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**People, Policies and Practice: Social Work
Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand from
1949-1995**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

This thesis is a case study of the history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand between 1949, when the first professional course for social work was established, and 1995, when the social services Industry Training Organisation was formed. It traces influences responsible for shaping social work education. Key questions focus on the nature and provision of education for social workers, how this has changed over time and why. Three organisations (the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, the New Zealand Social Work Training Council and the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services) had degrees of authority over policy making, setting standards, accrediting courses, or advising governments in matters relating to social work education. These provide a focal point for the research. Key people in the field of social and community work contributed their personal views and histories, adding depth to this account through their oral data.

This history has been organised into three chronological periods. It is argued that in the earliest period social workers recognised their professional identity in a common pursuit. Later, they claimed professional autonomy, making efforts to consolidate it although state and employer interests were converging and distancing themselves from those of educators and the social work profession. Most recently, social work is diversifying and the fragmentation which is occurring reflects national and international economic and political systems. The reduction in state responsibility for the direct provision of welfare is shaping social service provision and education and national trends reflect the international scene.

It is argued that people, policies and practice have each in their own way influenced the changes that have taken place in the provision and styles of social work education. This study has documented and discussed these influences (covert and overt) and the constraints affecting them. The implications for the future of social work education are inextricably intertwined with the delivery of social work services. Concerns are expressed over the directions currently being taken in both spheres.

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Finally, mistakes are, of course, my responsibility.

Preface

I was drawn to carry out research in this area for several reasons. In the first instance, I have been involved in social work since 1970, when I was accepted as a graduate student on one of the new, generic social work courses which sprang up in response to recommendations in Scotland, England and Wales, that social workers should operate from one all-encompassing social service agency. I was therefore one of the first of the new, generic social workers. Secondly, I have worked in a number of capacities as a social work educator and practitioner in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1984. This has sparked my interest in the policies and people which have been influential in shaping the core curriculum and provision of courses. The question of why social work education looks the way it does fascinated me.

Social work as a university subject established its first footing in New Zealand after the Second World War at Victoria University College, Wellington. The university colleges were wary of its academic status and they have displayed a continuum of support ranging from consistent enthusiasm for professional social work education at one end of the spectrum, through moderate interest, to reluctant involvement ending in non-involvement.

Funding for professional education (and the lack of funding) has played a significant part in the development of social work education. Both Parliament and Cabinet were at times inclined to support social work education reluctantly and only under pressure. Government departments with responsibility for social work services, such as the Child Welfare Division and the health sector, stand out as having an interest and input into this area. The Child Welfare Division and its successors, the Department of Social Welfare and the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and their Families Service, dominate the scene as employers. The less-documented and non-governmental contributions of the voluntary sector and professional associations have also been crucial. They have ensured debate and contest between the stakeholders as to what social work is and ought to be about, with consequences for social work education and training.

My Masters thesis used a feminist methodology to study feminist social work as practised by social work students and their supervisors in 1986. I was able to observe a radical approach to social work as it was gaining confidence and challenging the status quo. Since then, I consider feminist social work models of practice have received little encouragement from the establishment, particularly in comparison to indigenous/Maori models. Understanding the history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand requires looking at it from many angles. This I have tried to do. This has meant that, while feminist interests are important and have been acknowledged, the research is not informed by an exclusively feminist perspective.

Other perspectives have played an important part in this history, including those of community workers, Maori, Christians, humanists, anarchists and the social work profession itself. I have tried to depict these often conflicting points of view where they have informed policies, trends and influential people in the history. The changes in social service delivery have brought into being a much tighter system of service delivery, such that, in some agencies, the social worker may be expected to regard whoever purchases that agency's core services to be the client. What has become of the radical, client advocate version of social work? Was it ever realistic? These questions have been raised for me as I have grappled with the data for this study of social work. The social justice element remains a crucial ingredient, in my view, for social work and provides a value-orientation within this thesis. In organising and presenting material for this historical case study of professional social work education, I have tried to let people and facts speak for themselves. I am aware that this process is one in which I will "exhibit and examine my alliances at the same moment" (Viswasweran, 1995: 132, in Wittmann, 1998: 17).

As the historical picture took shape through this thesis, the arguments of community workers and their social work supporters were studied. They presented a strong challenge to the perception held by so many professional social workers of themselves as altruistic champions of social justice. This was a significant challenge, because it questioned the foundations on which social work professionals based their core curriculum, arguing as they did that it was a necessary preparation for their work as advocates for the oppressed. This history looks at what happened when community workers, who regarded social workers as maintainers of the status quo rather than

social activists, began gaining better access to the finite resources available for social/community work students. These historical events modified my personal perception of social work as it is practised in Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, the ideal type remains and is reflected in some of the aspirations for social work held by respondents.

I was employed as a student unit supervisor in a health setting in 1987 and in 1988, I was employed as a full-time member of staff in the Social Policy and Social Work Department at Massey University, with responsibility to co-ordinate the new Certificate in Social and Community Work. In this position, I became aware that I was at an intersection in which several competing interests met. The academic institution employing me had been reluctant to offer this new, part-time and extra-mural¹ programme. The Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations was desperate to find an institution to host such a course and my salary was paid for by two large voluntary organisations for three years while the course became established. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association was officially very critical of this new course, regarding it as yet one more example of the universities tying up resources which should be available to community workers. I experienced the full force of this criticism when I went to the Aotearoa Community Workers Conference in Teapot Valley, near Nelson, in 1988 and introduced myself as the co-ordinator of the new Certificate. Despite the negativity, many individual community workers took advantage of the flexibility of the extra-mural, part-time programme and have completed it. Several statutory agencies also supported the new course by encouraging their staff to enrol and helping them to complete their studies.

When visiting a British university in 1992, I was asked to present two workshops on anti-discriminatory social work. I was astonished to find the students carefully segregated into categories on a spectrum from minority and other groupings to mainstream categories. When discussing with these adult students, who were all experienced social workers, the reasons for this segregation and for the introduction of the new module (anti-discriminatory practice) in the curriculum, I found them disturbingly unaware of the philosophies underpinning their new curriculum. This was combined with a lack of a critical appraisal of the curriculum itself. I became more than ever interested in the history of social work education and how important it is for students to be aware of the professional values and

¹ An extra-mural programme is taught at a distance.

socialisation embedded in their programmes of study and how these ingredients got to be there.

As someone with a working interest in this area, I have been fortunate in gaining access to people who have been willing to discuss their part in this history of social work education and give their own interpretations and opinions on matters. My personal and continuing involvement will have affected what people have been willing to discuss with me and inevitably this will colour my account.

I have been given access to archival material that would quite possibly not be made available to complete outsiders. The questions I sought to answer have been revised as my understanding of the area broadened and deepened. Finding links and making connections between people working in the social services at every level and over time has been fascinating and revealing, as too, has been the work of interpreting their actions and what they stood for. I have sought to write a balanced account of events and to cover opposing views and opinions of certain events in an inclusive fashion. This approach will be discussed in the Methods Chapter.

