pressure from the Maori community.

The capitalist state is able to respond to social needs shaping its policies and providing resources such as social workers according to the 'climate' at any particular time throughout history. In keeping with the historical-hermeneutic tradition, those involved existentially with the private troubles of individuals, families, groups and

communities, have engaged in various forms of social action to obtain reforms. Reforms have not led to the weakening of the capitalist state. On the contrary, the ability of the state to adapt and modify to meet social needs and at the same time serve the interests of capitalism, has been an enduring feature. This has been firmly underlined by the present Administration. It has achieved mass allegiance through the pursuit of right wing monetrist policies and left wing reforms in areas such as its policy on nuclear weapons and ship visits. In the social work field it has responded to Maori concerns giving them new found resources, while at the same time actually reducing its costs, by plans to close down institutions and giving only a small percentage of such savings to the Maori community.

The final trend in the genesis and development of the apprenticeship model is the importance given to the educative function of supervision including on-the-job training and socialisation into the organisation. In the pioneering days of social work few were educated and trained for the task. This responsibility lay with supervisors. Brackett writes:

"persons who take up philanthropic work as a calling or a leading interest, whether as paid officials or as volunteers, need to get as quickly as possible, with little waste to themselves and injury to others, the element which enters with instruction to make up education-experience. They should...achieve observation and practice under the guidance of persons of experience, who have learned how to focus with reasonable accuracy the objects before them, who really know somewhat of the needs and resources of the needy, or ill, or delinquent, or defective individuals for whom they care." (1903)

Brackett goes on to suggest that the right type of supervisors need to be at the head of institutions so the institutions become training

schools, as the master trained the apprentice and the doctor the pupil. In 1936 Robinson defined supervision as an educational process in which a person with a certain equipment of knowledge and skills takes responsibility for training a person with less equipment (1936:53). Then in 1965 the 'Encyclopedia of Social Work' maintained that supervision was the "method of transmitting knowledge of social work skills in practice from the trained to the untrained, from the experienced to the inexperienced student and worker" (cited in Kadushin 1976:19).

In essence then the supervisor has been regarded as a teacher or parent, who is expected because of superior education and experience to impart knowledge and skills in a didactic way to the supervisee, who in turn receives it as a student or child. Whilst access to training in the Universities has been available overseas since the turn of the century, and in New Zealand from Victoria University since 1950, to be followed by other Universities since 1973, the fact remains that most entrants to social work with the Department of Social Welfare are without a qualification in social work. (6) For example, Auckland District Office has twelve social workers in supervisory positions with half holding a social work qualification. It has thirty two basic grade social workers with only five holding a social work qualification. A third of the basic grade staff are Maori or Pacific Islander with none holding a social worker qualification. Most workers come to the job with no previous knowledge and experience of social work in a statutory organisation. Kadushin (1976) argues that those who come to the job with little previous knowledge and experience lack a commitment to social work as a long-term career, or identification

with the profession. This is borne out by the experience of Auckland District Office. Over fifty percent of all basic grade staff have been in post for less than two years. Such situations require intensive supervision to ensure training, standards and fulfilment of agency goals.

A major role thus performed by supervisors is that of the socialisation of supervisees. The supervisor has the task of helping supervisees to understanding the philosophy of the social work service and at the same time acting to foster a professional-emotional commitment to the agency. Even if new workers are already socialised towards a client-centred commitment, that is just one commitment. As stated by Wax:

In addition to the commitment to the client, the agency has commitments to the body, governmental or private, which provides its mandate and monies; to the social, economic, cultural, political and welfare organisations of the community; to the professional and administrative requirements of its staff; and to its institutionalised forms, traditions, and goals (Wax 1979:112).

During the socialisation period the new worker also learns about his/her place in the power structure, who holds formal and informal power, the communication systems, how status is assigned and how roles are prescribed. The job description has to be learnt, and because it tends to be fairly general, it means testing it out under the watchful eye of supervisors. If a supervisee wanders too far outside the agency's perception of the job description a warning may be given or even a reprimand.

In this context the supervisee is likely to experience role conflict

and/or role ambiguity. Conflict arising out of the multiple commitments and expectations of the agency. Ambiguity, as a result of lack of clarity about specific authority and responsibility in the new position. Hence the supervisor is a key person in the socialisation process. The supervisor also acts in a political way, for whatever shape and direction is given to the socialisation process, the supervisor is never neutral, instead acts according to his/her own ideological perspective and/or according to the ideology of the agency.

Supervisors themselves are subjected to a socialisation process. Upon promotion to supervisor, it is an entry to the organisational elite. It is a step into the rank of the agency's 'establishment' and the price of promotion is the expectation that supervisors will function as mid-managers and serve the agency while at the same time supervise those under them. As organisational functionaries, supervisors "serve as both creatures of the organisation and part of its apparatus (eg they work the apparatus and they are the apparatus)." (Austin 1981:8)

What is apparent in the apprenticeship model is that in reality supervisors may be poorly equipped to provide supervision. Serving an apprenticeship, showing loyalty to an organisation, being a good practitioner, are deemed criteria for promotion to a supervisory position. Given no formal training for the position, practice becomes based on past supervisory experiences whilst a basic grader. In short a supervisor is socialised into the norms of the agency and supervisors others to ensure they become socialised in like manner. What is therefore emphasised in supervision is the tripartite functions of administration and education and support. The apprenticeship model tends to perpetuate

an outdated, conservative system. Shirley maintains:

social work practice in New Zealand is often defined according to method or setting. Such distinctions are arbitrary and arise out of a tendency to accept one's mandate for practice on the basis of the employing agency or organisation's definition of the social work task (Shirley 1981:15).

Likewise Crockett (1981) has made the point that observation leads one to conclude that the social work task is often determined by the agency.

#### Decline of the Apprenticeship Model

While the apprenticeship model has potential for social action as shown by history, what has happened is that it has become conservative and aligned to the agency. Partly as a result of social workers no longer being at the vanguard of reform; partly as a result of the emergence of psychoanalysis and the development of the professional model; partly as a result of the technological push by the state with goal-rationality over-riding value-rationality.

During the 1920s a watershed emerged in the wake of the impact of psychoanalytic psychology of Freud, Kutzik argues that it was a momentous change for it was

from a social science base for casework practice to a psychological-psychiatric knowledge base and the concomitant change in this practice from the socioenvironmental approach (now considered superficial and manipulative) to the psychotherapeutic (professional) approach (Kutzik 1977:50).

Within the apprenticeship tradition supervisors adapted psychoanalysis that saw new developments in the educative, supportive functions of supervision. Marcus (1927) for example regarded supervision as an opportunity to treat the caseworker, to help resolve the workers personal or emotional problems, just as the worker investigates and treats the client. (Source Abels 1977:30) Zetzel (1953) regarded supervision as a special type of interpersonal human relationship in which the emotional factors bear resemblance to the client-worker or patient-doctor relationship. Lucille Austin argues that the teaching function in supervision has its base in psychoanalytic principles. She states:

an essential skill in supervision, therefore, is the selection of a teaching method based on an individualised educational diagnosis. This educational diagnosis includes an evaluation of the worker's performance in person-to-person and group relationships which inevitably is conditioned by his personality attributes as well as his intellectual abilities (Austin 1952).

While supervisors in the main do not today engage in diagnosis and treatment of supervisees in such an overt way, they may do so in a more subtle way. In Social Welfare the probation reports and yearly assessments call for an evaluation of the supervisee's personality. A probationer may be discharged on the grounds of an 'unsuitable personality' for social work. Appeals to the Public Service Appeals Board are based on four categories, one being personality factors (the others being experience, competency and educational qualifications), with personality determined by comments made by supervisors in yearly assessments. Such assessments are not made according to objective criteria, rather are based on the subjective experience of the supervisor in relationship to a supervisee. It is not surprising the apprenticeship model

faces contempt and resentment with supervisor and supervisee playing emotional games for their survival (Kadushin 1967). (7) At the same time trained social workers tended to downplay practical wisdom based upon experience and resented clientele problems being viewed as moral problems. A professional model opened the way for new developments with psychoanalysis providing the initial scientific base followed by other theories and models.

Then came the development of rationally based management which in Social Welfare took off with the introduction of management by objectives, the need for improved performance in the public sector and accountability. (Benton 1982) (8) Under Labour this has seen further development with the decentralisation of social work decisions and corporate management trends at local levels. It would suggest the end may be in site for the apprenticeship model that can no longer compete for allegiance with the professional model.

NOTES: CHAPTER TWO

1. Some early settlers held to the notion of the noble savage based on Rousseau's idealised natural man. Niccol for example, lamented that after 1840 settlers saw Maori culture as ignorance and believed British culture would turn New Zealand into Eden. As for Niccol he aspired to the values of the 'savage' who lived at peace with nature (Source, Grover, 1982:343). Most settlers turned the French word 'savage' meaning 'wild' into a language of hate, racism and held to the superiority of British culture. Thus christianity, commerce and civilisation joined forces to justify the superiority of British culture and the subjugation of the Maori.
2. Lady Martin was the wife of Judge Martin, first Judge of New Zealand with residency in Auckland. Her record of life in New Zealand was published in 1884 for the Society Promoting Christian knowledge. It has numerous examples of the way the British saw themselves as superior in culture and today would be called 'racist'.
3. Puao-te-ata-tu (day break) is the report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare. The recommendations made in the report have become the blue-print for the development of a Maori perspective in Department of Social Welfare.
4. Oliver (1979), Tennant (1979), Shirley (1983) Pearson and Thorns (1983) all argue that Social Welfare in New Zealand was not simply paternalism in a humanitarian sense. Its character may also be seen in terms of control, discipline and efficiency. Shirley argues policy makers have planned for a dependent society.
5. McDonald (1978) has reviewed the status of children in New Zealand under four epochs. From 1840-99 the child was a chattel with no special rights before the law, nor protection from maltreatment or neglect meted out by parents, fosterparents or employers. For in laissez-faire capitalism the state saw child-care in the realm of parents, church and private entrepreneurs. Between 1900-44 the child was seen as social capital. Then from 1945-1969 the child was seen as a psychological being arising from new theories in psychology and education. The final epoch is the child as a citizen from 1970.
6. In 1979, 4 percent of field social workers with Social Welfare had a social work qualification and by 1986 this had increased to 31 percent. Within residential social work the number with a social work qualification is minimal. (Source Report of DSW for year end 31 March 1986)

7. Kadushin argues that the supervisory situation generates anxieties for the supervisee for often it is expected that the supervisee ought to change behaviour and personality, power is unequal, thus to defend herself/himself the supervisee plays various games to manipulate the situation. Supervisors join in the games and indeed play their own games out of felt threat to their position in the hierarchy, uncertainty about their authority and their desire to be liked.
8. In 1982, Mr B. Benton, from the U.S.A. persuaded the Department of Social Welfare to set in motion social programme evaluation because economic and political pressures demanded the Department to do more with less.

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## CHAPTER THREE

THE PROFESSIONAL MODEL

The empirical-analytic tradition is based on main stream science that has successfully argued that knowledge is obtained by facts or data via technical rules, which leads to options in terms of social policy and social work according to gained knowledge. Social change thereby occurs through facts and information to guide the implementation of additional resources and services, or to readjust what is in existence. The cognitive interests are technical as opposed to practical wisdom. It is implicitly functionalist in its political stance for technology is sold as being 'neutral' whereas in reality it acts to maintain the existing capitalist system. While this tradition is far removed from the historical-hermeneutic tradition it must be remembered that its ultimate goals are the same - both traditions are an intrinsic part of capitalist welfare societies and both serve the interests of capitalism. Habermas tends to regard these traditions as distinct paradigms whereas the position taken by this writer is that they both operate within the capitalist paradigm. The conflict between the two traditions are intra-conflict not inter-conflict; it is a conflict and debate over the means to an end (See Figure 2).

The professional model lies within the empirical-analytic tradition. It arose out of a reaction against the apprenticeship model as social workers shifted their interests to technical knowledge so that services become disciplined, efficient and effective. It gave rise to a wealth

of interventionary theories and models for assessment and intervention, particularly in casework. At the same time it gave social workers the hope to be recognised as a profession with status and power as bestowed on the medical profession. Four major themes can be unravelled in the professional model: the use of an empirical-analytic scientific base for social work practice; corporate management trends; the social worker as an organisational and professional person; social work as a profession.

#### An Empirical-analytic Social Work Practice

From the 1920s onwards a search began for the utilisation of a theory and/or model, as well as skills, based upon what had been empirically tested. The psychoanalytic theories, especially that of Freud provided the occupation with an esoteric vocabulary to replace explicit moral categories. While we may disagree with the religious/moral values of early social work it was nevertheless a normative stance. With the coming of Freud the shift was to analytical, 'neutral' practitioners acting in a 'scientific' manner. Corner (1959) expressed this shift perfectly by claiming:

Slowly but surely, a change of emphasis has taken place. We speak no longer of the immoral but the immature; the lazy good-for-nothing of those days is the inadequate of today...; the pervert has become a deviant; the drunkard an alcoholic whom we try to help by psychiatric treatment...In casework in fact, we are not judgemental but analytical... We do not regard our client's problems as moral ones but as emotional ones...I suggest in fact that moral values are no longer at the core of things in the practice of casework (cited by C. Jones 1979 p.85).

Psychoanalysis provided the concepts for attention to the psychological development of clients. The fact it remained largely untested and unvalidated was of little concern in the light of having a theory to change individual clients. It gave a scientific base to the diagnostic school of social work. Diagnosis of presenting problems went hand-in-hand with a prescribed course of treatment. While this school of social work did not go unchallenged the fact remains it was very influential, particularly in the U.S.A. though lesser so in Great Britain and New Zealand. (1) (In New Zealand the diagnostic school is usually known as the medical model of social work practice). Supervisors became the 'experts' who were able to diagnose and recommend treatment to be used by supervisees upon their clients. Casenotes and case conferences became the vehicle to determine social work assessment and intervention.

Another way which the diagnostic school influenced the functions of supervision was the development of the consultative function of supervision to add to the established tripartite functions of administration, education and support. This function arose from the mental health movement following world war two. Limited personnel coincided with high rates of mental disorders. Hence trained professionals became expert consultants to less experienced staff providing education/teaching and support. The consultative process was largely inter-disciplinary with psychiatrists being consultants to social workers to enable the latter to diagnose, treat and rehabilitate the "mentally ill". Dr Caplan at the Harvard School of Public Health developed the crisis intervention model utilising problem-solving techniques to help consultees work with

their clientele. He developed a typology of mental health consultation with a four-fold function: client-centred case consultation; consultee-centered case consultation; programme-centered administrative consultation; consultee-centered administrative consultation.

The consultation process is summarised by Kadushin as follows:

an interacting process - a series of sequential steps taken to achieve some objective through an interpersonal relationship. One participant in the transaction has greater expertise, greater knowledge, greater skill in the performance of some particular specialised function, and this person is designated consultant. The consultee, generally a professional, has encountered a problem in relation to his job which requires the knowledge, skill and expertise of the consultant for its solution or amelioration (Kadushin 1977:25).

Those that advocate this function criticise the tripartite function, especially administration, as a means of control. It is argued that the consultant-consultee relationship is voluntary, problem-solving being a joint process with the consultee free to accept or reject, modify or adapt, the help and advice given.

However, the belief that the relationship is without control or domination of the consultant over the consultee is illusory. Rejection of the advice of 'experts' means serious consequences for the consultee if the intervention fails. A rejection of advice may be interpreted as the consultee being unwilling to accept the opinions of others. Furthermore, the consultant is not a value free 'expert' for he/she enters into the relationship with a baggage of values and an ideological perspective combined with a conviction he/she is right.

The consultative process is thereby linked to professional power and the professional model in supervision. The Auckland Hospital Board has child abuse teams that are multi-disciplinary. Social Welfare social workers may consult the team for advice and help in dealing with abuse and guidance when removing a child from a dangerous or unsuitable environment. Several important points need to be made regarding the consultation. First, the multi-disciplinary child abuse team is dominated by the medical profession. Second, social workers become absorbed into the medical culture. Third, the emphasis is upon rescuing children from harmful situations or dealing with parents and other individuals who have been deemed as 'deviant'. Fourth, little attention is given to the condition of child neglect caused by situations such as poverty, unemployment, low income or poor housing. Fifth, no analysis is made of the interplay of values and social, economic and political institutions and processes which shape social policies by which the rights and lives of specific groups of children, as well as all children, are determined. Finally Social Welfare supervisors feel presurised into accepting the advice of the consultants and are criticised if they do not, and take an action that does not work out satisfactorily.

In short the diagnostic or medical model along with the consultative process has been a powerful influence upon social workers and supervisors. True, the psychoanalytic base may have lost favour, but that does not mean the end of diagnostic social work. Rather, it is still in vogue in certain areas of social work in the Auckland Hospital Board, particularly with child protection team members.

In the last two decades a shift has taken place in casework. Vaguely defined, unvalidated and uncritical practice theories and models have been pushed aside by tested theories, models and skills such as Behaviouralism, Rational-emotive Therapy or the Task Centered System. Fischer (1978) regards this shift of such profundity to be labelled a paradigm shift. While we may disagree with Fischer's view of a paradigm shift, the point is taken that a major change has occurred which has strengthened the empirical-analytic tradition. It is assumed that therapeutic technologies with a scientific base result in technological excellence in terms of efficiency and effectiveness with the practitioner providing a politically neutral technology. Epstein (1971) takes to task these false assumptions and concludes:

All therapeutic technologies are inherently political. First, they contain within them tacit theories of social problems and social change. Second, they imply political decisions about problem definitions and targets of intervention. Third, they prescribe and proscribe what are ultimately political roles for the therapist, the client, and representatives of the larger society. Fourth, they allocate different degrees of power to each of these groups for decision-making within the therapeutic context. Finally, the implementation of a therapeutic technology has consequences for the future political attitudes and actions of those who are treated (Epstein 1971:140).

#### Corporate Management Trends

Within the Department of Social Welfare social work supervision places considerable emphasis upon technical management. Procedures have to be followed which are laid down in the Manual. Considerable time is

spent making submissions to appropriate delegated management for resources and decisions pertaining to casework. Management decisions are made in person-power planning according to statistical returns. All statewards (guardianship or section eleven) have to be provided with a case plan based on M.B.O. technology. Supervision time is spent on formulating and evaluating case plans with a real danger of such exercises caring for people in a way that is a-theoretical and preoccupied with technical skills as an end in itself as well as the means to an end. These examples of technical management are no accident for they are the consequence of social policy determined by the state. Both National and Labour Governments have called for improved performance in the public sector, for accountability and a commitment by management to achieve these demands. The public sector is called upon to analyse its efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness of social policies and programmes. In Social Welfare two recent announcements have highlighted the determination to ensure the almost total dominance of the technical approach. First, the State Services Commission has laid down that as from April 1986 Personal Assessments will be based upon performance criteria. Second, the Director-General in December 1985 issued a blueprint of the Department's Mission Statement, Goals and Objectives to signal the 'new look' direction of management. In essence it reiterates the commitment to technological excellence. In keeping with the Labour Government's call for better management and accountability, decentralisation is to occur; more managerial positions will be created and appointment to managerial positions will defy traditional occupational lines. The future may well see managers heading social work services who come from a different occupation, but are appointed due to

proven managerial performance. Already at Head Office level, appointments in key positions have been made with personnel coming from organisations such as Treasury. Moves are underway to change the occupational classification of social work managers from social work to the executive-clerical.

Decentralisation into regional districts has meant the end in sight for a social work section at Head Office. It has also resulted in each district office assuming more autonomy and local decision making. While many of these developments are welcomed one must also critically analyse the political intent behind such developments. This author suggests that all these developments towards corporate management are the state's deliberate intent to put the emphasis on goal-rationality instead of value-rationality, and from the application of performance criteria based on efficiency and effectiveness evaluations, decided future directions for social work. Two developments in 1987 illustrate this analysis. First, district offices now have their own budgets with the social work section having to manage its own expenditure in a number of offices. At the same time budget allocations to the social work and administrative arms of district offices have been significantly reduced. How well social work supervisors use allocated money, which will be inadequate in the first place, may take precedence over value-rationality decisions regarding social work practice. Second, Internal Audit Units are being formed with a direct line to the Director-General to monitor the performance of district offices including social work services. In hitherto unherald fashion, social work supervisors, face the demand of providing management based upon technological excellence.

### Organisational and Professional Issues

Over the past three decades of social work development in New Zealand two major issues have come to notice, namely, the role of the social worker in an organisation and professional autonomy. Drucker (1979) points out that public service organisations are the real growth industry of modern society. They have grown faster and larger than ever thought possible by earlier generations (See Drucker 1979:126-127). Huse makes the rather useful observation that:

we also live in a world of organisations, we are born, educated, live, work, and die in a series of organisations...Because ours is a society of organisations, the impact of culture and change on organisations is highly important, even crucial (Huse 1980:17).

Specifically to social work Patti underlines that:

social work is a profession whose members depend on formal organisations (social agencies) in which they work for much of their legitimacy as professionals, the resources necessary to deliver services, the clientele for whom services are provided, and, in large part, the developmental opportunities that are necessary for professional growth (Patti 1980: 46).

This can be illustrated by the growth industry of social work. Cecile Thain-Errington (1983) has traced the growth of social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board. In August 1946, the first medical social worker was appointed. By 1958, the number had increased to ten, today there is a staff of 161 social workers.

Concurrent to this development has been social work training for a recognised social work qualification. As previously stated in 1950 Victoria University offered a qualification in social work, then from 1973 onwards courses were developed at Auckland University (course was later to be axed), Massey University, Canterbury University and Auckland College of Education. While within Social Welfare most staff still hold no formal social work qualifications this is not the case in the Auckland Hospital Board or indeed throughout the hospital system. By 1978, 29.2 percent of health social workers in New Zealand had a recognised social work qualification, by 1982 it was at 45 percent and today nearly all social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board hold a qualification in social work. This is the Board's policy, as stated by Chairman, Dr Frank Rutter to the National Business Review, 1 October 1984, the Board has an obligation to keep standards and therefore wants 'professional' social workers and the Board is prepared for a fight on the issue. Hessey (1983) (former Chief Social Worker to A.H.B.), argues the case for professionally trained social workers as being the best equipped to counter disabling bureaucracies. She states:

Generating change in the organisation itself in terms of structures, priorities, planning and services is also an important aspect of the social work task. The professionally trained social worker, is more likely to take the risks of challenging agency policy than the unqualified employee.

Implicit is the assumption that a professional model will provide a challenge to the bureaucratic organisation in the interests of professional standards. It is therefore argued that conflict exists between professional autonomy and organisational authority (Munson 1979:336,

and Finch 1976:370). Mandell suggests this conflict has intensified due to the equality revolution at the societal level (1979:311-324). Gummer (1978) has developed a model known as the power-politics approach which can be usefully applied to this debate, Gummer's central concern is to argue that organisations are political arenas in which various interest groups compete for control of resources. Once resources are obtained they are unlikely to be given up without a fight. Because resources are normally limited, it means a political contest over them. In a hospital, for example, we have numerous subunits: doctors, social workers, nurses, administrators and so forth. Each occupational group can be engaged in a political contest with one another, either directly or indirectly through management, for management controls and distributes the resources. The group that obtains most resources must be politically powerful as well as having an ideology attractive to management. Hence social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board argued they had to constantly fight the establishment, especially doctors. Basic grade staff were often critical of the failure of senior social workers to obtain adequate resources and fight for them. A number of social workers argued that the fight was with other professional groups to achieve recognition that social work was a profession and once recognition was obtained they would be in a position to achieve change away from the dominance of the medical model.

While it is true that social workers and supervisors within the professional model challenge the bureaucracy, achieve some changes in terms of how supervision functions, alter procedures for working with clients and the like, it does not mean structural changes away from the empirical-

analytic tradition. Technological development and corporate management has occurred in an unprecedented way at the same time there has been increases of qualified social workers, especially at supervisory levels. One reason for this is that social work services are what Parry (1979) terms as hybrid bureau-professionalism. He maintains:

bureau-professionalism has thus offered a chance to create a unified social work profession but within a 'humanised' bureaucratic structure. By this method the social work elite hoped to establish a position of definite, if limited, professional control which could in the long run incorporate, through professional training, the large army of untrained social workers...whether in field work or residential care services (Parry and Parry 1979: 43).

Or to put it in different words, the professional social worker in the empirical-analytic tradition is a scientific practitioner with an identification to both the organisation and profession and it is this duality which stands in contrast to the apprenticeship model which is not only an 'unscientific' practice but also lacking in organisational expertise.

One research that tests the identification to the bureaucracy and profession has been carried out by Green (1966). Green developed a model with four cells representing identification possibilities with the bureaucracy and profession. We can set this out as follows in Figure 4.

## F I G U R E 4

CELL REPRESENTATION OF WORKER IDENTIFICATION  
WITH BUREAUCRACY OR PROFESSION

Bureaucratic Identification	Professional Identification	
	High	Low
High	Cell A	Cell B
Low	Cell C	Cell D

(Cited in Finch 1976:371)

Green then found that social workers tended to function with a minimum of conflict integrating professional and organisational roles. Hall (1966) found an equilibrium may well exist. Billingsley (1964) also maintained that a practice at Cell A was a high possibility.

Another reason why social workers' change activities are limited is that structural change is exceedingly difficult. Brager and Holloway (1978) have examined change possibilities within human service organisations. At the micro level change is people - focused. The assumption being that unsatisfactory performances are as a direct result of people's inadequacies rather than structural arrangements. The focus is upon changing people's attitudes motivation or skills. Brager and Holloway point out that:

people change is the type of change most likely to garner the support of top hierarchies. It is implicitly critical of organisation's personnel rather than organisation's programme and structure

or its ideology, and is therefore far less controversial. Indeed, changes in people are often encouraged by powerful participants for political reasons since it is often in their interests to give the appearance of dealing with a problem rather than to solve it (Brager and Holloway 1978:19).

At the mezzo-level change is over technology, changing the 'tools' used to provide a more effective and efficient service for clients. At this level the greater the magnitude of change, the greater the likelihood of resistance from top-management.

The third level of change is at the macro-level which is structural change. At this level change can be between the structural arrangements of supervision between supervisor and supervisee(s), how supervision functions in a team, an agency, an organisation. Change of structure is by far the most profound, that of technology less so, and change of people less significant. Given this, change of structures are the most difficult to implement for change is overt political activity. Moreover, changing people's motivation and skills or changing technology are legitimised through the ideology of the supremacy of science and technology, and operationalised through performance criteria.

The final reason why those in the professional model are unlikely to seek significant structural changes, lies in the assertion by Gummer, that those who obtain power are reluctant to share it. Likewise Resnick and Patti (1980) point out the propensity of human service organisations to preserve the status quo. They state:

one of the major insights provided by organisational theory and research in recent years is that human service organisations, no less than other kinds of organisations, tend over time to become preoccupied with their own maintenance and survival. Social scientists have coined the term "goal displacement" to describe the phenomenon wherein the avowed social purposes of public service institutions are replaced by latent goals such as the protection of organisational jurisdiction, programme continuity, employment security, and a host of other self-serving and self-aggrandising objectives (Resnick and Patti 1980:3).

### Social Work as a Profession

The utilisation of the professional model with empirically based technology, corporate management trends and the social worker as a bureau-professional, raises the issue of social work as a profession. Many believe social work is a profession, for example, Greenwood (1957) concluded it is for it met certain defined traits (Cited: Morales and Shaef-er 1980:43). Likewise, Wilensky (1964) pointed out that an ideal model of a profession had eight components with social work meeting them. On the other hand Elliot and Etzioni have argued that social work is only a semi-profession like nursing (Cited: K. Jones et.al.1978). The point is no agreed list of what determines a profession exists. Miller surveyed 21 writers who had drawn up lists giving 23 traits with no trait appearing on all lists (Cited: K. Jones et.al.1978:61). Professional attributes or traits exist according to the group using them to aspire to 'expertise' and domination. As Simpkin has so correctly pointed out, "the most amazing feature of the argument is its readiness to accept the professions own definition of themselves" (1979:120).

The heart of the issue concerning professionalism is the ideology of 'expertise' and bestowed privilege and power. The glamour of psychiatry and the appointment of psychiatric social workers did much to herald social work as a profession like medicine and with it 'expertise'. Howe (1980) has stated this process rather well maintaining that as social work began to aspire to the professional model of the medical profession the focus was shifted upon the individual and the means by which technical skills could be used to assess the problem and effect a cure. Caught up in Freudian psychology the idea was "the highest status in social work went to caseworkers, especially psychiatric caseworkers... Psychiatric social work came closest to achieving the medical model of professionalism" (p.180).