People, Policies and Practice: Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand: 1949-1995

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Chapter One: Introduction

[There is] a kind of challenge to find out exactly what was there before. It is not history for the sake of history. It is searching for oneself, searching for one's identity, searching for one's origins in order to better understand oneself (Conde, in Spear, 1993: 725).

This thesis presents a historical case study of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand from 1949 to 1995. The research describes how courses for social work education were established and discusses how the national curriculum was defined and modified over time. Changing social attitudes and major influences, both national and international, which helped to shape social work programmes and their curricula are discussed. For example, changes in the direction of social and economic policies, Ministers of Social Welfare, leaders in the social work profession and fields of practice, as well as grassroots movements have all exerted an influence on social work education.

This study records the histories of the two organisations responsible for designing and setting the basic minimum standards for social work education. It considers how these standards were contested by people and groups with differing interests in and views about the core curriculum for social work and how it should be taught. The work of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers has been crucial for social work education and forms an integral part of this history. The provision of professional courses and their accreditation has been traced, and it is argued that the ever-changing relationship between the state and the delivery of social services is a crucial influencing factor in this history. People, as well as social and economic policies, have made and will continue to make, a huge impact on social work education, as is demonstrated by the oral data collected in this thesis.

It is recognised that in western societies a fundamental relationship exists between social work as it is practised and what social work students are taught (Reynolds, 1970 (first published, 1942); Rapoport, 1969; Hamilton-Smith, 1970; Martin, 1990; Ife, 1997). This relationship is characterised by the alliances between those with an interest in the social services, namely government ministers with responsibility for welfare-related portfolios,

social service agencies, their employees and social work practitioners, professional social service associations and recipients of social services and their advocates.

As these alliances take shape in response to social attitudes and economic opportunities, it is possible to trace changes in the provision of courses for social work education, the standards required and systems of accreditation.

In a series of interviews, I have explored the opinions of people who have been (and, in some cases, are) closely involved in alliances which affect the nature and provision of social work education. Attention has been paid to their opinions concerning the implications of contemporary social policies and the altered working relationships in this field brought about by the residual and contractual welfare approach (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965) within which we now work.

The history of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand before the period under study depicts a range of philanthropic approaches to charitable aid, together with concerns about the maintenance of public order (Tennant, 1989). State and voluntary systems of welfare co-existed and legislation governing assistance for the vulnerable or unruly members of society gradually provided a framework for social services. There was no specific training for welfare workers, who learnt as apprentices on the job. Social work, under these circumstances, was defined by those who employed social workers as much as by social workers themselves. The variety of approaches to social work practice, together with the gradual development of culturally indigenous and local approaches, have given a special character to social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In many western societies, the histories of social work and the education of social workers share certain similarities and an overall pattern of change can be discerned. The findings in this research fit into this pattern (discussed in Chapter Three) which reflects the relationship between social work and state welfare systems which have hosted it as a humane response to industrial upheaval and altered market economies. Social work began as a conservative force which preserved the status quo, but, as it developed a sense of identity and professional autonomy, a more radical and collective form of social work began to challenge its employer organisations and government policies.

This radicalism tuned into radical expressions in other parts of society. For example, the social action/social justice side of social work was very evident in the 1970s, mirroring the social upheavals of the time. I have in my possession a taped interview between Mr Bruce Asher and Mr Jack Lucock, (1984), in which Mr Lucock, a retired but experienced Child Welfare officer, referred to the radicalism of social workers during what he referred to as the "welfare rights movement" and the "Vietnam generation". He mentioned his discomfort with this approach because he felt no agency would, for long, "employ people who openly wanted to change its present form".

Many in the welfare rights movement also supported Maori activism and the Land Rights movement. Some Maori leaders with a special interest in social work, like Sir Charles Bennett, had the Diploma in Social Science from the School of Social Science, University College of Victoria, Wellington. So, too, had John Rangihau, who criticised and challenged the shape of social work education in the late 1980s, from a Maori perspective.

Radical social and community workers had grown particularly active and vocal in the 1980s, when the welfare state in Aotearoa/New Zealand was coming under attack by proponents of a new social order promoting the mechanisms of a free market, diminished state services and individual responsibility for well-being. This study discusses how the provision of social work education has been affected by these recent changes and what this may imply for the future.

There are several key areas of enquiry in this research and these were fine-tuned as the study progressed. The research was originally focused on debates about what should constitute the curriculum for social work courses in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In this context, a particular site of struggle was located in the setting of basic minimum standards and their application to social work education. This area has, therefore, been especially rewarding to study because it represents the interface between leaders in the field of social work, social service pressure groups and the establishment, the interested parties who were in alliance with government-sponsored organisations.

Research into influences on the curriculum broadened into an examination of the struggles which occurred over what provision should be made for educating social workers. This has been a significant and enduring feature of the history of social work education, so that the provision of courses and

what should be taught formed the first main area of enquiry in this study. Some of the key debates revolved around what institutional settings would be the most appropriate for social work students, whether study programmes should be full-time or part-time, how many years of study were necessary and whether courses would be available at undergraduate as well as postgraduate level. A significant ingredient here is the continual tension between social work and community work. This is noted and discussed throughout this thesis.

The second and third areas on which the research focused are related. It was anticipated that the history of social work education would assist in developing an understanding of the direction in which the provision of education and training for social service workers is moving in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This connects to the third area which explores the relevance and impact of Maori and tangata whenua views about and contributions to the development and implementation of social work education. The fourth area of interest concerns the introduction of competency philosophies and their implications for educational practice in relation to social work education and training.

This historical case study includes the visions and choices of people associated with social and community work education and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It offers a new resource for the community of practitioners, students, employers and users of social services by providing information and making connections between people, policies and practice that may inform future policies and provisions of social work education.

Three main sources of information were used in this thesis. Primary sources included, in the first instance, manuscript collections and archives, contemporary publications and reports. The second source of primary data consisted of oral histories and interviews with social work educators and trainers, those in the business of employing and managing social workers, and members of social and community work associations. Secondary sources, consisting of theses, academic and general publications, comprised a third layer of sources.

Periods and Themes

In this thesis, the history of social work education spans half a century. I have divided it chronologically into three periods in each of which several themes are explored.

Social work practitioners in Aotearoa/New Zealand were slow to recognise their commonalities. Child Welfare workers, Almoners, members of religious orders and secular organisations were doing social work long before the period covered in this study. However, there was very little training available for them and nothing specific to social work as such. It was not till 1964, fourteen years after the first School of Social Work was founded at Victoria University College Wellington (VUW),¹ that the national professional association, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW), was formed. This is significant, because the new Association gave social workers the right to define themselves independently of their conventional statutory functions. This is the stage when the social justice perspective in social work emerged, whereby social workers recognise that sometimes they have a duty to put their clients' rights before those of their employing agency.

This study begins in 1949 with the establishment of the School of Social Science at the University College of Victoria, Wellington. This College, which became the Victoria University of Wellington in 1964, provided the first (and, for twenty years, the only) professional course for social work education and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The study continues through into 1995 when the Industry Training Organisation for social work, youth work, community work and counselling, known first as Kai Awhina Social Services Industry Training Organisation (KASSITO) and then Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi was formed.

I have distinguished three significant periods which stand out in the history of social and community work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand: 1949-72, 1973-86, 1987-95. Although these three periods were identified, it would have been possible to divide up the time differently. The first period, for example, could have been divided into two parts, in which the earlier period would have been dominated by the School of Social Science of

¹ Victoria University College Wellington became Victoria University of Wellington in 1964 and references in the text will therefore sometimes be to Victoria University of Wellington (VUW).

Victoria University College, Wellington and the State Services Commission, leaving the second period to the New Zealand Association of Social Workers. I chose not to do this, preferring to recognise the close alliances between people working in the key institutions and associations of that time because they recognised their mutual interests by co-operating with each other.

The earliest period therefore is from 1949 to 1972. During this time there was a gradual recognition on the part of social workers that different types of social worker shared a common identity. The School of Social Science (VUW) ran the only professional course in the country and this catered for a small intake of predominantly public servants. The New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW) was formed fourteen years into this period and advocated strongly for increased provision of social work courses. I have characterised this first period as one of professional recognition.

The second period I have identified is from 1973 to 1986. I have portrayed this as a period of consolidation and professionalisation for social workers. During this time, the New Zealand Social Work Training Council (NZSWTC), played a significant role in setting basic minimum standards for social work courses and their accreditation.

The third phase begins in 1987 and continues to June, 1995. After the disestablishment of the NZSWTC in 1986, there was a period of several months when the New Zealand Council of Education and Training for the Social Services (NZCETSS) was being formed, and it was formally established in December 1986. This most recent period is one in which consolidation is depicted as giving way to diversification and fragmentation. The fragmentation of a common social work identity is discussed and the role of the NZCETSS is examined.

Significant organisations with acknowledged roles and interests in the development of social work education and training were identified in each period. Three organisations in particular serve as filters through which passed much of the information about the development of social work education in each of the periods identified. These three filters are the New Zealand Association of Social Workers,² the New Zealand Social Work

² It is recognised that both the State Services Commission and the School of Social Science at Victoria University of Wellington had important roles in the earliest of these periods. I have not used them as filter

Training Council and the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services. These institutions did not only handle information and provide useful archival collections for future research. Each in its own way has been a focal point in the debates and arguments and directions taken which have formed such an important part of this case study.

In each of the periods, a number of themes have consistently been examined. There is an introduction to the political, economic, cultural and social background within which social workers have practised and been prepared for work. This is followed by a description of the employment context for social work. Links are made between people and agencies employing social workers, their values and goals and the ways in which this affected the social work task and put pressure on educators to adjust courses for goodness of fit between theory and practice. The third theme relates to contemporary philosophical or intellectual positions relevant to social work. Social and community work professional associations constitute the fourth theme for these have been particularly prominent in relation to social work education. Social work educators themselves, who and where they were and what they were talking about, make up the fifth and final theme.

The first period, which studies the earliest and least organised phase in this case study, examines each theme in depth, and acknowledges the importance of the roles played by the State Services Commission and the School of Social Science at University College of Victoria, Wellington as well as that of the NZASW. The NZASW, being a late-comer in this first phase, had a different, less official status than the two later organisations studied. This reflects the more co-operative atmosphere at the beginning of this first period, made possible by the common interests of all concerned with social work education.

Writing a History of Social Work Education

Debates on what constitutes historical fact and what can be known about the past (Carr, 1964; Elton, 1967; Dray, 1980) have implications for the approach taken to this study. Every history is written from a point of view and this one is no exception. While I have tried to avoid a partisan approach, and

organisations, partly because of their involvement in the provision of social work education and partly for logistical reasons. It has been practical for me to access the NZASW archives. The NZASW, in its early years, prepared the way for a national council for social and community work education and training.

my research has attempted to uncover the major influences which have affected the provision and shape of social work education, inevitably there will be more emphasis placed in certain areas which reflect my interests, while other people might regard them as deserving less prominence.

This case study documents the history of social work education and interprets it in the light of information which is intended to provide sufficient evidence to support the argument that in each of the three periods identified, people as well as key concerns and debates have been portrayed which were important in shaping social work education.

I have characterised the first period as one in which the foundations for what would follow were laid down, particularly by the School of Social Science. This was a time when social workers began to identify themselves as a generic group whose recognition was confirmed by the formation of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers. The second period is more complex, but of particular significance. It comprised two contrasting elements, the first of which was the radical movement for social action which challenged the status quo in social work. At the same time, the standard setting work of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council aimed at consolidating, through accreditation, the professional nature of social work. The third period is characterised by the tino rangatiratanga movement as it affected the social services, as well as by feminist and community work movements, and later by the introduction of competency based-assessment, the work of the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services and the relationship between industry and state concerning training for social work. The theme of social action has continued to be important, but while social justice is still fundamental for those working in the community, fewer community workers are now being employed and community work faces as difficult a future as social work.

I have argued in this thesis, that social work knowledge, values and skills reflect the social, political and economic context in which social work functions. Similarly, how social work is provided and practised will to some extent reflect the priorities and values of whichever political party is in power. Attention was drawn to this by one of the original members of the School of Social Science, Professor Robb, who once pointed out

that an understanding of the present entails a knowledge of the process (my emphasis) by which the present evolved from the

past, and also the view that any attempt to take stock of what might happen in the future requires an examination of the past in search for signs of how people, not just as individuals but as organised groups, might be expected to behave in the future (Robb, 1973: 15).

This thesis studies the recent past in the belief that knowledge of what has happened is in itself of value and can also provide a helpful context within which to understand the present. The danger of interpreting past actions using a morality not at the time in vogue is recognised. Inevitably, the researcher looks back through the lens of current morality and the present situation generally, but, by putting raw data before the reader, an effort is made to let the past, where possible, speak for itself. Government policy, economic circumstances, social work knowledge, value positions, organisations, groups and communities as well as individuals have all played their part in social work education and its history.