Within the Auckland Hospital Board western medicine based on diagnosis, treatment and prognosis over-rides primary medical care. While a number of social workers were critical of the medical model and voiced concern over the lack of commitment to primary health care, they were nevertheless very much part of the medical model with the notion of professional expertise. In fact by being part of it, social workers could be seen as professionals - colleagues to other professions with the bestowal of power, status and expertise. By being linked to medical care system social workers were given immediate justification for their services, employment of additional staff along with training provisions. At the same time it meant working in an area of 'certainty' with the implicit notion that the prevailing ideology of western medicine is for the benefits of all people regardless of class and race. In effect the professional model leads to what Parkin (1979) terms social closure. A process by which the dominant social group maximises its own rewards by restrict-

ing the access of other groups to resources and opportunities. At an individual level this exists as hospital board social workers insist that only those with a professional qualification will be employed. Thus ethnic minorities are often excluded and in the Auckland Hospital Board, at the time of this author's research, only 5 Maori social workers were employed and 2 Pacific Islanders. None were employed at senior levels. While some social workers opposed the recruitment policies, most endorsed it. Moreover the ideology of the Board that professional qualifications ensured professional standards is implicitly racist. It means the qualifications of Maori people with Taha Maori and an understanding of Maori health from a holistic perspective are undermined. It assumes Pakeha professionals can provide a service to all ethnic groups for all groups hold to the values of western medicine seeing its superiority over traditional medicine. At the collective level social closure also exists. Historically, middle-class people have been employed as social workers with selection processes to ensure the exclusions of 'outsiders'. In terms of employment of 'black' social workers, Ketko's Nuffield Report of Social Services in Great Britain makes the comment that:

"it has been observed that the black applicant for a social service position who is most acceptable to the predominantly white selection panel is the one who seems most like themselves (a phenomenon not unknown in New Zealand)...The few non-whites who were selected were those who were furthest removed from their own cultures and therefore probably least credible to the population they were selected to work with" (Ketko 1982:83).

Within New Zealand, Social Welfare, has recognised the monocultural make-up of selection panels, strides have been made to involve Maori

people whether that be a social worker or someone from the community. Given the dominance of the empirical-analytic tradition and the professional model it remains to be seen if Maori people will be selected having an ideology that threatens the prevailing ideology. Or if they are selected, will socialisation ensure incorporatisation into existing structures and prevailing ideology?

Because the profession has expertise the social worker is sustained in the belief that he or she is doing the right things and if things go wrong then it must be the client's fault. In effect an arrogance exists that allows the social worker to determine what the client problem is (I will tell you), what must be done (I will tell you what to do) and when the service is ready to be terminated (you are 'cured' for I have deemed it so). Consequently evaluation is left to the social worker who maintains exclusive rights to evaluate the effectiveness of the service. In essence depoliticisation avoids moral and political issues for there is no challenge from the community.

If the professional model serves the interests of social workers it also serves the interests of the state. The point made by Jakubowicz (1981) with the concept of legitimation/patronage. Legitimation is given to social workers by the state thus bestowal of power and status in return for a patron-client relationship. Both in fact need each other: the state needs the profession to perform strategic social functions; the profession relies on the state to legitimate its expertise and power over others. With a commitment to welfare the government needs professionals. Firstly, to express social concerns gained from community groups,

and which need action to alleviate hardship, ameliorate problems and pacify actual or potential unrest. Secondly, to indicate to the public that the state cares for the poor, the underprivileged, the stigmatised, minority groups and the working-class and class fractions such as the unemployed. Thirdly as argued by Halmos the personal service professions provide moral leadership and are a vehicle for moral change (Cited in Wilding 1984:13). Fourthly by their social position and work the professionals help to maintain the existing capitalist world order at the ideological, economic and political domains. Finally the professionals serve to advise the state on policy options, how to organise services, who should be on fact finding working parties, quangos and the like, who should be the recipients of services and the likely outcome of certain services. Hence using O'Connor's (1973) typology, state expenditure, whether social investment or social expenses, is required because the state needs services to maintain its ruling hegemony.

While it is true, individual social work supervisors are unlikely to serve the needs of the government in a direct way, they do so collectively, and in fact many actions by individual supervisors indirectly serve to meet the needs of government. Supervisors do provide moral leadership for most come from the middle-class. Their position reinforces and illustrates the state welfare system cares for people. They are able to channel social concerns upwards and in many ways they serve to maintain ruling hegemony at the existing ideological, economic and political levels. For instance potential unrest or even actual unrest is pacified through services. Legal supervision provides a check on those who are a nuisance to society and perhaps a danger. Individualised

casework prevents private troubles becoming public issues with problems being technical rather than moral, political and structural. Professionals act to solve problems within the existing social order, as expert technicians they are what Wilding calls social engineers rather than the strategic planners of social change (1984:16). As supervisors, and social workers, practice the politics of expertise they remove people from the public arena of moral and political discourse. It is assumed clients no longer have the answer, nor is the answer located in the wider context of society, but wrapped up in the expertise of the professional:

As social problems become the concern of professionals, the professionals become involved in a problem-solving domain where problems and their solutions are seen as technical rather than as structural and political...Solutions to problems that are seen in their more delimited aspects and interpreted in technological terms will tend to be isolated from solutions pursued in the arena of structural social change and mass political movements in the society at large (Galper 1975:92).

#### Concluding Remarks

Social workers are subtly drawn into the ideology which supports the ruling hegemony. It is difficult to stand aside from the empirical-analytic tradition for it is both dominant and dominating. As, stated by Jones:

"more and more aspects of social life are now coming under the rule of 'experts', who claim that their authority to intervene and advise people how to live their lives, raise their children and so forth, is based on a body of knowledge, a science. With

its images of neutrality, rationality, universality and truth, science and technology have become the lingua franca of domination" (1979:79).

Moral questions are converted into technical solutions resolved through utilisation of empirically tested theories and models and by corporate management. Social work as a consequence has lost sight of its historic mission. We accordingly have a situation in which:

The dominant spirit of technical professionalism... determines which questions should be asked...Moral and political debate is not outlawed, but it is kept in its place, and the questions which are regarded as legitimate and 'useful' are questions with technical solutions. In doing this Social Welfare does not only forget its explicit political history; it also imagines that certain questions (of a moral and political character) are already answered satisfactorily (G. Pearson 1975:208).

Instead of a united theory and practice (praxis) a split exists. Moral questions become intellectual and academic with political decisions the exclusive domain of the government. Public servants legitimate function is to provide alternative policies in a 'neutral' scientific way along with technical solutions. They are regarded as trespassers should they encroach upon the political arena. Social workers are thereby expected to live a dichotomous working life: moral and political issues are divorced from practice and relegated to private involvement outside the public sphere. This dichotomy effectively means there can be no revolutionary practice in social work. For as Lenin's famous statement herald: "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement".

It does not of course follow that the professional model has nothing to do with politics. Professionalism cannot be regarded as neutral, there are no neutrals, neutrality is a myth, it is a sheer delusion. To regard social problems as individual problems and to act as if politics have nothing to do with the intervention is to side with the existing world order and to maintain the status quo at ideological, political and economic levels. To ignore causes of problems by treating symptoms is just as political as to make a critical analysis of causes. As argued by Wilding:

"Professional work cannot then be regarded as neutral. Its focus is either an implicit statement about causation or an implicit statement in support of the existing economic and social structure which produces the situations with which the profession deals (Wilding 1984:100).

This does not mean that social workers are deterministically wrapped into the empirical-analytic tradition. For they act in ways to reinforce the cognitive interests of the technical, they act to reinforce ruling hegemony, they fail to act to find alternatives. Once there is a challenge to the notion that professional work is scientific and politically neutral, performed in the public interest, the way is opened for public discourse. Political neutrality is necessary to maintain power. The questioning of neutrality opens up the questioning of power, privilege, human rights and justice. What we have to find is an alternative tradition and a different supervisory model that provides the means for value-rationality and emancipation. This will be our quest in Chapter Four.

NOTES: CHAPTER THREE

1. Timms (1983) argues that three major controversies can be identified in the history of social work. The first value debate was between early socialists, such as the Fabians, who held to social problems arising from the social structures of capitalism and the moralists who sought to modify the values and moral behaviour of clients. The second major debate was between the functionalists and the diagnostic school. This was a division over casework methods. The functionalists argued for client self-determination and respect for the individual. Therapy is not just between therapist and client, also involved is the agency with social work's prime purpose being to accomplish the purpose of the agency. The diagnostic school were very influential due to use of Freudian psychology and close links to the medical profession. Within New Zealand this has not been so obvious, except within hospitals, and particularly the psychiatric hospitals. The third major controversy has been between radical practice which gives attention to the capitalist state and class, versus liberalistic concerns.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

THE RADICAL MODEL

The critical-emancipatory tradition offers the promise of an alternative tradition to the historical-hermeneutic and empirical-analytic traditions, which belong to the capitalist paradigm, and thereby are unable to satisfactorily address the problem of inequality at economic, political, social, cultural and ideological levels. Instead, the critical-emancipatory tradition is grounded in the socialist/marxist paradigm with a concern for social justice, equality, relationships of power, class issues, and for a 'new' world order portrayed by radical democracy as well as fairer structural arrangements. Habermas proposes the critical mode of practice with emancipation as the cognitive interest.

If we take Habermas' understanding of critical theory we are dealing with a united theory and practice (praxis) that has a theory subjected to critique through rational discourse and a practice which reflects upon all the unnecessary, alienative, exploitive and repressive forms of authority in society coupled with the determination to find the means to engage in political struggle that sets people free (See Habermas 1973:32). A prime concern then is the understanding of the way power is used in capitalist societies to maintain unjust and unequal social relationships whether in the work-place, or in the home, or in class and ethnic relationships. Change of such situations is not confined to the individual or group as in other models, instead the social structures are taken seriously. Change is directed towards the ideology people

live by and the political, economic and social structures which affect and shape the lives of all people. Gramsci argued that ideology played a crucial role in the way in which the elite maintained hegemony over others. It bound together diverse social groups "acting as cement or as an agent of social unification" (Simon 1982:60). Thus change cannot take place unless people are engaged in rational discourse to debate 'what is' and 'what ought to be'. Critical practice treats all people as philosophers for all have some conception of their world. Change also requires the political will to transform and humanise oppressive social structures.

No one has summed up critical practice and the role of the social worker in such tradition better than Shirley. He states:

The power of the critical practice model...lies in the way that it synthesises theory and practice. This practice begins with a present existential concrete situation rooted in reality, but reflecting too the aspirations of human beings in search of fulfillment. The practitioner in this tradition immerses him or herself in the private troubles of individuals by personally sharing their pains and injustices. By utilising the basic contradictions in each situation the oppressed are challenged to respond not only in intellectual terms, but also in action, and the object of this action is the reality to be transformed. United reflection and action (praxis) is the means by which the world is transformed and humanised. This cannot be achieved by imposing one's ideas on another, nor can it be effected by distorting truth. Rather dialogue is the encounter between human beings mediated by the world in order to name and transform the world. Subjects involved in this form of development have the task of unveiling reality and coming to know it critically. They also have an additional task - that of recreating knowledge through common reflection and action, and in this process they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators (Shirley 1982:286).

We shall critically examine this statement in the remainder of this chapter and apply it to social work supervision. Before we do so, however, we need to define radical practice for it is a generic term arisen out of the rediscovery of social policy and social work being primarily rooted in moral-political choices. Bailey and Brake (1975) define radical social work as:

essentially understanding the position of the oppressed in the context of the social and economic structure they live in (1975:9).

In similar manner Massey University Social Work Unit in 1983 defined social work/community work as:

professions based on the principles of social justice, equity, individual and social well-being. They translate personal troubles into public issues and public issues into terms of their human meaning. These forms of intervention involve practice with individuals, groups and institutions in their environmental context.

These positions do not go far enough, accordingly, this writer agrees with those who take radicalism to mean, in addition, the transformation of society from capitalism to a new world order. Michael Elliot (1978) maintains it is:

to identify the needs and aspirations of those who are excluded, exploited or oppressed by the structures of society, to enable them to perceive and understand the causes of such oppression, and to empower them to either change the present structures or to create counter structures which fulfill human potential and establish justice and dignity (Cited in Craig 1983:21).

Galper is even more precise, maintaining radical social work is:

social work that contributes to building a movement for the transformation to socialism by its efforts in and through the social services. Radical social work, in this understanding, is socialist social work. Those who practice radical social work are those who struggle for socialism from their positions within the social services (Galper 1980:10).

### The Need for a United Theory and Practice

Men's activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis; it is transformation of the world. And as praxis it requires theory to illuminate it. Men's activity is theory and practice: it is reflection and action (Freire 1970, Source:Bennis et.al. 1976:171).

Social change cannot be achieved with theory or practice, there can be neither the thinkers or doers, nor ought there to be dichotomy by which praxis is divided first into theory and second into action. Critical reflection is action, and action and reflection take place simultaneously even if it is deemed that for the present a particular action is inappropriate, or impossible at a given time. Thus in social work practice and supervision a radical stance cannot be achieved, except in a distorted way, unless theory and practice are one. Having stated such a proposition for the sake of analysis we will split theory and practice.

Supervisory theory can fall into two broad categories defined by Durkheim as normative and non-normative (Source:Pinker 1971:97-98). Normative theories emphasise 'what ought to be' thus reform or revolution

is the aim. Non-normative theories are confined to 'what is', thus are scientific or speculative in the sense of proposing hypotheses to be confirmed. In essence a non-normative theory is concerned with quantification while a normative theory is concerned with understanding and perhaps emancipation. One further point needs clarification. Sociologists sometimes call some theories as grand-range and others as mid-range. A grand-range theory such as capitalism or marxism is what this writer calls an ideological perspective. A mid-range theory explains models of intervention. Clearly, a supervisory theory is a mid-range one used to explain the apprenticeship, professional and radical models. Each mid-range theory, however, is derived from a grand-range theory or ideological perspective.

What we have then is the professional model located in the empirical-analytic tradition which is grounded in capitalism. It is a non-normative stance for the task is technical using social scientific skills to achieve determined ends. The apprenticeship model located in the historical-hermeneutic tradition is likewise grounded in capitalism. It is however a normative stance for the goal of analysis is understanding derived from identification with clientele groups. Moreover in the early days of social work it had a moral-religious dimension. When we came to the radical model which is located in the critical-emancipatory tradition and rooted in socialism/marxism we have a normative stance that critically examines the political, economic and social structures and aims to empower people to achieve emancipation from all that is crippling and dehumanising. It is a political-moral position that has as its goal both understanding and emancipation. It is only this posit-

ion that provides a revolutionary theory. In this tradition supervision is based upon a theory that explicitly challenges the state.

The term practice also has been given different meanings. At its lowest level, it is used to describe tasks or skills. At its mid-range level, practice describes what occurs in a certain context, such as supervision in a specific agency. At its highest level, practice refers to action of a general purpose. Practice thereby at this level evolves from an ideological perspective or a mid-range theory. It is this notion of practice when we talk of an united theory and practice.

Ideally supervision must have 'theory in action' or what Freire calls 'reflection and action'. Without a radical practice a mere shadow exists with a dichotomy between thinking and doing. While real effort is required to have an united theory and practice, in reality there will be many occasions in which this will not occur. Within a radical model, a supervisor may have to use technical tools by checking case plans using a M.B.O. formula, or checking to see that note slips and computer advice slips are completed and correct. A supervisor may work with a supervisee in a family situation using a phenomenological approach in the historical-hermeneutic tradition.

As we have already pointed out the critical emancipatory tradition does not set out to negate the other two traditions. All data must be subjected to critique; we need to understand supervisees and/or clients out of identification with their lives. But we must not stop at such points, rather we need to go beyond the other traditions to a critical

practice. Supervisory practice ought not be judged so much by specific actions, instead what must be determined is the overall purpose.

### The Difficulty of Consistency

For practitioners using radical supervision in the Hospital Board or Social Welfare, day in and day out contradictions exist. It is difficult to deal with the immediate needs of supervisees and their clients and at the same time keep alive the vision and will for a new world order. A struggle exists due to supervisor's actions either being part of the system that is a purveyor of injustices or they belong to a vanguard that seeks human dignity in the midst of a dehumanising and tyrannical world. On the one hand radicals are critical of the welfare state; its policies and programmes. On the other hand, most, if not all, vigorously oppose cut-backs in welfare provisions. At the same time those critical of the welfare state are located within the state.

If radical supervision is inconsistent and even contradictory between theory and practice it is so because the context in which supervision occurs is itself contradictory.

As claimed by Gough:

it is not the marxists analysis of the welfare state that is contradictory, but the welfare state itself (1979:11).

A radical practice has to take cognisance of two factors. First, supervision has to deal with situations that provide only short-term benefits

to the exploited and oppressed with solutions being ameliorative that fail to tackle the structures of society which gives genesis to the problems. Second, short-term benefits can be evolutionary and movements towards the long-term goal of a 'new society' based on justice and equity with a new kind of relationship between nations and people. In other words supervisors have to respond to situations that are exploitive and oppressive, seek to find solutions for a new world order and at the same time respond to the existing plight of the exploited and oppressed. By trying to address both situations they walk a tight-rope and open up themselves to the change that they are performing in like manner to the welfare state which they criticise. As noted by Simpkin:

contradictions make it difficult if not impossible to act consistently. Facing up to them and simultaneously attempting to maintain open and honest relationships with clients (or supervisees) in conditions which favour deceit, make radicalism a vulnerable and painful undertaking. Add the fact, that the involvement in union and political activity which radicals consider indispensable can...attract intense hostility from established interests, a commitment becomes yet more unenviable; the courage, caring and capacity for work which are required make real radicalism a daunting task. Those who criticise radicals for taking an easy way out merely betray their own naivety with such misplaced insult (1979:132).

#### The Shape of Radical Supervision

Radical supervision ought to provide a theoretical analysis of the welfare state in terms of the dominant ideology and a structural analysis of the economic, political and social relationships. Involved in this is a critique of political inequality, power relationships and the notion

of class struggle. Contradictions in the welfare state need to be understood for it is the contradictions which give rise to scope for political action and hope for a new world order. While this is asking a lot of supervisors it is by no means impossible. Those who have supervisees with an ideological perspective that is socialist, marxist or feminist will find the task somewhat easier, for though there will be differences over values, there will also be common concerns, such as, power relationships and working to empower clients.

Supervision needs to understand class locality and struggles including the marginality of social workers in class relationships. Because class is of critical importance, yet seldom considered by social workers we will look at this at some depth.

The issue of class suffers under the populist nation that New Zealand is an egalitarian society offering equal opportunity to all. As reflected in The New Zealand Herald editorial, Tuesday, June 12, 1984:

New Zealanders traditionally do not see themselves - not by occupation, and even less by birth - as being "lower" than anyone else or, except perhaps for a few snobs, as "upper" Nor would professional and managerial people believe they were a scrap less entitled to the name "worker" than are "the workers" so constantly mentioned by union leaders... A few stirrers have an interest in promoting class division...If they keep doing it they may even create a class-conscious society from one that has been mercifully free of such a nation. It is a concept we can do without.

For social workers it is a concept we cannot do without, especially if we want to provide a radical practice. The truth is that social work-

ers live and work in the area of marginality - a no person's land in which they are:

a threat to the powerful because of the analysis and questioning of structures and the advocacy of the powerless in some roles, but also a threat to the powerless to the extent (they) exercise therapeutic and control roles (Short 1982:1-2).

The class location of social workers and supervisors is largely determined by the theoretical stance taken. Broadly, three distinctive positions are advocated. Parkin (1979) calls the first group the maximal definition school, who draw the boundary line near the top of the stratification system. With the starting point to equate the exploited class as 'the people' - a populist idea - revolution is the masses gaining ascendancy over the ruling class, who hold hegemonic power. Class, then, is largely determined by a political criteria that places state servants, including social work supervisees and supervisors, as part of the heterogeneous political class opposed to the bourgeoisie. This is the position taken by Simpkin:

By categorising both our clients and ourselves as being objectively part of the prolateriat I want to make the political point that we stand in a similar relationship to capital: some are exploited more directly and to a greater extent than others; some are more privileged (1979:48).

Likewise Galper argues the case for a new working class (NWC) which consists of white collar workers whether professionals or non-professionals, technicians or managers (1980:95-99).

The second school is the minimal definition led by Poulantzas which has a 'pygmy-sized' proleteriat. Wright (1978) has set this out in detail so we will be brief and take a simplified description. What Poulantzas does is to identify four types of wage labour that can be plotted on a grid as follows in Figure 5:

F I G U R E 5

FOUR TYPES OF WAGE LABOUR

	Productive	Labour
	A	B
<u>Mental Labour</u>	Productive Mental	Productive Manual
	C	D
	Unproductive Mental	Unproductive Manual
	<u>Unproductive Labour</u>	

Working from Marx, Poulantzas argues that productive and non-productive labour is based on, not the actual nature of the work, but the social context. Productive workers produce surplus value; unproductive workers do not. Unproductive workers receive wages met by taxing productive workers. Thus those at positions C and D on the grid are excluded from proleteriat status which automatically makes all social workers in Social Welfare or in Hospital Boards as part of the bourgeoisie regardless of position in the organisation. Poulantzas then differentiates between

mental and manual productive labour. Mental productive labour at position A on the grid includes all occupations that include supervisory or disciplinary actions. By deduction only those at position B have proletarian status.

The two schools of thought have difficulties. Both fail to address the issue of class according to the complex interactions of economic, political and ideological factors. The maximal definition school assumes all social workers, including supervisors, are opposed to the ruling bourgeoisie. Whereas the minimal definition school assumes no social workers can belong to the proletariat. The most satisfactory analysis of class location is a third school known as 'cleavage within the new petty bourgeoisie' with E.O. Wright (1978) being a proponent of this position. What Wright suggests is that all the contradictions in the capitalist system become crystallised within the 'new' middle class. This becomes the site of class conflict.

Economically all social workers belong to the bourgeoisie. However, we also have to take into account the ideological and political relations. Some social workers will be ideologically linked to the bourgeoisie others to the proletariat, hence a group divided in-itself. Ideology does not finally settle class positions. Thought or theory is linked to action, and though class location may be theoretically problematic, in the final analysis it is rather simple - political action determines allegiances.

Senior or supervisory social workers are the most problematic. Those at the top of the hierarchy are expected to align themselves with established policy, upholding the state, refusing strike action or protest. In the main this is true, though occasionally an Assistant-Director of social work in a district office will take political action even if directed against the Department. Supervisory staff are linked to both management and workers. Their class location can only be determined by reflection-action (praxis). If basic grade staff take political action to achieve social justice and supervisors resist this actively or passively then they have aligned themselves with the bourgeoisie. As argued by Short social workers at whatever grade:

should think about divesting themselves of middle-class trappings to show solidarity with the badly off. Social work should not be seen as a science based on professional and technical activity. It should mean total commitment to the under-privileged leading to a better understanding of social action needed for a society based on principles of social justice (N.Z.P.A. report, Manawatu, Evening Standard, Saturday August 28, 1982).

Radical supervision must deal with racism and ethnicity in social work as well as in the actual practice of supervision itself. The starting point is not the understanding of Maori culture, but of Pakeha culture and the way in which it has achieved and maintains hegemony. For at the heart of racism is power at economic, political and social levels. Sivanandan (1983) opened his address on 'Challenging Racism: strategies for the 80s' with the powerful declaration:

I come as a heretic as a disbeliever in the efficacy of ethnic policies and programmes to alter, by one iota, the monumental and endemic racism of this society. On the contrary what ethnicity has done is mask the problem of racism and weaken the struggle against it. But then, that is precisely what it was meant to do (1983:1).

He goes on to argue:

there is nothing wrong with multiracial or multicultural education...it is good to learn about other races, about other people's cultures...But that tinkers with educational methods and leaves unaltered the whole racist structure...Multiculturalism has become the vogue and it exculpates the whites. They now know about my culture, so they don't have to question their own. Worse...they know more about my culture than I do, or think they do! And this gives them a new arrogance (1983:5).

In the supervisory relationship Pakeha and Maori enter into relationships from diverse cultures. Ayres claims culture can be static or dynamic. A static culture exists when the procedures people live by undergo little change over a considerable period of time. Tribal traditions, values and causal relationships with unseen forces are at the heart of a stable or static culture. This describes pre-European Maori society. Beatson and Cox state:

family life, exchange of goods and services, warfare and gathering of food were not cut off from dance, carving, chant and oratory. And these activities in turn were intimately, almost organically, linked both with the natural land of sea and to the super-natural world of gods, spirits and ancestors (1982:354).

Maori culture today has its roots, claims Ngata, in Te Aro Tawhito, 'The Old World' where the social, cultural and economic circumstances of the Maori was governed by the 'lore of Tapu' (1984:3).

A dynamic culture is one in which knowledge, skills and the instrumentalities of knowing and doing are constantly changing. Ayres regards Western culture as dynamic and secular, scientific technology. Beatson and Cox point out that the way Europeans perceive reality means

home life has been separated from work life, religion has been separated from cultural activities. The perceived divorce between life and culture was even more marked in 'new' countries such as New Zealand where what culture there was did not grow out of first-hand experience of society, but was largely imported from England (1982:353-354).

In contact with Maori culture, Pakeha culture has achieved domination. It is the perceived ideology that it is superior, backed by the notion of its advantages in fields such as health and education. What happens then is that racism occurs out of the idea that Maori culture is inferior. Stemming from this is the practice in social work that Pakeha services and methods are for all people. In reality, argues Manning and Ohri (1982), a 'colour'blind' practice occurs which is a 'non-racist' position.

Pakeha supervisors are being racist if they supervise Maori supervisees as if they are Pakeha. Likewise if Maori clients are treated as if Pakeha. Thus Ohia (1982) claims that Maori social workers enter supervision at a considerable disadvantage. Partly because the situation is unequal as nearly all supervisors are Pakeha. Partly because the

whole process and whole environment is monocultural. As pointed out by a Maori supervisee in the Auckland Hospital Board "my supervisor recognises I am a Maori and then proceeds to supervise me as if I am a Pakeha". In essence racism occurs for as pointed out by Nairn and Nairn (1983) it is not due to deliberate malice or planning but it evolves out of what is seen as the natural order of things.

Maori social workers work with clients from a different cultural perspective. People are seen in a holistic way that links together as a unit the physical well-being (Te Taha Tinana), the mental or emotional well-being (Te Taha Hine Ngaro), the spiritual well-being (Te Taha Waiiau) and family well-being (Te Taha Whanau). In essence this approach has more in common with the apprenticeship model than the dominant professional model. A radical model must go further, however, by re-structuring supervision. Maori social workers need to have formalised links with their elders and community. This should be seen as part of supervision providing education, training and support. Pakeha supervisors need to realise they cannot meet all the needs of Maori supervisees. Moreover, as racism has much to do with political power it is imperative that the Maori community is recognised as being an appropriate resource to supervisee, Maori social workers and given power to make decisions regarding work with clients and personal assessment of supervisees.

Aristotle got it right when he laid down the dictum:

'equals must be treated equally; unequals, equally'.

He recognised injustices occurred just as much by treating all equally, as indeed by treating equals, unequally. In supervision the Pakeha supervisor must make two moral decisions. Firstly, Maori and Pakeha are equal as people - phenotype or biological differences are not moral grounds for the category of unequal. Secondly, ethnic differences are moral grounds for the category of unequal. Unequal not meaning inferior otherwise we contradict our first moral principle. Rather it recognises differences are such that to ensure justice different treatment is required.

Radical supervision requires what Plant (1974) calls radical democracy - democracy that is alive promoting co-operation and fraternity, yet maintaining respect for the individual (1974:39). In other words it is a question of power sharing with managers willing to devolve power and workers encouraged to accept it. This involves two separate yet inter-related issues. Structural changes and changes in communication. Structural changes in supervision can take place even within the confines of a bureaucracy such as Social Welfare. Instead of supervision being one-to-one and between unequals it can be group or peer supervision. The group or team jointly being responsible for deciding an case allocation, how to work with clientele groups and that includes assessment and intervention that takes cognisance of politics and the question of power. The team can be encouraged to play an active role in yearly assessments required of supervisees and supervisor.

Unless structural changes occur in our hierarchical agencies we cannot expect consumer participation in the agency in terms of policy process:

planning, programme development, to delivery of services and evaluation. Supervisors thus must aim to empower both supervisees and the community in which services are delivered. Both need to have a say and control over what type of services, where they will be implemented and how they will be delivered. Crown (1970) has pointed out that such participation leads to self-fulfillment, general growth and maturation of individuals and community group (1970:334).