A number of historical accounts of social work and social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand already exist. There is a respected history of the origins of social work as it developed out of the charitable aid models of the nineteenth century into the welfare systems of the twentieth century (Tennant, 1987). Tennant's extensive research does not cover the period studied here. Two unpublished theses on aspects of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council are available. One evaluated the NZSWTC after it had been working for only a few years. This study took a radical perspective and was highly critical of the conservative way in which the Council functioned (Crockett, 1977). The second study of the NZSWTC, conducted after it was disestablished, analysed it using an administrative theoretical approach (Brooke, 1988). A short history of the School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education from 1980-88, offers a specific and regional account of a unique programme and its development within the national context (Cranna, 1989). This is a well-researched analysis of the state of social work education during that time. It is sympathetic to the Auckland School of Social Work and shows impatience with the NZSWTC and its weak relationships with community work associations and Maori groups. Negative government attitudes towards social work education were noted and discussed. It has been a useful resource when researching this period. This research differs from these studies in that it spans the full fifty years when professional social work education has been available in

Aotearoa/New Zealand and reflects on why it developed as it did. I have attempted to convey the intricate links and connections between people and events which I have found so fascinating and relevant in terms of trying to explain what has happened and how.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter addresses the approach taken in this study. It discusses the quantitative research, in which archival sources were used. It introduces the participants who contributed oral data and describes how their information has been used and its place in this history. The processes used to gather the data are explained and relevant ethical and procedural matters are included. The chapter follows immediately after the introduction so that the reader can more easily follow the research process.

Chapter Three: Histories of Social Work Education

This chapter examines research and literature on the international and local histories of social work education and social work courses in tertiary education. A variety of accounts, some of them historical in themselves, serve to highlight the main issues and arguments that have been important over the years. Widely read and classic authors such as Mary Richmond, Bertha Reynolds, Harriet Bartlett and Eileen Younghusband have been referred to, as well as later writers for whom liberation theology and social justice are important, namely, Paulo Freire and, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Michael Elliott.

Chapter Four: Academic and Agency Issues for Social Work Courses

This chapter discusses the status of social work as an academic discipline in the university. Questions about what makes for a discrete discipline and why some disciplines have more academic standing than others are considered. There are inevitable consequences for a subject which is taught primarily so that practitioners can become experts in their workplace and these consequences are considered with particular reference to the competency literature. There was, and still is, debate in New Zealand as to where social work courses should be located, whether, for example, they

should be in universities, teachers colleges or polytechnics. This chapter reviews the debates, referring to post-industrialism and the implications of libertarian economics and the free market economy for social work and how people are trained for practice.

Chapter Five: Merv Hancock, a Personal Account

This chapter is the account, in his own words, of Merv Hancock's involvement in social work education. Merv Hancock has been a key figure throughout the professional development of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand and his vision for social work education was influential in bringing about the first undergraduate degree programme for social workers. Here, his personal story provides a continuous thread weaving through the history of social work education. It introduces this history, lending it a special kind of coherence as it progresses. The chapter begins with his student days and moves on through his early career in the Child Welfare Division and then into private practice. Merv Hancock discusses the establishment of the Bachelor of Social Work degree at Massey University and his thinking about the curriculum. He describes his chairmanship of the Ministerial Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council and what that meant for social and community work education. During the most recent period, after his return to private practice, he reflects on what he regards as crucial influences on social work education and training. This chapter has been included separately because it provides a thread of continuity across the three historical chapters, in each of which Merv Hancock can be seen taking a different role.

Chapter Six: The Distribution of Social Work Qualifications

This chapter describes the demand for and distribution of social work qualifications, as documented by various organisations, between 1949 and 1995. Information has been gleaned from a disparate collection of sources available, reflecting the difficulties encountered by those responsible for manpower planning in this area.

Chapter Seven: 1949 - 1972, Background to Period One

This chapter provides a background to the emergence of a social work identity and the efforts that were made to procure education and training for practitioners which form the focus for the following chapter. The political, economic, social and cultural contexts in which social work education developed are described and their implications are discussed. The roles of the State Services Commission and Social Services Advisory Committee in connection with social work education are also examined.

Chapter Eight: 1949 - 1972, Recognition

This chapter covers the development of the School of Social Science (VUW) as the first provider of professional social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and considers the curriculum and how it was designed. Other efforts to provide education and training for social workers are referred to, such as the Social Science Cadet Scheme and Tiromoana. The contribution of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers as the first "filter organisation" is then documented and discussed. Themes relating to social work education and training in the New Zealand Social Worker provide particularly useful information here.

Chapter Nine: 1973 - 1986, Background to Period Two

This chapter contextualises the period characterised by consolidation of the social work profession. Again, the political, social, economic and cultural issues of the day are reviewed. This is the period when the debates around social justice, the women's movement and professionalism were at their height. This chapter therefore looks at the debates, the protagonists and their interrelationships and draws out the implications for social work education.

Chapter Ten: 1973 - 1986, Consolidation

This chapter examines the work of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council. It focuses on three key aspects of the Council's work. The introduction of basic minimum standards and accreditation of courses is described. The debate over where social work courses should be located is examined and the relationship between community workers and the Council forms another theme as does the debate over where social work courses should be located. The conflictual positions of idealists and realists

stands out in this period and is related to the de-construction of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council.

Chapter Eleven: 1987 - 1995, Background to Period Three

This chapter covers the most recent period for social work education. For the background and contextual material in this chapter, recognition is given to the domination of economic policy over social policy through the release of market forces from Government intervention and the implications of this for social work. The emphasis on wealth and individual achievement as criteria for success is also recognised as a background for this period. Other themes include pragmatism, goodwill and trust, the influence of individuals, Maori issues and women's issues.

Chapter Twelve: 1987 - 1995, Diversification and Fragmentation

This chapter covers the work of the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services (NZCETSS) and briefly records the change over from NZCTESS to Industry Training Organisation. Themes include the changing influence of agencies, schools of social work, Ministers of the Crown and the profession on social work education in a new managerial climate in which technical and professional competency may be seen in competition.

Chapter Thirteen: Conclusion

This chapter summarises key themes relating to the influences that have shaped social work education in the periods examined in this thesis. It considers the future for social work education as it moves into a new era, in the light of implications drawn from an historical analysis of earlier periods. The chapter argues that social work has moved from multiple identities to one generic identity and that social work, having crystallised into a coherent whole, may be facing fragmentation of its identity, broken on the rocks of industrial hegemony and conformity to agency wishes with consequent loss of control of professional self definition. The consequences and implications for professional social work education are serious. The chapter ends with suggestions as to what future research may be rewarding and useful.

Explanations.

Oral data. These are included throughout the text, where relevant. Respondents have been generous with their time and their openness. The reader is asked to treat their material respectfully for, without it, these historical data could have been lost.

Education and training. Battles have always been fought over whether social workers need education or training or both together. Social work is both a practical and intellectual occupation and social workers need to be well-informed, imaginative and reflective. At the same time, they should have the necessary skills for working with vulnerable, damaged and/or exploited people. Training will assist the development or fine-tuning of skills, while education is essential for the intellectual aspects of the job. "Education" is used, therefore, throughout this thesis to be inclusive of training, unless indicated otherwise - for example, in the context of placements or apprenticeship-style programmes.

Social work and community work. Rather than founder on this rock that has shipwrecked so many in discussion of the social services, the existence of the debate as to whether community work is different in kind from social work or whether it is correctly subsumed within it is acknowledged. For the purposes of this thesis, social work is referred to in its broadest sense, inclusive of community work. There is a clear distinction, however, between casework and community work and, in many instances in later chapters, I refer to social service work, because this inclusive and generic term better reflects and accommodates contemporary references to both community and social work.

Welfare State and Welfare Society.

Many definitions of the welfare state exist. The approach taken in this thesis is consistent with that argued by Barretta-Herman in her examination of the development of the Department of Social Welfare during Aotearoa/New Zealand's transition from a welfare state to a welfare society (Barretta-Herman, 1994).

Barretta-Herman argued that, for forty years, Aotearoa/New Zealand had operated with a model of the welfare state in which there was an assumption of communal responsibility for the welfare of all, by virtue of

citizenship. By the 1980s, it was clear to succeeding governments that such an approach to welfare needed to be reviewed. The welfare system that Aotearoa/New Zealand governments since 1984 have been fashioning is based on principles of individual and familial responsibility and targeted income support, and is motivated by monetarist economic policies (Barretta-Herman, 1994: 62).

Conclusion

To conclude, this study is concerned to document the development of social work education and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand and to consider what has influenced it and who has exercised leadership roles as the provision of educational and training resources developed. It is argued in this thesis that an examination of the intellectual origins for the teaching of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand is useful. Knowledge of the early aspirations for, and debates about, what should be taught and how, will assist in the analysis of current developments and directions in the education and training of social service workers. In this context, Freire's thinking is pertinent (Freire, 1972). Freire has had considerable influence on social work educators and there would be few qualified social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand who have not heard of his views on social work and social action. One of his principles is that no education is neutral and he argues that education can do one of two things: either it will maintain the status quo, transmitting the values and culture of the ruling class - this is domestication; or it can liberate people, helping them to become critical, creative, knowledgeable participating members of their society. It is intended that this thesis contribute to the growth of a liberating social work education. This position is taken throughout the study and informs the analysis.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The writing of history is no easier than the writing of anything else, ... it presents difficulties of a peculiarly drastic kind.... The more the historian knows, the more he despairs of his ability to tell it, for the sheer complexity of the historical process stands inexorably in the way. At times it seems as though, contrary to reasonable expectations, real understanding and the impossibility of conveying it grow together in steady harmony (Elton, 1964: 114).

This chapter introduces and discusses the methodology which has been used in researching and constructing this case study of the history of social work education and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand between 1949 and 1995. This history examines the competing views of social work and how people should be taught to practise it. It looks at the struggles for an education settlement between the various sectors of society with an interest in social work and preparation for the social work task. Two national social service training councils as well as the Education Training Committee of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers were focal points for the control of social work education. The work and records of these organisations were studied for the information they provided on the changing alliances between and disagreements among interested parties. A major concern has been to document the development of professional social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and to make this public in an accessible narrative form. In doing this, the question of what and who have been the decisive influences shaping social work education is addressed.

As styles of social work practice and systems for the delivery of social work are affected by social, political, economic and other factors, so, too, is the provision of education and training for social workers. In a small country like Aotearoa/New Zealand, individuals have also influenced what happens in social work education. Therefore, while this case study uses documentary evidence, it is also heavily reliant on the oral histories of people closely involved in social and community work and the education of practitioners.

Professor Noel Timms, at the annual conference of the Association of Teachers of Social Work Education in Bristol, 1994, drew on the narrative

concept of self, in which the ability to tell a life story and to include significant others both serve to develop identity. People explain themselves to others, sometimes with one story, sometimes with another, depending on how they wish to be seen (Linde, 1993). It is the same with history.

This chapter discusses the principles which have informed the approach taken in this research. It then introduces and discusses the sources from which information and data have been collected and describes the collection of archival data. The targeting of respondents and the collection of oral histories is then described and the analytic approach that has been used is explained. The chapter concludes with a discussion of supervision and ethical matters.

Principles Informing the Approach Taken in this Research

There are many statues of men slaying lions, but if only the lions were sculptors there might be quite a different set of statues (Aesop's Fables).

The historian always has a point of view, a guiding curiosity which flavours the selection and analysis of data. This study will be no exception. The preface to this thesis indicated the guiding values and interests by which it has been informed. That one's "value-orientation determines the questions we put to reality" (Freund, 1972: 52) is acknowledged here and the direction of this research will be guided by the values of social justice, combined with the liberal approach of a well-socialised, professional, British social worker who came to live in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1978.

Contentious issues have arisen during the period studied, some of which are very much alive today. For example, bitter disputes arose over which programmes merited accreditation. There have been strong differences of opinion between social and community workers over ideological beliefs and the distribution of educational resources. Maori development and indigenous ways of doing social work challenged the professional status quo in ways that brought about much soul-searching, consternation and some change. These issues, and the changing alliances of interested parties seeking power and hegemony over social work education, have been described and discussed in a manner that has attempted to acknowledge the perspectives of those who were involved at the time and who have taken part in the research. It is as important for social work students as for others,

that there should be an examination of the attitudes and influences that have resulted in the kinds of social work education we have today.

In taking this approach, a non-hierarchical stance has been attempted. This is because one of the priorities of this case study is to record, in one integrated piece of work, as full an account of the history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand as possible. A feminist history could have been written, focussing on women and raising questions about why they did not have a more prominent role in the early days, why the accreditation standards never gave the same level of support to feminist principles of practice as they gave to Maori cultural issues and the Treaty of Waitangi. Another history, taking the community work perspective, would doubtless have taken a more forthright and critical line with the New Zealand Social Work Training Council and the establishment. As a pakeha writer, it is acknowledged this is written from a pakeha perspective and a history from a Maori point of view has yet to be written. When it is, it will have its own, and different, benchmarks.

At this close range, there is a risk that one may look to the past only to demonstrate a particular line of argument and, for this reason, be blinded by one's beliefs from seeing evidence which contradicts one's point of view. If history is only as good as its evidence, as Elton argues, then historians should regard one another with caution lest they contaminate the honest search for evidence through exposure to preconceived (and favoured) ideas (Elton, 1964: 57). Instead ".....if he is to be a good historian he must question his own faith and admit some virtue in the beliefs of others" (Elton, 1964: 60).

This position, that good history is not a vehicle for prejudice, is echoed in an eloquent reflection on the state of contemporary practice by C. K. Stead's character, Hugh Grady, as he regrets the way in which political correctness has coloured what had, until recently, been a *tabula rasa* for the open-minded student of history. He recalls being encouraged to:

be the moth that should fly out into ...the vast garden, unexplored, undiscovered, (that was) New Zealand history . He cannot quite conceive of events as having "causes". "Who", he asks, "Who blew the whistle"? Who shouted "All change!" Who said "The facts are not enough. We must have

morals". Who demanded that the past must become a club with which to beat the present over the head, knock it into shape, make it behave "correctly"? (Stead, 1994: 141-2).