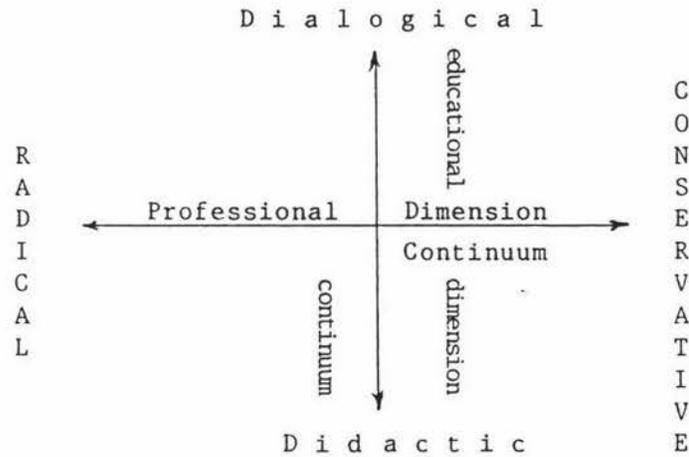
Habermas has argued that we need to transform institutional structures, not to promote a better functioning of the social system, but for the creation of conditions that allows for unrestricted discussion and democratic resolution of practical issues. It is to change the present depoliticisation of people to politicisation - to moral political action (Source: Thompson and Held; eds., 1982:8).

Rational, moral, discourse with people is essential if emancipation is to be achieved. In this process, however, the supervisor ought not to treat supervisees or clients as people upon which radical reflection and action can be imposed. Freire has argued if leaders are "truly committed to liberation, their action and reflection can not proceed without the action and reflection of others" (1970, Source: Bennis et.al., 1976:172). Likewise, Corrigan and Leonard rightly have insisted that "the development of critical consciousness cannot take place where the oppressed are treated as merely empty vessels to be filled with liberating ideology" (1978). Even to decree others as ignorant is to fall into what Freire has termed a myth of the oppressor ideology: 'the absolutising of ignorance'.

Although (leaders) may legitimately recognise themselves as having, due to their revolutionary consciousness, a level of revolutionary knowledge different from the level of empirical knowledge held by the people, they cannot impose themselves and their knowledge on the people. They cannot sloganise the people, but must enter into dialogue with them, so that the people's empirical knowledge of reality, nourished by the leaders' critical knowledge, gradually becomes transformed into knowledge of the causes of reality (Freire: Source Bennis et.al., 1976: 172).

Instead of communication in general, or specifically during teaching in supervision, being didactic, it ought to be dialogical. For the whole educational process plays an important role in the socialisation of social workers. Rather than being socialised into conservative values, ethics and standards the aim should be socialisation into radical values, ethics and standards. Such possibilities have been set out by the New Zealand Association of Social Workers in a 'Position Statement on Education and Training'. It accepts both conservatives and radicals play an important role in the socialisation of social workers and the process can be either dialogical or didactic. The aim should be dialogical with greater radical content (1983:5). To explain possible directions it draws upon a model developed by Righton (1979) as given in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6

PROFESSIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL DIMENSIONS

The change process ought to be existential, ethical and planned in a radical practice. The supervisor may intervene by way of assessing what supervisees or their clients are experiencing in their world as well as understanding their ideological perspective, philosophy and value system. Intervention may take place to bring about a shift in ideology or values which in turn profoundly influences a person's lifestyle, relationships and behaviour. What has to be realised, and so often over-looked in zeal to challenge another's ideology, is that, as Laclau (1982) has rightly insisted, to threaten another's ideology is to threaten their self-identity. Munro et.al. (1979) has also made the observation that helping a person to change may mean for him or her intolerable pressures (1979:91). That being so, the supervisor has the moral responsibility to point out the risks involved in change. In the process of change there is inevitably a swinging between the

'old way' and the 'new way', perhaps with pain and suffering as the cost of knowing life, or due to others not understanding or rejecting the person who is changing. In the final analysis those engaged in reflection/action (praxis) must be the ones to determine whether or not they are prepared to take a certain action for they have to accept the consequences, and they know the risks involved.

Planned change requires a conscious and deliberate strategy to achieve desired goals. The supervisor's tasks include providing moral support, encouragement as well as the resources to maximise change. If the goals of change are questioned by top-management then the justification for them are always the responsibility of the supervisor. Many a social worker has experience a shift of support from a supervisor as the supervisor reacts to top-management.

Finch (1977) suggests, from ideas given by Long (1962), that we can identify three types of supervisors in terms of communication. There are the 'upward mobile' supervisors who accept the folklore of the agency and organisational definitions of success (Finch 1977:70). These supervisors are not particularly noted for confronting agency administrators with the needs of their supervisees. On the other hand 'ideologically motivated' supervisors who work from a professional stance use their knowledge that is guided by extraorganisational concerns to confront management. In the middle of the two positions lie supervisors who focus on the 'unit work group' or are concerned with support and satisfaction from the immediate work group and avoid taking either the organisation side or the professional stance position. Those wanting a radical model of supervision must place the emphasis on being

ideologically motivated supervisors.

Private troubles need to be linked to public issues with public issues relevant to human experiences. Any talk and practice of a radical model based upon the critical-emancipatory tradition will be meaningless unless a union is forged between macro and micro social concerns, between inner and outer reality. Liberation of the individual and of groups to which she or he belongs has to be caught up in liberation of the whole class. This is more than simply having links to the trade union movement. The real challenge lies in what, C. Wright Mills (1959) calls having the 'sociological imagination'.

Do not allow public issues as they are officially formulated or troubles as they are privately felt to determine the problems you take up for study... Know that many personal troubles cannot be solved merely as troubles, but must be understood in terms of public issues - and in terms of the problems of history making. Know that the human meaning of public issues must be revealed by relating them to private troubles - and to the problems of the individual life (Mills 1959:248).

To achieve this supervisor and supervisee need to engage in moral, rational discourse, in reflection-action (praxis). Though mistakes will occur and wrong actions will be made, as reminded by Wolff (1970) the hallmark of responsibility is the attempt to understand what is right and this does not imply a person will always do what is right.

Brandon and Jordon (1978) accept the difficult task we face as social workers for social forces push us into restricted roles and we are required to follow standardised procedures in processing human problems.

Yet social workers...must accept a great deal of responsibility for self-imposing strait-jacketing. We feel safer...in following the beaten path, avoiding pain and danger and thereby missing opportunities for innovation and adventure. There is ample scope to blame others for our failure to develop and change...We can console ourselves that creativity is constantly frustrated by factors beyond our control, preventing us from doing 'real' social work and from realising our full potential (1978:2).

What we need is the 'sociological imagination' to act in creative ways and the supervisor is a key person in encouraging or discouraging such events.

Supervision must be ethical and Levy has put this rather well:

Ethics in supervision need not imply a favourable result for the supervisee, only a just consequence for him. The outcome need not be beneficial to the supervisee, only appropriate. Ethics need not result in special advantage for the supervisee, only equity for him. They need not provide the supervisee with preferential opportunities, only safeguards against the genuine hazards he faces because in so many respects he and the supervisor are not equals (Levy 1979:224).

For even by taking a radical stance with power-sharing, the fact is that the supervisor still has power over others, thereby needs to act in an ethical way to guide the use of power.

Levy (1977) argues that an ethical act is not the best or most practical course to take, but the right thing to do in a given situation. What being 'right' stems from what Snook (1977) calls general moral principles that provide the ground rules without which no moral discussion, moral decision or moral education is possible. These are:

minimise the harm you do, maximise the good you do, be fair to all concerned, have some concern for the truth, respect the freedom of each person to pursue his or her legitimate interests.

Acting ethically and consistently with regard for the supervisee's welfare and development is essential if the relationship between supervisees and clients is to be ethical and just.

The principle of justice lays it down that equals must be treated equally and unequals, unequally. What this amounts to is that people ought to be treated equally. Thus the supervisor must justify in the arena of public morality why any supervisee ought to be treated differently than others. The grounds for differential treatment can only be because to treat equally will cause injustices. Indeed the notion of distributive justice is that resources ought to be allocated to improve the less favoured. In other words we can justify positive discrimination or affirmative action. When employing social workers it is not enough to give unbiased consideration and to treat all applicants equally. The fact is that Maori and Pacific Islanders are needed in social work and without positive discrimination the Pakeha will be advantaged to obtain employment. Favoured treatment can be weak or strong. The weak position being that, all things being equal between Pakeha and Maori, male and female, the Maori or female should be employed. The strong position being that provided the Maori or female reaches certain minimum standards, then that person will be appointed even if the Pakeha or male has a higher standard. Within the Public Sector the strong position does operate for Maori people, especially if the criteria for employment is knowledge of Taha Maori. The weak position operates for females

on the grounds that in managerial positions females are under-represented and males over-represented. Goldman (1977) has objected to these forms of affirmative action claiming it is against the individual, nor helpful for people to know they have been employed due to favoured treatment. It has been argued that the Pakeha, or males, are being punished for the 'sins of their fathers'. The morality of distributive justice is that given years of discrimination, and to right a social situation 'out there', we need to give certain groups priority. It is a macro approach to help the discriminated collectively.

Supervision requires a different function and organisational structure than that current with the apprenticeship and professional models. The apprenticeship model sees the functions of supervision as administration/management, education/training and support with consultation added to the professional model. Paul Abels (1977) has developed a fifth function which he calls the reconstructive function. This function requires different structural arrangements than existing bureaucracies with hierarchical roles and goals defined by those holding power. Instead, Abels advocates a synergy management model. Synergy meaning working together, which to Benedict meant a situation "in which the individual by the same act and at the same time serves his own advantage and that of the group" (Cited by Abels 1977:24). Essentially it is a problem-solving approach in which all parties cast aside hierarchical positions, and open their minds to mutual search for truth, for new way to work, that looks for just solutions. Instead of there being winners and losers it is a win/win situation for all concerned. Thus the purpose of supervision is a consciousness - raising process in which all participate

to develop moral, rational, thinking people who can work together in a highly energised way. As argued by Abels it is:

To reduce status and reward differentials. To provide the type of society which maximises self-actualisation, synergy, and eliminates, technological inhumanity, human destructiveness, and environmental pollution (1977:69).

Abels distinguishes between two alternative structural - functional approaches to supervision. The status - manager approach and the contract - synergist approach. The status - manager places importance on expertise and authority. The supervisor is regarded as having the knowledge and skills to direct supervisees what to do in given situations and this is enhanced by use of line management relationships. (This approach can be seen in both the apprenticeship and professional models of supervision). The contract-synergist approach works from the premise that both supervisor and supervisee need to seek solutions to problems for neither have all the answers, but together all can learn political methods of intervention, or technical skills, or obtain knowledge to deal with problems. All are philosophers engaged in thinking and acting.

This consciousness raising process is related to the historic mandate of social work, namely, the development of a just society. Two events ought to concur simultaneously. First, helping people to arrive at 'what ought to be'; second, to change the agency practice.

In tabular format the two approaches to supervision can be set out as follows in Figure 7 which has been adapted from Abels (1977:222):

## F I G U R E 7

TWO APPROACHES TO SUPERVISION

	<u>Status-Manager</u>	<u>Contract-Synergist</u>
<u>General Orientation:</u>	Functionalist	Socialist/Marxist
<u>Values:</u>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Supports existing organisation and state</li> <li>2) Focus on what is good for agency and client</li> <li>3) Outcome-oriented (M.B.O.) technological excellence</li> <li>4) Ends justify means</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Inequality exists due to capitalist arrangements</li> <li>2) Focus on what ought to be - a just society</li> <li>3) Questions goals and objectives in terms of justice for people</li> <li>4) Means as important as ends</li> </ol>
<u>Theory of Organisation:</u>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Organisations serve in the public interest</li> <li>2) Hierarchical roles enable people to learn specific skills to perform the given job</li> <li>3) Goals are defined by those who have power (top-management)</li> <li>4) Emphasis is utilitarian (performance oriented)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Organisations only serve the public interest when functioning justly</li> <li>2) Power-sharing means all work together to find the best solution</li> <li>3) Goals are defined by all</li> <li>4) Emphasis is equally appreciative (people-oriented)</li> </ol>
<u>Supervisory Styles:</u>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Instructor</li> <li>2) Manager-boss</li> <li>3) Didactic</li> <li>4) Giving to/Telling</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Enabler-synergist</li> <li>2) Member of community or team</li> <li>3) Dialogical</li> <li>4) Consciousness-raising</li> </ol>
<u>Political Orientation:</u>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Assumes all actions against 'what is' are political and to preserve 'what is' is not political</li> <li>2) Depoliticises people</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Maintains all positions are politically oriented whether implicit or explicit</li> <li>2) Re-politicises people</li> </ol>

By having a contract-synergist structure and function; supervision would be in the position to provide the following aids to the worker, maintains Abels:

1. An opportunity to learn the skills necessary to carry out her/his function.
2. Opportunities to explore the frame of mind for helping - the values, attitudes, and ethics of the helping person.
3. The support of a person with an objective or more disciplined, or more experienced, or different view.
4. An opportunity to learn the theory and a knowledge base to support the skills and practice.
5. A buffer against which to test out ideas and to be tested in return.
6. A link in the agency through which accountability flows.
7. A link in the agency for both client advocacy and agency change.
8. A source for quality control in dealing with the demands for effective practice.
9. A milieu in which scientific thinking is the lifestyle.
10. An opportunity to quest (as part of a moral community) for what ought to be (Abels 1977:18).

While this work from Abels has promising possibilities its major weakness lies in the failure to forge links with the economic, political and ideological structures of capitalism. Hence his work remains idealistic and nebulous without a political base for achieving change. Abels himself admits his work fails "to establish a reconstructed practice in the human services" (1977:217). Accordingly, this writer has taken this function of supervision and placed it in the radical model and critical-emancipatory tradition so it has a cutting edge being but one aspect of the shape of a radical model.

Our argument has been that only a radical model based upon the critical-emancipatory tradition offers prospects for a social work theory and practice that is emancipatory for both individuals and whole classes. Given the, almost universal, condemnation of social work supervision being conservative, poorly performed and at best a necessary evil it would suggest the time is long overdue to find an alternative practice. The radical model is such an attempt being, at this stage, developmental.

We have canvassed three models of social work supervision what now lies ahead is to examine the actual practice of supervision within New Zealand. A case study has been made based on research findings from the practice of social work supervision in the Auckland Hospital Board (A.H. B.). General knowledge of supervision within Social Welfare has also been weaved into the case study as set out in the remaining chapter of this thesis.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL WORK SUPERVISION  
WITHIN NEW ZEALANDTHE IMPORTANCE OF SUPERVISION

Historically and currently supervision has been an important and integral part of social work. (1) The expectation of all social workers, particularly in the public sector, is that it will be mandatory. Where supervision lacks appropriate recognition in the voluntary sector, social workers may seek the help of organisations such as the New Zealand Social Work Training Council or the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, for support and guidance, as they try to educate employer or board as to the importance of supervision. (2) Within the Auckland Hospital Board a draft policy (1984) maintained that all social workers with under three years of experience must have weekly supervision based on one-to-one, that is, between supervisor and supervisee, regardless of other forms of supervision such as peer or group. Within Social Welfare the expectation is that supervision is mandatory with the supervisor being held accountable for basic grade practices. Recent developments in social work likewise underline the importance of supervision. Student units have been developed to supervise students on a practical placement from educational institutions. A basic professional qualification in social work (C.Q.S.W.) requires meeting minimum standards. Hence the New Zealand Social Work Training Council (now defunct as from November 1985) has produced minimum standards which, amongst other matter, set out details for field work placements. This

includes an assessment:

"of the student's value stance, attitudes and practice in relation to the International Federation of Social Workers' code of ethics and the philosophy and objectives of the course (N.Z.S.W.T.C. January 1984:8)."