These are challenges for contemporary historians and Stead's argument merits attention. As already acknowledged, this history, as any other, inevitably comes with a built in point of view. However, it is intended that by acknowledging the varied perspectives of those involved in the making of social work education, a reciprocal relationship between the writer and the respondents and others involved in this partly contemporary history is possible. It is in this way that a non-hierarchical approach is attempted, leaving it possible for conflicting points of view to be aired. An effort has been made to keep a balance not only in relation to the selection of evidence, but also between the evidence and its interpretation. For example, it is likely that, with the passage of time, other interpretations and meanings will emerge from this text, for perspective comes with distance.

The price of distance is the loss of insider status which bestows on the historian privileged access to information (Tuchman, 1984: 74-8). Insider status can present difficulties, for example, it may impede the ability of the researcher in their employment of historical method whereby "doubt" becomes the "examiner" (Bloch, 1992: 68). It can be hard to doubt the taken for granted. However, there are advantages to having the insider vantage point from which this research has been conducted. I had access to sources of information as a member of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers which were to hand, in the same way that the manuscript collections and archives were available to me as a member of staff in the Social Policy and Social Work Department. My institutional memory also served me well.

The collection of oral histories will also have been affected by the fact that the researcher was known to many of the researched. How this familiarity affected the data is a matter of speculation. It is likely that in some cases there was more openness, because the person interviewed could rely on a shared knowledge base, while at times people will have wanted to present themselves in a particular way, precisely because of who was interviewing them. Apart from memory lapses, few discrepancies were found between what people said and factual matters. Their interpretations of events and explanations of why certain things happened in the way they did were at

times revealing and showed the dangers of misinterpretation through lack of detailed or personal information.

Sources and Collection of Written Data

In this case study, the interests of employers, professionals/practitioners and education providers were at times particularly compatible while at other times they have been in competition. It is argued that change has occurred when two or more interested parties combined to advance their goals. It is when change occurs that one can often observe the influences which shape events and gain a better understanding of the direction being taken.

A considerable amount of written material, published and unpublished, is available to the historian of social work and social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Both primary and secondary sources have been consulted as well as oral histories and interviews of people involved in this area. Each of these sources is introduced and discussed below.

The outline of sources used here is based on the system recommended by the History Department, Massey University. Some contemporary publications are regarded as both secondary and primary sources, because of the light they shed on contemporary, taken for granted, attitudes and practices. An example of such publications can be found in Barretta-Herman's study of the Department of Social Welfare as it began the process of restructuring its delivery of social services (Barretta-Herman, 1994). Her perception of bi-culturalism and her portrayal of the daily tasks of the social worker are very much embedded in the late 1980s, the period she studied. The reader is constantly reminded of how different the public perception of NZCYPFS (formerly NZCYPS and before that the Department of Social Welfare) now is. Bi-culturalism, too, has become a more complex area, overtaken as it is by the advent of Maori self-determination and the gradual emergence of Iwi social services.

Three organisations, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW), The New Zealand Social Work Training Council (NZSWTC) and the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in Social Services (NZCETSS), have collections of records which have provided invaluable material for this history. Some of the records were well-kept and organised, while others, for example those of the NZASW, are scattered and in a state

of some disarray. These organisations were at the interface between social work practice, employers and educators and therefore they have been studied, to explore the influences that affected the development of social work education. Data from other sources has provided triangulation for the purposes of verification.

Primary sources examined in preparing this history include the documents and records just mentioned, together with some material from the Voluntary Welfare Agency Training Board (VWATB) and private papers and manuscript collections, eg. the J.H. Robb collection in the Beaglehole Room, Victoria University Library, and the Hancock papers at the School of Social Policy and Social Work,¹ together with policy statements from government departments and professional publications.

Access to these collections depended on several factors and was not always straightforward. The collections held by the Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University and the Manawatu Branch of the NZASW were made available unreservedly. Access to collections held by other, more formal, institutions is described below.

Many people involved in social work from the time of the establishment of the first tertiary level course were still available to offer their accounts of what happened and put forward opinions about these events. A targeted sample of these people was compiled and oral histories were conducted. The process and rationale by which people were targeted is also explained below.

In the course of this study, more sources of information came to light, particularly small, private collections of material. There is scope for future researchers to uncover primary sources such as personal collections of minutes, correspondence and so on. Key themes in the three periods were explored until it was felt that new information capable of invalidating the argument and interpretation of the case study was unlikely to be found. This has involved exercising judgement based on practical experience and guided by information from interviews and supervision.

¹ Until 1998, known as the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, by which historical name it is referred to in this thesis. This Department was formed out of the Social Work Unit of the Sociology Department at Massey University, in 1983.

For example, as the research progressed, a general picture began to emerge which was corrected and redrawn from time to time as conflicting evidence demanded. Gradually, this picture consolidated as more and more evidence came to light to corroborate and endorse what was depicted. The triangulation between archival research, oral histories and other information eventually came together in a manner which supported the general structure and direction of this historical case study.

Secondary sources exist in the form of unpublished research and theses, published histories, social policy and social work texts, journal articles and newspaper coverage of events and debates. The next section will introduce and discuss firstly, the collection of archival data and, secondly, the oral histories and interviews.

The Collection of Archival and Oral Data

This section describes the NZASW archives, those of the NZSWTC and the private NZCETSS collection to which I have had access.

The New Zealand Association of Social Workers Archives

The NZASW archives are scattered so that membership of the Association was an invaluable asset. It has been possible to locate an almost complete, uncatalogued but very useful, collection of National Council Minutes, many of the Biennial Conference publications and NZASW publications and correspondence, together with the Manawatu Branch minutes now held in my own home.

In addition to this material, Merv Hancock, when he left the Social Work Unit at Massey University in 1982, left many boxes of NZASW and NZSWTC papers. These have been held in the Social Policy and Social Work Department and comprise a unique collection. This material is an invaluable resource for the student of local social work history in all its many facets. Finally, several of those who were interviewed lent or gave me useful source material, some of which, like Mr Peek's Report of his visit to the USA in 1926, are in short supply and hard to locate. Without this piecemeal collection it would have been much more difficult to write a narrative account of social work education for the first period of this study.

This collection of manuscripts remains uncatalogued and much as it was when used. This is partly because it is scattered among several owners and partly because, early on in the research, I was unaware of the potential for cataloguing and forming a formal archival collection. Later, this became logistically impossible. This is something I would want to address in the future. Notes and photocopies were used to collect and systematise the documents and minutes, while material relating to social work education and training in the Association journal has been annotated and filed.

The New Zealand Social Work Training Council Archives

The most formal archival collection used was that of the NZSWTC held in Wellington by the Department of Social Welfare, Corporate Office and administered by the Senior Advisor, archives and records. In order to gain access to these archives, I was asked to sign a Deed of Confidentiality. This was a standard one which had been drawn up in the interests of protecting client confidentiality, with the perhaps unintended result that the kind of historical research into non-client records was not catered for. The Deed of Confidentiality concerned me in that it provided an all-encompassing definition of confidential information and had two particularly problematic clauses. Clause 3.2 stated:

any disclosure of Confidential Information by any person or agency in breach of this Deed, shall be deemed to be a disclosure by the Researcher and therefore a breach of this Deed by the Researcher. This applies whether or not that information was obtained with written consent pursuant to clause 3.1.

This was problematic because some of the information sought for this thesis and which I knew I wanted to write about, was contained in these archives, which the deed had defined as confidential. Clause 3.4 further compiled the problem:

In any presentation of the results of the Project (by way of a published or unpublished report, thesis, book, academic paper, article, lecture, speech, broadcast, letter, conversation or any other form), the Researcher will not identify individuals or disclose any other Confidential Information (Clause 3.4).

Here the difficulty centred on the fact that the people being interviewed and many others who were part of the research, were named in the records to be studied and would need to be mentioned in this history. Moreover, I already had the consent of those whom I had interviewed to be both named and quoted by name.

I corresponded with the Senior Archivist and one of the Department of Social Welfare lawyers, as well as the Official Information Ombudsman under Section 28 of the Official Information Act 1982, explaining my reservations and requesting amendments to this Deed of Confidentiality. It became clear that unless the Deed was signed there would be no access to the data. It was also indicated verbally that researcher was expected to trust the Department of Social Welfare officials, who under the agreement would vet the penultimate draft of the thesis, not to interpret Clause 3. 6 with unnecessary severity.²

The Official Information Ombudsman stated it as his opinion that under the Official Information Act the archival material relevant to this research is of public interest. Should a difference of opinion arise between the researcher and the Department of Social Welfare as to what can be written in this thesis, the Ombudsman agreed, verbally, to be available for consultation.

After six months, I signed the agreement, gained access to the records and have been treated very kindly by the archivists. The penultimate drafts of the relevant chapters (Chapters Nine and Ten) in the thesis pertaining to this material has been duly read by Gary Howat, the chief archivist at the Department of Social Welfare and checked for "contentious material".³ No changes were recommended. However, there remains cause for concern over the potential of the Deed of Confidentiality, still being used for researchers, to render access to such archival material either impossible or pointless. This concern has been communicated to the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Research (Massey University) and the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The NZSWTC archival collection is extensive and well-catalogued, and is housed in a series of brown cardboard boxes. It took several weeks to go

² "deletions or alterations necessary to prevent identification of individuals or disclosure of any other Confidential Information" (Clause 3. 6).

³ Handwritten instructions on page 1 of the chapter when it was returned to me.

through the material, taking one or two days each week to travel to Wellington. This was my first experience of archival work and it took a while to settle into a consistent and routine way of going through the files, taking notes and working out on what to concentrate. The files are catalogued according to their status: members, meetings, administration, projects, organisations, accreditation and validation and working parties.

All but a few, miscellaneous files were examined, including the entire set of Minutes,⁴ from which only one item was noted to be missing, a controversial letter which was referred to by Cranna (1989: 15), in his own study of this data, using a different collection of the NZSWTC minutes. I already had access to many of the minutes of the basic professional committee and the accreditation and validation committee, through the archives held in the Social Policy and Social Work Department at Massey University. In this way, my position as a staff member gave me privileged access partly because I knew that this material was available.

As the archival material was read, note was taken of which issues had been given importance, in that Council Members had spent time and energy on them. Note was also made of which personalities had shone out as being particularly dominant, persuasive, or critical. The recurrence of certain issues and themes was recorded. Some of the most obvious of these were the location of social work courses, the question of accreditation, part-time versus full-time courses and the place of and lack of resources for community work education and training.

Significant decisions and problems were documented, such as the non-accreditation of the Wellington YMCA course, the discussion around whether social work would best be taught in technical institutes or teachers colleges, the lack of consultation and networking at certain crucial points (and the positive responses where it occurred), the inability of the Council to

⁴ As well as the minutes, I read the following files:

1. Executive Committee
2. Training for Volunteers and Community Workers
3. the NZCETSS New Directions File
4. The Correspondence between the NZSWTC and the DSW,
5. NZSWTC Reports and Discussion papers,
6. NZSWTC Minutes at Council and Standing Committee,
7. the NZSWTC - Ministerial Review Committee
8. the Ministerial Review Committee - Submissions to MRC and NZSWTC Reports
9. Background papers, Overseas Visitors and Overseas Visits of Members
10. Ministerial Correspondence
11. the University of Auckland.

persuade successive governments to support its requests for more resources for social work education and the Council's review of itself.

The working processes of the NZSWTC and the manner in which it operated, was another area of interest as they unfolded to reveal the NZSWTC becoming less organised, less well-attended, being given fewer resources and losing morale. For example, under the chairmanship of Dr Robson, the Council was conducted in a very formal fashion, whereas the latest files of minutes show infrequent, ill-attended meetings and handwritten minutes, indicative of the withdrawal of institutional support. The minutes are recorded in a formal fashion and only on very few occasions can one detect the ruffled feathers, the anger, disappointment and disillusionment of members. Here, the importance of oral data is obvious, though, in the case of the NZSWTC, people tended to be discrete. It provided a chance to read between the lines.

The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services

Access to documentation of the workings of the NZCETSS was due to Professor Ian Shirley, the Chairman of NZCETSS from the time it began until it finished. Four boxes of minutes, working papers, financial accounts, correspondence and miscellaneous material were put at my disposal. Because the Council's work is in the most immediate past, it is highly unlikely that the researcher could have had access to such material through more formal channels. As a consequence, it has been possible to draw on uncensored written documentation, on oral data, including that of the Chairman, Ian Shirley, Awhina Waaka, and the first Director, Robyn Munford, who has supervised this thesis. In addition to this, there are my own memories of NZCETSS, its work and how it was perceived throughout its existence.

Once again, the data was studied, notes taken from the minutes, material sorted into themes and debates, problems, personal interventions and statements and processes. The Council's processes for networking with the wider social service community and its bi-cultural partnership were examined. An approach similar to that taken with the NZSWTC archives was used, though note-taking was less arduous, as the records were constantly to hand and were partially catalogued to enable relevant data to be retrieved for reference purposes. Not all the material appeared strictly

relevant to this study and therefore some selection has taken place. However, most of it was useful in the sense of providing context and background material. The Council newsletters and publications also provided a public image of the Council, which has been used as well.

Written sources of information described above were brought to life by interviews and conversations held with respondents as well as by a small number of recorded interviews collected by Mr Bruce Asher in the late 1980, which he gave me permission to use. Given that the research question was about who as well as what has influenced the development of social work education in New Zealand, it was decided to interview people who are or have been intimately involved in this field of work in a variety of different categories over time. Such people could be expected to have informed opinions about events in which they were involved or would feel strongly about.

The Respondents

There was a wide range of possible respondents to consider and it was decided to target them as follows. Having divided the period under consideration into three sections, three categories of people were targeted.