Amongst the 25 supervisees interviewed in the Auckland Hospital Board, 22 received regular supervision with 17 having it at least once a week for at least an hour. Twelve supervisees had been receiving supervision for less than three years; 13 for more than three years. A variety of modes were used to provide supervision. At National Women's Hospital group supervision was the norm with one-to-one upon request from the supervisees. Most had one-to-one form of supervision with the addition of other modes. The modes used were as follows:

Table 1: Modes of Supervision Experienced by Social Workers in the Auckland Hospital Board

One-to-one	17
Informal peer support from other social workers	15
Informal supervision from supervisor outside of set times	12
Group supervision led by a supervisor/or supervisor was present	12
Peer supervision	8
Consultancy supervision	7
Multi-disciplinary team supervision	7
Tanden supervision	1

Some of the above modes need explanation:

#### Informal Peer Support

Because social workers are normally in close proximity to one another in terms of office location it was easy for them to discuss clientele

or work related issues with one another. Most social workers regarded this as critical for ongoing supportive help, especially when supervisors were absent or unavailable. In the Auckland District Office of Social Welfare, some supervisees have experienced sustained periods without a supervisor. Informal peer support became almost the only form of supervision for ongoing learning and support for one team.

#### Informal Supervision from Supervisors

Where supervisors and supervisees were located in close proximity to one another an open-door policy was the norm to provide on-the-spot support, learning, and administration of caseloads. It enabled the distribution of new cases as the need occurred. In at least one setting the nature of the work required, frequent, informal supervision. In the Department of Social Welfare informal supervision is a common occurrence everyday, especially when cases are allocated by the supervisor on a one-to-one basis.

#### Peer Supervision Outside of Agency

This form of supervision was mainly unofficial insofar as it was not regarded by most supervisors as a bona fide activity. Thus for supervisees it had to occur in their own time. Supervisees, and indeed a few supervisors, who engaged in such activities, did so for supportive, educative and political reasons. Social workers met with others (normally social workers) from various agencies and the focus was on common interests or issues. Those working from a Maori, feminist, radical or family therapy perspective met with others. It was this form of

supervision that was the most radical and explicitly political with some engaging in the activity of conscientisation. Because of the political nature of this form of supervision the belief was voiced that those in authority would not approve of it or allow it to occur in work hours.

#### Consultancy Supervision

Consultancy supervision occurred to enable social workers to obtain the benefits of experts in a given field. Some had regular meetings with psychiatrists, others consulted therapists. An innovative use of consultants occurred with Maori and Pacific Island social workers. Because of their cultural roots being in, what Ngata (1984) calls Te Aro Tawhito, The Old World where the social, cultural and economic circumstances of the Maori was governed by the 'lore of tapu', they sought the advice of the Kaumatua (elder). As one Maori stated:

"We must acknowledge our differences and though a white person can learn, it will never be the same. It has to be accepted that as Maoris we need each other's support and we need to have our own contacts with each other and with elders, and that has to be accepted as part of Supervision."

The point was made that supervisors did recognise they were Maori but then proceeded to supervise them as if they were Pakeha. Hence the necessity of supervision from the Maori community for both support and learning.

### Multi-disciplinary Team Supervision

Social workers based in specialist units such as mental health centres, Marinoto Child Clinic, child abuse teams or located in a ward or unit away from the social work department, received supervision from multi-disciplinary team members. Supervision was educative, supportive and usually administrative. Less obvious, but just as real, was a political dimension.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPERVISION FOR WHOM AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE

The fact that supervision is claimed to be very important raises the question for whom and for what purpose? The various modes of supervision primarily served in the interests of the agency and implicitly the state. For all modes were consistent with the apprenticeship and professional models, except some aspects of peer supervision outside the agency. One-to-one supervision was used to primarily discuss cases, check on procedures, provide support and in some instances ongoing training. (This is also true of supervision within Social Welfare). Informal peer support did not lead to a critical analysis, rather it was an on-the-spot check to determine how to proceed with a case. Those providing the guidance did so from field experiences and/or from organisational policy and procedure. Likewise, informal supervision from supervisors operated to give instant directions, support, or to check some facet of practice.

While peer supervision outside the agency and innovative consultation

by ethnic minorities had encouraging possibilities for the development of a radical model, the checks were such, that this was most unlikely. Peer supervision outside the organisation meant a split between work and private activities. It is unlikely to change the work place or to develop new forms of supervision. For peer supervision to be a vehicle of change, two conditions are necessary. First, the supervisor must sanction it and allow it to happen on-the-job. Second, the supervisor must be prepared to accept feed-back making functional and structural changes. In essence, then, peer supervision has to become part of the struggle for developing a new practice. This was not apparent within the Auckland Hospital Board.

Contact with consultants by ethnic minorities was not regarded as supervision by most supervisors, nor did it meet the policy of the Hospital Board. Furthermore, ethnic minorities were not given 'official' approval to meet with one another, instead had to work in virtual isolation in various hospitals. The professional model dictated that supervisors had to know what ethnic minorities were doing to ensure practice operated within the parameters of western values. Political activities were minimised. It was difficult for ethnic minorities to develop a cross-cultural perspective. One Maori supervisee often phoned her whanau, up north, to discuss social work issues and to receive support and on-the-job training from her Maori people.

Multi-disciplinary team supervision wittingly or unwittingly socialised many social workers into the ideology of the medical model or a therapy model with focus upon individual and/or family malfunctioning. This writer has observed how social workers in a multi-disciplinary child

protection team, at Auckland Hospital, provide assessments termed as 'diagnostic'. The assessments rely heavily upon the framework and concepts held by a team dominated by the medical profession. Some social workers located in work situations, such as a medical centre or psychiatric unit, termed themselves as therapists. A number of supervisors made the point that it was difficult to supervise those placed in multi-disciplinary teams. It was maintained that, without exception, those in psychiatric settings were socialised into psychiatry and social work supervision was ineffectual in countering this. Social work supervision was needed to provide a social work perspective, the trouble was it had little success. In essence then multi-disciplinary teams are a powerful political force that subtly socialise social workers into the teams' culture and dominant ideology. Further evidence to substantiate this claim was provided by Greenlane Hospital Social Work Unit. Supervisors and supervisees testified to changes that occurred when social workers moved out of multi-disciplinary settings to work from their own social work unit: social workers were less likely to be absorbed into the medical or psychiatric model dominated by individual pathology.

Social workers within the Auckland Hospital Board were asked to respond to four philosophical statements concerning the general purpose of supervision. They were: supervision being to ensure staff fulfil the agency's view of the social work task, ensuring ethical/professional standards; encouraging change from within the agency whether that be in a social work unit, ward or team; working towards social justice for clients.

The Functionalist Position - ensuring staff fulfil to agency's view of the social work task

In essence this position is that 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'. Or as described by a Director in a Social Welfare District, public servants must be politically neutral for Government sets the policy which agencies are obliged to meet. If social workers are not prepared to meet such requirements they ought to resign. Such a view is not shared by all social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board as noted in Table 2:

Table 2: The Social Work Task is Determined by the Agency

	<u>Supervisor</u>		<u>Supervisee</u>	
Social workers must fulfil the agency's view	1	5.6	2	9.5
The task is to partly fulfil the agency's view	11	61.1	9	42.9
The task is not to fulfil the agency's view	6	33.3	10	47.6
Total	18	100.0	21	100.0

Thus supervisors are more likely to see that part of the social work task is to fulfil the agency's view of the task. Sixty-seven percent held to this position, whereas amongst supervisees it was fifty-two percent. Those that advocated this position gave as typical the following comment:

"we have to take account of the agency who employs us for it has some rights but its rights must be limited and we cannot go along regardless with the agency."

Those that argued against meeting the agency's view of the social work task maintained it was because the agency held to the primacy of the medical model and social workers had to hold to a sociological perspective.

### Ethical/Professional Standards - the 'professional' approach

Whilst all supervisors and supervisees agreed that such a position was important this position was not without some controversy. Some, rightly, made the point that allegiance to ethical standards depends on the code of ethics for some codes are conservative. In fact this position is merely the functionalist position in a modified form. The universal debate between social workers and other professionals in the Auckland Hospital Board was over the use of the medical model. A debate over casework methods, not a debate over normative positions; a debate over models to use within the professional framework, not a debate to determine which framework.

### Change within the Agency

This was seen to be a legitimate function of supervision amongst all supervisees and all but one supervisor, who argued that such a task ought not be performed by basic-grade staff. In practice this position had met with mixed success. Supervisors made mention that one reason why they had their peer group meetings stopped was because they had become too political using the meetings to plan for change. Basic-grade social workers, along with some supervisors at Middlemore Hospital, had tried to achieve changes in selection procedures for supervisors without success. A number of social workers, with the backing of the Public Service Association, had tried to reverse hospital policy of it being mandatory for senior social workers to have a social work qualification (C.Q.S.W.). In spite of a concerted intense campaign to reverse the policy, no change occurred. More recently the Auckland

Hospital has made significant changes in how social workers are to function in certain areas. This has meant redundancies in some areas of work with social workers shifted to other areas despite social work opposition.

#### Working Towards Social Justice

No one denied that supervision ought to be directed towards the maxim of social justice whether that be in terms of ensuring client's rights, changing the practice within a ward or making public personal issues and working towards the change of the political economy and ruling ideology. A few interviewees mentioned that the need was for more thrust and direction in this area of work. However, if supervision is to be directed towards achieving social justice it means having politically aware supervisors. Two interviewees made the point that before working towards social justice for clients, social work departments have to deal with their unequal power and lack of social justice. Moreover developments for services that could begin to achieve social justice were in rapid reverse. Extra-mural hospital social workers lamented that while they had a mandate to provide community based preventive services any mention of preventive work was now an anathema. Services had to be based on medical criteria. It was now difficult to have psychiatric patients readmitted from community back to hospital for social reasons. Medical authorities were only interested in the medical criteria.

To sum up then, supervision is regarded as being important, it is widely practised with diverse modes. What it has failed to do is provide the opportunity for the development of a radical model. It has been

powerless to counter the prevailing ideology of the Auckland Hospital Board - western medicine and the medical model dominates. Indeed, in a number of situations, supervision functioned to reinforce ruling ideology. This is not surprising given the infatuation with the professional model which we will now debate.

#### THE LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING MODELS

Within some hospital boards the move is towards professionally trained social workers, on the grounds that such people will provide the most effective services and achieve change, being able to be a profession alongside doctors or psychologists. The Auckland Hospital Board has a policy of only appointing supervisors who have a professional qualification in social work. Basic grade positions are likewise, if possible, to be filled by qualified staff. The Hawke's Bay Hospital Board is another which recruits qualified staff. The Department of Social Welfare aims to appoint those who are qualified to supervisor positions, especially in field work. While it is undoubtably true that the unqualified employee is often uncritical and accepts as given agency policy and practice, it does not necessarily follow that the qualified employee will act any differently. Nor does it necessary follow that supervisors with a social work qualification will provide innovative, effective supervision.

Ample evidence exists that highlights just how poorly is the practice of supervision. Miller (1970) found that amongst beginning social workers the technical incompetence of the supervisor was one of the most frequent sources of dissatisfaction. (Cited in Kadushin 1976:1) Kermish and Kadushin (1969) reviewed the reasons why social workers resigned

from a public welfare department. Four, out of six principle reasons, related to the quality and nature of supervision. (Cited in Kadushin 1976:1). In 1973 Almstead and Christensen made a national study of social workers in 31 agencies across the U.S.A. They found that high scores on satisfactory supervision correlated with greater job satisfaction, better individual performance, less absenteeism, better agency performance and competency. (Cited in Kadushin 1976:2)

Abels maintains that his innovative work on supervision has come from:

countless discussions with workers, students and supervisors who have worried over what they were doing to others as well as how they themselves were being treated. Many had, had good experience; but many felt that supervision was at best a necessary evil which was too much part of the human service profession. (Abels 1977:2-3)

This author asked supervisees in the A.H.B. to rate supervision on scale (See Table 3).

Table 3: Satisfaction of Supervision with Supervisor

Very Satisfied	4
Satisfied	6
So-So	6
Dissatisfied	7
Very Dissatisfied	2
<hr/>	
Total	25

An historic overview of supervision in the Auckland Hospital Board was explored. No supervisee claimed it had always been very satisfactory; though two did state it had been satisfactory. Most claimed it had been a mixture of good and bad supervision and three claimed it had always been "terrible and disgraceful." This contradicts an earlier study made by Bowden (1980) in the Palmerston North Department of Social Welfare. For he found that on the basis of feedback gained from supervisees the workers found supervision to be very helpful or helpful and none found it to be sometimes helpful or not very helpful (1980:202). Bowden's research, however, did not directly ask the supervisees to rate supervision. Instead information was obtained from supervisors who questioned their own supervisees. Such data may be unreliable subject to the halo effect. Moreover a different agency may give different results.

One reason why supervision may be poorly performed lies in past role modelling experience, part and parcel of the apprenticeship model. Most supervisors in the A.H.B. could point to the affect past supervisory experiences had on them and the effect on their practice. Bad experiences had left their mark. As one supervisor commented:

"I had very bad to middling supervision, never any that was exciting or stimulating. It has left scars and I have to be aware of that in my supervision."

Bad experiences did make supervisors determined to make a good job, however, they often had no satisfactory role model to copy, nor did they have a critical analysis. Supervisors who did have good role models

were aware of that influence on their practice. It was notable though that those who had good role models, did so due to exposure to student units or had received supervision in Great Britain.

Bowden's study (1980) found that the most significant influence on supervisory style stemmed from social work experiences and values/philosophy (p.199). Relevant comments were that social work experience:

"Moulded me and now I can relay my experience to others."

Others said that their own values and philosophy helped them:

"I copied workers I respected and realised that one of the most important aims we can have is to return (displaced) children to their own parents one day."

"I had theological training and this taught me that the only real reason for doing social work is to do it out of your christian conviction that having empathy is most important."

Another stated the way in which supervisory experiences had affected his/her style:

"I had various supervisors when I was in the field and during training and two in particular were so good, I have been able to integrate their ways into my own supervision." (Bowden 1980:128-129)

Another reason why supervision has limitations is related to unsatisfactory management that tends to be a hallmark of the apprenticeship model. Bowden (1980) found that in the Palmerston North, Department

of Social Welfare, eight supervisors were given list of duties when first appointed, seven no list, and those with a list complained it was too broad and nebulous, geared to management with nothing specific about supervision (1980:190-191). Since 1986 all supervisors in Social Welfare have been issued with a job description that outlines the goals and tasks and from which performance reviews will be based. Hence a shift from an apprenticeship to professional model. Within the A.H.B. a goal oriented approach was often absent. Indeed the major call for reform from supervisees was for a goal oriented approach in casework, in supervision and in management. Typical comments were:

"Supervision ought to provide a critical analysis of my work, to be goal oriented and evaluative."

"Supervision needs to identify my learning needs and how these may be fulfilled."

Although half of the supervisors maintained that they did monitor and evaluate casework goals set by supervisors and themselves, most supervisees stated that this did not occur very often. The lack of a goal-oriented approach flowed over to the evaluation of social workers. Solid support came for the A.H.B. to have formalised assessments of social workers as in the state sector. Assessment and evaluation of staff did occur by way of verbal reports that were subjective and unable to be challenged. Applicants for a supervisory position did not know what was said about them and this lack of information meant potential misuse of power. It was pointed out that appointments were made according to the 'old-boy' network.

In principle there was universal support for person-power planning that would result in certain staff being selected for pre-supervisory training. Some argued that certain social workers should be discouraged from appointment to senior positions. It was argued that supervisors must receive training for the position, prior to and following appointment. Most had received no training for supervision prior to appointment and half had received no training since appointment. Many made mention of the low commitment of the A.H.B. to training for supervisory skills. Many ideas were given regarding what skills ought to be taught. In order of most frequently mentioned to least mentioned ideas they are as follows in Table 4.

Table 4: Most Frequently to Least Frequently Mentioned Training Needs for Supervisors

Need	Total Response	Responses From	
		Supervisor	Supervisee
1. General training for supervision	30	16	14
2. Skills in administration/management	27	11	16
3. Practical experience in a wide variety of social work settings	26	10	16
4. Skills to analyse policy and know how to plan	23	11	12
5. Having the right personality and personal development (ie attitudes, values etc)	14	3	11
6. Specialised skills for supervision in a specific area (eg childcare, psychiatric work)	11	0	11
7. Leadership/communication skills	9	0	9
8. Training in cross-cultural social work	6	0	6
9. Knowledge of community	4	0	4

Supervisors were also asked what training was required for management. Sixteen responses were for knowledge and skills to work in a hierarchical structure, to know how to develop policies and to implement them and obtain resources. Thirteen responses were for training in personnel management.

In general the trend was for training to focus upon knowledge and skills for management and this lies firmly in the professional model. Very few, and only supervisees, argued for training that might lie in a radical model, that is how to obtain a knowledge of the community or cross-cultural social work. Moreover, only one Pakeha argued for training in cross-cultural social work, all five other responses were from Maori and Pacific Island social workers. Implicit was the notion that professionally trained supervisors would provide suitable supervision for all workers regardless of ethnicity. Indeed all interviewees were asked to consider whether ethnic considerations should be taken into account in supervision. Most Pakehas believed it should not be an issue, though half did concede that Maori and Pacific Islanders ought to have the right to obtain supervision from ethnically appropriate people as a Pakeha supervisor could not meet all their needs. For Maori and Pacific Islanders it was an issue: It was mentioned that Pakeha social workers may have a clash with the medical model; ethnic minorities have an additional clash over values with Pakeha social workers. As summed up by one person:

"Facts by a white person and myself are seen by each other, but each of us interpret from respective perspectives. It is difficult for a white person to see my side of the story."

It was argued that the selection and employment policy of people being appointed with a social work qualification (C.Q.S.W.) was a western perspective that made it difficult to recruit ethnic minorities. Qualities such as Mana, knowledge of the community, able to speak Maori or a Pacific Island language, were devalued. With bitterness, some mentioned the A.H.B. had employed more European social workers (eg Dutch, German, English) than Maori or Pacific Islanders. All supervisors were Pakeha, except one West Indian from Great Britain and some were from European Nations. Yet, social workers in the A.H.B. have to work with a large percentage of non-Pakeha patients, particularly at Middlemore Hospital. Social indicators such as high rates of unemployment, poverty, poor housing and over-crowded living conditions point to ill-health amongst ethnic minorities. Prevailing models of supervision implicitly reinforce the ideology that western medicine, medical technology and the medical model is for the benefits of all people. Rather than a search for an alternative to the professional model, the cry is for the development and consolidation of the professional model. Supervision has its problems because of the persistence of the apprenticeship model. The professional model provides the way for the future.

What we have, then, is a curious mix of models in the A.H.B. On the one hand the prevailing ideology, recruitment policies and field social work practice are firmly entrenched in the professional model. Gone are the days when a new social worker had to spend the first year apprenticed to an experienced worker, to observe how the experienced person worked, to be taught all the procedures, shown how to obtain resources, instructed how to work with clients, then, after a year, made a 'jour-

ney man' with the freedom of an own caseload. Such was the distaste for unqualified staff that one supervisor felt frustrated by having to spend time teaching unqualified staff basic social work knowledge rather than skills. On the other hand when it came to supervisors, much was earned via the apprenticeship model. They observed, they copied, they did not have adequate access to training, it was assumed a C.Q.S.W. provided the knowledge for supervision, successful field experience equated with suitability for a supervisory position. To drag supervision into keeping with the general development of social work and the ideology of the A.H.B., changes were called for along the lines of the professional model.

The demand for supervisory training has been taken up by the New Zealand Social Work Training Council. The proposition is that a basic qualification in social does not provide training for supervisory practice. The position paper thereby concludes:

training for supervision should follow a basic professional social work education. Equally, however, it needs to be stressed that supervision is a distinctly different function, and that a trained experienced practitioner is not, by virtue of that alone, prepared to become a supervisor. At present the need for facilities and programmes offering training for supervision is a high priority within the field of social work training as a whole (N.Z.S.W.T.C. 1984:11).

The Ministerial Review Committee Report on the Social Work Training Council stated:

The Council has sustained consistent interests in supervision, and has recently produced a publication on supervision for use in the field. Supervision is an important element of practice. The Review Committee consider that this component of the Council's work will require a great deal more support (M.R.C.R. June 1984:40).

The important issue is what kind of training? Is training based on the need to equip supervisors with better management or interviewing skills. Thus a focus upon performance, efficiency, effectiveness, attitudes and evaluation. Technology, thereby, becomes of paramount importance. Or is supervisory training based on the need to equip supervisors with an understanding of social policy and its relation to the political economy and prevailing ideology. Two recent developments suggest that performance management will prevail. First, the State Services Commission requires supervisors to evaluate staff according to performance review. Supervisors, especially at management level, are being encouraged to attend multi-disciplinary training courses developed by the State Services Commission which provide training for performance management. The values and ideological perspective that shape the training remains 'hidden' as if technology is neutral. Secondly, recent publications are based upon a professional model that is technocratic. Problems in supervision are assumed to be technical problems solvable by technical solutions. In 1984 the Department of Social Welfare, produced a 'Supervisors Guide to Staff Development' - a handbook for field social work supervisors. The overall purpose of the handbook being to:

- (1) Be a resource pack to assist supervisors plan and review on-going, professional development of social workers.
- (2) Give an overview of the knowledge a Department Social Worker needs to have.
- (3) Identify the skills a Departmental Social Worker must continue to develop.
- (4) Provide the supervisor and social worker with a method of planning and reviewing the level of training a social worker would need at a particular time.
- (5) Give suggestions and examples about how to acquire the relevant knowledge and skills (D.S.W. 1983 Introduction).

A second important publication was the Social Work Training Council's Supervision Resource Package (1985). The Council stated it had produced the package to:

emphasise the importance of social work supervision to the delivery of social work services;

assist social workers, supervisors and agency managers, assess the adequacy of the supervision offered by the agency; and

provide a means for social work supervisors to assess their training needs (N.Z.S.W.T.C. 1984 Introduction).

#### THE INFLUENCE OF EXISTING MODELS UPON THE FUNCTIONS OF SUPERVISION

Traditionally supervision has been described as a tripartite function providing administration, education and support. We now turn our attention to these functions to critically examine how they are part of existing models, thereby act to support and maintain the State.

### The Administration Function of Supervision

Pettes claims the administrative function of supervision is due to the organisational base and the mid-management position. "Supervisors must understand management roles and aims. He must see himself as part of the management team with all the responsibility this implies for assuring effective service at the organisational level" (Pettes 1979: 73). Levy sees the function as most important, describing it as the administrative process designed to improve services to clients through development of workers' skills in the employment of agency structure and processes (Levy 73:14).

As an organisational specialist the supervisor allocates caseloads/ workloads, monitors case-management, sets agency priorities, evaluates staff and if required takes disciplinary action.

Workflow management delegates tasks or cases to supervisees so that the productivity of the organisation is maintained and services are provided to clients. Delegation is obviously part of workflow management. Austin describes the purpose of delegation is to

manage workloads in a way to free subordinates to use their individual talents. In order to meet such a goal supervisors seek to utilise and develop the skills of subordinates through the art and science of delegation (Austin 1981:158).

It also serves to give some autonomy to workers for they have the responsibility and authority to act. Thereby it becomes possible for

supervisors to assess and develop the decision-making skills of supervisees.

Monitoring of case management has a high profile in the Department of Social Welfare. It is now mandatory for all statewards to have a case plan based upon M.B.O. technology. All cases are subject to periodic reviews including being subjected to an outside review panel. The case plan involves the client, client's family, social worker, supervisor and when appropriate residential social workers. Goals, objectives and tasks are set to alter the behaviour of the client. This process is highly political - social workers have considerable power, especially supervisors, to ensure that the goals, objectives and tasks meet the purpose of the agency and society's expectations. Thus the perspective taken is nearly always functional. Moreover, social workers can become preoccupied with the technology and technical skills as an end in itself and well as the means to the end.

Another aspect of administration is to determine whether a case meets the agency's priorities. Whilst in Probation, and to a lesser degree in Social Welfare, cases flow from court decisions, social workers can determine whether or not the case meets the agency priorities and thus can recommend legal supervision if it does. The Department of Social Welfare report, 'What is legal Supervision'? (1983) points out that "most social workers with legal supervision caseloads both make the recommendation concerning legal supervision and receive the case on caseload" (p.59). It was found that the majority of supervisees

always discussed the recommendation made to the court with a supervisor, although most supervisees maintained that the views of supervisors did not have a strong influence on the decision to recommend legal supervision (p.17). This is not surprising, for the researchers found that "three quarters of legal supervision cases are classified as control cases" (p.59), the remaining being rehabilitative. Supervisors are unlikely to disagree with such aims. The aims and functions of legal supervision strikes as being decidedly political. It is hard to escape the conclusion that legal supervision is part of what Gramsci termed the coercive relations of the State. Social workers within Social Welfare and the Justice Department cannot avoid being in the domain of marginality. What can be avoided is recommending legal supervision or guardianship to the courts without first exhausting the alternatives of placement of young people with their whanau, making links between the individual problem and wider issues. This writer frequently supports his social workers to use all the mechanisms of the law to have court adjournments so that space can exist to explore ways to resolve issues rather than the court bringing down some form of order. Maori clients must involve Maatua Whangai and whenever possible the Maori community.

In the Auckland Hospital Board social workers have little say over who becomes a patient, except in community health centres where it becomes the decision of the multi-disciplinary team. Cases are thereby referred to social workers by the nursing or medical professions. As recognised by social workers this inevitably leads to a conflict over the appropriateness of social work intervention.

Evaluation of supervisees is a major component of the administrative function. (1) Evaluation is to determine whether or not work assignments are being performed in line with agency policies and procedures as well as statutory requirements. (2) It is to monitor supervisees' abilities to carry out required duties. (3) Evaluation determines the justification for recommending a supervisee on probation becomes on permanent staff, is held back for a further period, or is deemed to be unsuitable for social work. (4) Evaluation is the means by which a yearly assessment is made and placed on a personal file. What is written becomes critical when applying for a more senior position. (5) Through evaluation the supervisor is helped to better understand the strengths, weaknesses and possibly personal troubles of supervisees. (6) It is used to determine in-service training needs. (7) Evaluation is linked to disciplinary action.

Thus in evaluation the supervisor is called upon to make professional judgements. Austin points out that:

the art and science of making professional judgements about subordinates remains ill-defined, and therefore supervisors must find their own approach to the judgement process (Austin 1981:199).

It is also a situation loaded with power - the supervisor is able to influence the behaviour of supervisees in accordance with his/her own intentions. The supervisor has the full-force of the agency to support the made evaluations. In short, evaluation is a political activity. Administration/management can never be an a-political activity. The

precise form of its political direction will vary according to the ideological perspective of the supervisor and organisational structures. It need not be functional. The fact remains, however, that evidence points to supervisors on the whole being aligned to the functional requirements of the agency.

#### The Educative Function of Supervision

Munson underlines the importance of this function:

the supervisor has nothing better at his disposal to ensure service to the client and community, than good methods of teaching (Munson 1979:228).

Kadushin points out that "teaching is to help the worker to perform to the best of his capacities and teaching the worker what he needs to know in order to achieve this" (Kadushin 1974:293).

As a teaching specialist the supervisor performs the functions of orientation of new workers into the agency, upgrading workers' knowledge, skills and attitudes for effective job performance, updating policies and procedures, and assessing training needs. Supervisors are responsible for socialisation of new workers into the agency. Supervisors in the Auckland Hospital Board maintained that they had to teach new workers to cope with the restrictiveness of the agency and make optional use of available resources. A number argued that older, more experienced workers, who had come to terms with the agency, made better use of resources to meet clientele needs. New social workers off training courses were seen to be idealistic and had to be helped to come to terms with the agency. While it is important for social workers to

make optional use of resources, such effectiveness is not necessarily an indication of a political commitment to social justice, equity and empowering clients. In fact it may be directed towards meeting people's functional needs to ensure system maintenance. Evidence for this is given by a study made by Blau (1974). He considered the orientation of caseworkers in public welfare and addressed the question of the impact of the organisation upon the worker. He found that new workers were highly vocal in their complaints about the organisation and compliance with rules and procedures. They were strongly positive, if somewhat idealistic in attitude towards clients. They provided clients with fewer services because they lacked knowledge of agency procedures and rules. On the other hand 'old timers' were better at meeting clientele needs for they knew the system but paradoxically had less interest in meeting clientele needs especially during the first three years of employment. (Cited from Finch 1976:372) In like manner Billingsley (1964) found that social workers who were rated highly in terms of overall effectiveness were the conformists - those who when forced to choose between professional standards and agency policies choose the latter more frequently. (Cited from Finch 1976:371)

Tentatively we can conclude that the educational function of supervision socialises social workers into the agency. While older, more socialised social workers may be more effective in terms of meeting presenting needs of clients, they are also more likely to conform to the agency policies. Moreover, meeting the immediate needs of clients may have little or nothing to do with social justice, equity or work towards empowering clients. In fact, evidence points to the failure

of supervision to ensure that supervisees maintain their vision. The professional model being unable to take concrete situations and through reflection/action (praxis) find liberating alternatives. The potential for alternatives existed in the A.H.B., functional models could not harness it. Social workers were aware they existed in a power-politics arena. Supervision did deal with political issues according to 21 supervisees (84%) and 13 supervisors (65%), for example, to address issues that arose from the context of social work in a hospital, ward or unit. Medical decisions versus social issues were discussed. Social workers soon learned that if a disagreement occurred regarding patient decisions then the medical profession had the power and authority to come down on the side of the medical spectrum. Typical was the comment:

"We are always fighting the establishment, especially the medical model and doctors. We try to get justice for clients, therefore politics and ethical debates are to the fore. We spend a lot of time putting a human face on the bureaucracy which is often judgemental."

What happened was that for many the political issue became how to achieve professional status and power equivalent to the medical profession. Some found that political issues remained undressed, change was tried, but it was unable to shake the prevailing ideology. This author personally knows of social workers who left the hospitals disillusioned with the system, feeling powerless. As mentioned, it was the perception of one supervisor (who has now left) that supervision was powerless to prevent social workers in some settings from becoming absorbed into the medical ideology. In short the existing models cannot provide for an alternative practice. Rather, they ensure the continuation of existing structures, prevailing ideology and social work to function according to the agency.

### The Supportive or Enabling Function of Supervision

It was this function of supervision that was claimed to be the most satisfactory within the A.H.B. The expressive needs of supervisees were met whether that meant time-out, being listened to or being able to ventilate feelings and complaints. The supportive function does, however, play a vital role in maintaining existing ideology and structures. Supervisors are held accountable for unrest amongst supervisees, they are expected to 'keep them in line'. To minimise unrest, and to allow for feelings to be dealt with, two actions are taken. First, supervision is nearly always one-to-one for this minimises collective action. Individual problems are not made public. Second, the supervisor may sanction, even encourage, gripe sessions amongst staff. Although the verbal complaints may be highly anti-establishment, 'letting of steam' is, as argued by Wasserman (1979), "essentially functional to the maintenance of the formal systems equilibrium" (1979:213). Social conflict can be controlled and directed by supervisors to actually support the status quo.

Within a radical model the supportive function takes on new meaning. First, it allows for full group participation to discuss values, to engage in moral discourse, to come to planned action. Second, the supervisor supports the arrived at action by either taking up the cause on behalf of the team, or taking action with the team. Third, the supervisor supports peer or consultive supervision - Maori or Pacific Islanders having contact with their elders or meeting together to discuss issues, feminists meeting together to find mutual support. It was this

form of 'risk taking' support that was absent amongst most supervisors in the A.H.B. Existing forms of support are in keeping with the existing models of supervision.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF EXISTING MODELS UPON LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION

Supervisors occupy a key position in terms of communication. Kadushin in a rather rare and brilliant moment claims that communication:

flows down more easily than it flows up...indeed, information flows up through a series of filters and down through a series of loud-speakers (Kadushin 1976).

Certainly most social workers in the Auckland Hospital Board agreed with Kadushin. Many reversed the coin, adding that communication also flows down through a series of filters with supervisors censoring information. In essence leadership and communication is exercised upward to superiors, outward to other supervisors and downward to subordinates. The professional model of 'expertise' and depoliticisation effects leadership and communication. This can be illustrated by what supervisees mentioned regarding their input into supervisory practice. Only 21 percent of the supervisees played a part in how supervision functioned in their agency. For most, supervision was developed and imposed from above without consultation and supervisee input. On the other hand, nearly all supervisors claimed they played an important part in how supervision functioned as a whole in their agency. Feedback on how supervision functioned between supervisor and supervisee was largely unstructured. Eleven supervisors stated it happened but at

no regular time and that was supported by eight (32%) of the supervisees. Three supervisors claimed they regularly reviewed supervision and that was supported by two supervisees (8%). The remaining supervisees (6%) maintained that they played no part in the review or evaluation of supervision. Supervisors are held accountable to top management for the effectiveness and direction of services, what supervisees do or do not do. If supervisees become too radical the supervisor may be called to account. In effect top management views supervisors as part of management as well as part of the work force, especially in the A.H.B. for supervisors are expected to carry a caseload. Supervisees view supervisors as one of them and at the same time belonging to management. As a conduit between the two camps supervisors were very aware of caught between opposing groups and certain acts would meet the approval of one group at the expense of disapproval from the other group. Supervisors with greater experience had come to terms with their marginality, new supervisors (less than two years experience) had an greater sense of conflict. As put by one supervisor:

"Seniors have authority and responsibility. To achieve maximum effectiveness in supervision we need more appropriate structures. At the moment supervisors are criticised if they do not exercise leadership, yet if they do exercise it, they are also criticised."

Caught in a no-win situation, supervisors are more likely to come down on the side of conservatism. As long as they are held responsible for a service given in a case, then not only has it meant the likelihood of over-control of supervisees and unwholesome dependence, it has also placed the supervisor with one foot in the work force and

the other foot in management while not really belonging to either camp. Research revealed that most social workers recognised the unequal power relationship of supervision. Thus some supervisors took an anti-authority approach conducting supervision in a laissez-afaire manner. In fact this approach achieved the same ends as a conservative, authoritarian approach for it maintained the existing system leaving supervisees in a directionless state. It was this type of supervision that came under considerable flak from supervisees. Turning a 'blind eye' to what is being done, placing workers complaints on top management, defining problems as performance issues which could be addressed if more staff or training was available are adaptations to survive in a profession and in the long run can not be sustained. Weissman (1973) is right by concluding:

...Many try to improve their own and the agency's functioning. Some give up quickly. Others accommodate waiting for promotion to higher ranks. A few continue the struggle, only to leave for other jobs when dissatisfaction mounts beyond their level of tolerance (Weissman 1973:2).

The sad reality is that not only has there been a high turnover of basic grade staff in the A.H.B. but also a high turnover of supervisors. (Since the research over half of the supervisors have resigned). What is called for is the development of a different supervisory model along with organisational changes.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF A RADICAL PRACTICE

A number of contradictions exist in the A.H.B. which could be taken to engage in reflection/action and to develop an alternative practice.

Supervision is held to be very important, it is board policy, yet it often remains poorly performed with high levels of dissatisfaction. By developing peer, group and consultancy supervision (away from the medical profession) moral rational discourse becomes a distinct possibility. Value rationality can be made a priori over goal-rationality. Supervision still has considerable links to the apprenticeship model. Rather than pushing for the professional model the aim could be to develop a radical model. Social workers are aware they practice in a political-arena. Many are ideologically opposed to the medical model, it is realised social workers do not have professional status and power equal to the medical profession. Instead of political acts to achieve equal status and power, action could be directed towards empowering social workers and clients from a radical position. Some social workers realise the monocultural nature of the A.H.B. and its social work services in terms of employment policies as well as practice. There are supervisors who recognise that supervision is shaped and affected by their ideology, who do want to work towards equality, sharing and personal power. Issues such as sexism and racism are alive both within the A.H.B. and Social Welfare. It needs to be shown that existing supervisory models and practice tinker with these fundamental issues. A radical model offers the hope of a genuine bi-cultural approach to social work, to supervision, to social policies that give Maori people power at economic, political and social levels. Existing social work structures and the practice of supervision such as the one-to-one mode between a male supervisor and a female supervisee is often explicitly or implicitly sexist. Male power, male attitudes to female staff and female clients, must be challenged. It is very doubtful if this will occur in one-to-one supervision. A public arena is required where act-

ions and attitudes, ideology and ideas can questioned, challenged and wrestled with so change occurs. Politicisation of social workers is not an optional function it must be at the heart of all work. Existing models of supervision, existing scientific traditions cannot meet the multi-functional needs. As indicated by Offe (1984) and Habermas (1973) mass loyalty of social workers to existing ideology and economic, political, social and cultural orders as well as to disabling bureaucracies, can never be assured. Possibilities for emancipation exist. Will supervisors have the 'sociological imagination' is the question yet to be determined?

NOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

1. Kadushin (1977) gives a detailed analysis of the importance of supervision in social work (pp.23-38). The major points being:
  - (a) Social workers belong to an organisation where work is subjected to routine hierarchical supervision.
  - (b) Services are performed by an agency which relies on the state or voluntary organisation for finance, therefore accountability is required.
  - (c) Agencies implement policies originated elsewhere, hence supervision ensures correct implementation of policies.
  - (d) There is a lack of consensus over the mission and goals of social work, therefore full autonomy is impossible.
  - (e) Social workers want support for they have to make decisions in an uncertain and unpredictable context.
  - (f) Many services are 'hidden' from the public, supervision monitors performance to protect the public.
  - (g) The cause-and-effect relationship between social worker and client is difficult to define, hence supervision provides protection to client, social worker and agency.
  - (h) Clients cannot choose what social worker to see in the public sector, the agency and supervisor provides the worker to the client.
  - (i) Many social workers have little previous knowledge and experience and lack identification with the profession, such situations require intensive supervision.
  - (j) Social workers function in bureaucracies with a multitude of policies, rules and regulations, supervision is required to administer such situations.
  - (k) Supervision is required to provide support for social workers to survive in demanding situations.

All these reasons for supervision are taken from a functionalist perspective and it is little wonder why supervision is so frequently criticised.

2. A case in point is the Auckland Branch of I.H.C. who in January 1985 sought advice and help from the New Zealand Social Work Training Council on how to educate management on the importance of social work supervision.

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### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this thesis it has been argued that social work supervision is a political activity which has hitherto been ignored by both writers, teachers and supervisory practitioners. First and foremost, supervision is a political activity driven by different cognitive interests and conditioned by its existence in a capitalist, welfare state. Social work receives its legitimation from the state, it serves the state maintaining ruling hegemonic relationships. Second, and derivative from the political context and cognitive interests, is that the functions of supervision such as administration/management, education/teaching, support/enabling, consultation and reconstruction are highly political functions. The idea that being political is what so-called radicals do, social workers should be political neutral, is in fact a false ideology. Maintaining the status quo, advocating changes within existing structures or current models of supervision, can be no other than political actions. All three scientific traditions - the historical-hermeneutic, the empirical-analytic, the critical emancipatory, are political positions. The cognitive interests of the apprenticeship model are practical wisdom. Whereas within the professional model it is technical, in the radical model emancipatory. Political intent determines which interests will be advocated.

While the context of supervision shapes and affects practice and it may well be difficult to remain untouched by prevailing ideology the fact remains that social workers can make moral-political choices. Hence we examined three alternative models of supervision. Our argument has been that only the radical model offers prospects for a social work theory and practice (praxis) that is emancipatory for both individuals, who are hurting and oppressed, and for liberation of whole classes due to changes in the social structures. If social work is to achieve this, then supervision itself must be part of the vanguard for a new practice. Sadly this has been lacking in the university halls of learning as well as in the organisations in which practice occurs. Those with radical ideas and determination find themselves located in situations which provide a supervisory practice that is out-dated, stultified and lacking in 'sociological imagination'.

To politicise supervision, and to provide a radical model is an attempt:

to translate our theories of society into a practice that at once helps and assists the victims of our system, and simultaneously, contributes to the creation of conditions which will transform that society into a socialist democracy (Brake and Bailey 1980:12-13).

Or as put by David Cooper in 'Dialectics of Liberation':

It seems to me that a Cardinal failure of all post revolutions has been the disassociation of liberation on the mass social level, ie liberation of

whole classes in economic and political terms, and liberation of the individual and concrete groups in which he is directly engaged. If we are to talk of revolution today our talk will be meaningless unless we effect some union between the macro-social and micro-social between inner and outer reality (Source: Readings in Professional and Philosophical Issues in Social Work:1983:3).

The task for each supervisor is to:

call by name injustice, the exploitation of man by man, and also the exploitation of man by the state and by economic systems. We must declare by name every social injustice, every discrimination, and every violence committed against man's body, against his spirit, and his convictions (Pope John Paul II, New York Times, February 22, 1979).

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### Appendix One: Research Methodology

Fortyfive social workers were interviewed using a tape recorder and a set questionnaire as a guide to cover areas of interest. The sample included six heads of social work departments, 14 seniors, and 25 basic grade staff.

All hospitals within the Auckland Hospital Board were covered with the exception of Epsom Day Hospital. Time did not permit interviewing any basic grade staff from Kingseat Hospital. Seven basic grade staff were interviewed from the four Extramural Hospitals, 13 from various wards throughout the A.H.B. and 7 from specialist units such as Marino Clinic and Henderson House.

Ten interviewees had a qualification in social work and were experienced (two or more years of practice), five had a qualification in social work and were relatively inexperienced (less than two years of practice), six had no social work qualification and were experienced, while four had neither a social work qualification nor very much experience.

Both Pacific Island social workers from Central, Extramural Hospital were interviewed. All, but one, Maori social worker throughout the A.H.B. were interviewed (three).

To obtain the above samples from basic grade staff use was made of disproportionate representation regarding specialist units and ethnic minorities (Pacific Islanders and Maori). The remaining social workers were divided into four positions depending upon qualification/no qualification, experienced/inexperienced. All hospitals were covered in approximate proportion to total basic grade numbers in each hospital. Final selection of interviewees took place by drawing of names out of a hat.

As the plan was to interview all heads of departments and all seniors, no selection was made. Only one head of a department and one senior was not interviewed. In the A.H.B. all heads of department supervise staff.

Only two people, who were approached, were unable to participate in the research and that was because no suitable time could be arranged given the holiday season.

The research would not have taken place without the support of two key people. Mrs Judith McKenzie, Chief Social Worker of the A.H.B. gave permission and total support. Mr Russell Jaffe, Student Unit Supervisor provided supervision and help in gaining the co-operation of all interviewees.