First, key practitioners and professionals in the several fields of practice were sought. This included probation officers, child welfare workers, health sector workers, community development workers and workers from the disability services, to name a few.

Second, I looked at employers in both statutory, voluntary and non-government organisations such as the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and their Families Service (NZCYPFS), Justice and community corrections, the Society for Intellectually Handicapped Children, (IHC) and the health services generally.

Finally, educators from universities and the Auckland College of Education, tertiary institutions offering professional and accredited social work qualifications have been interviewed.

Participants were selected because of their connections with the provision of social service education and training. They were invited to be respondents

because of their involvement at different stages in the development of social work courses. Many had served in one capacity or another on committees of the NZASW, NZSWTC and NZCETSS.

For logistical reasons, ill health and respondents' time constraints, three of the initially targeted respondents were unable to be interviewed. Alternative respondents from the same categories were then approached. Respondents have been happy to be named and quoted by name. A few have asked for some comments not to be used, but these have not restricted the thesis in any significant way. Respondents were, or are, well-known figures in the field of social or community work.

Having decided on a logical targeting system for finding appropriate respondents, the three fields which they actually come from are listed below:

Professional associations, which included the Child Welfare Workers Association, the New Zealand Association of Social Work, and the Aotearoa Community Workers Association.

Employer groups, which included the old Child Welfare Division, the Department of Social Welfare, the Justice Department, the Salvation Army, Presbyterian Social Services, the Health Sector and Society for Intellectually Handicapped Children.

Tertiary institutions, which included Victoria University of Wellington, Massey University, Canterbury University, Auckland College of Education School of Social Work. Tiromoana, an in-service training establishment, was represented through both Mr Tom Austin and Brian Manchester.

The chart below sets out the names of the respondents and shows the period in which they were predominantly active and on which it was anticipated that the interview would concentrate. Full names and titles are used here, but elsewhere, many respondents have indicated that they wished to be referred to by their more informal and commonly recognised names. The table shows that, in each of the periods chosen, at least one respondent from each of the three groups (profession, employer and provider) was approached for an interview. The respondents were all willing to be named.

Chart 1: 1. Respondents

Period	Professional	Employer or Self-employed	Tertiary Institutions
1949-72			
	Mr Mervyn Hancock	Mr Tom Austin	Prof John McCreary
			Prof Jim Robb
1973-86			
	Ms Sally Marshall	Ms Judith McKenzie	Mr Brian Manchester
	Dr Wendy Craig	Mr Maurice McGregor	Dr Dugald McDonald
	Lt Colonel Noel Manson		Dr Ephra Garrett
1987-95			
	Dr Mike O'Brien	Mr J. B. Munro	Ms Liz Beddoe
	Dr Robyn Munford	Mr Murray Short	Prof Ian Shirley
		Mr John Hopkins	
		Mrs Awhina Waaka	

The Interviews

A letter was sent to each of the possible participants to explain what the study was about, what their time commitment would be and for what purposes the information would be used. People were then asked to take part in the research and invited to take part in a taped interview.

Individual agreements were drawn up with participants in which they agreed to take part in the research (consent form see appendix III). Participants were told that they could withdraw from the research at any stage and that their consent could be renegotiated if they so wished. A semi-structured interview schedule was used, the purpose of which was to ask people to give their opinions as to what had been influential in shaping social work education (see appendix III for the semi-structured interview).

Interviewing one's peers

Little was found in the literature about interviewing one's peers or seniors. One researcher referred to the lack of textbook material on the topic and highlighted particular features to be aware of in interviewing sophisticated and self-reflexive people who are part of one's peer group (Platt, 1981).

Platt concluded that there could be no single right way of proceeding, "although some of the consideration normally shown to one's peers might appropriately be extended to other types of respondent" (Platt, 1981: 75).

If extra consideration is given to one's peer group, and if this is in acknowledgment of equal power relationships and the concern to avoid negative consequences, interviewing one's superiors, as I have done, is even more interesting. In her discussion of anthropologists who "study up" in order to better understand the exercise of power, Nader encouraged this method of research into "those who shape and actually control institutional structure" (Nader, 1969: 284). Since this research has explored developments in social work education, it is fitting that powerful people in the field were involved as respondents. Many were consciously discreet but some of those who agreed to take part as respondents were (I thought) surprisingly open. At times their feelings of hurt and being misunderstood came across and many went out of their way to be helpful in clarifying the details of particular events. Accounts of the same event by people on opposing sides predictably reflected differences of opinion and proved very useful. I am left with the impression of an honest and sincere group of respondents who showed genuine interest in this project and wanted to see a record of events into which they had put so much of themselves.

Respondents were told in advance about the area to be addressed in the interview. An information sheet together with a consent form were posted out at least a week prior to the interview. Respondents were scattered around the country, some living in Christchurch, Wellington, Hawkes Bay, Auckland, as well as in the environs of Palmerston North.

A number of respondents had been, or are, professors, managers and/or directors. They had a tendency to lead the interview and in many instances this was acknowledged during the interview. The taped interviews were conducted, for the most part, with success. There was, however, one interview where technology defeated me, and I am indebted to that

particular respondent for a repeat session and written account of how he saw events.

Many of those interviewed are or have been influential in more than one role during these periods. Some have been students, practitioners and, later, providers in social work education. Others have been members of the NZASW or NZCETSS, have taken part in standing committees, working parties or ministerial reviews relevant to the research topic. This lent a depth and richness to the interviews and gave people the opportunity to reflect on the changes in which they have taken part.

There was one constraint on the interviewing process. Some of the respondents were known to be frail and it was imperative to begin interviewing as soon as possible. Two of the people interviewed, Professor John McCreary and Mr Tom Austin, have since died. Had it been possible to study archival material from the NZSWTC prior to the interviews, it may be that the ground would have been covered in a more focussed manner. However, there are sometimes advantages in being able to ask questions to which one genuinely has no answer. Respondents differed in terms of how well they remembered the past and how involved they still were with social work. In some cases, there were still strong feelings of hurt or betrayal over events referred to during the interview, while others were somewhat detached from the past. Some respondents provided the researcher with personal papers and photographs which have proved useful.

One respondent, Mrs Awhina Waaka, was interviewed in November 1997, as the final draft of the research was being written. From the beginning it was hoped that she could be interviewed for this research and her contribution was all the more valuable for coming at the end. Her reflections added to the history, by confirming much of what other NZCETSS members had talked about, but she brought her own point of view which served to confirm and sometimes elaborate on the analysis of such a wealth of information.

Data Analysis

Perhaps the best introduction to the analysis of oral histories comes in the words of that great teller of travel stories - Marco Polo.

Kublai asks Marco, "When you return to that West, will you repeat to your people the same tales you tell me?"

"I speak and speak," Marco says, "but the listener retains only the words he is expecting. The description of the world to which you lend a benevolent ear is one thing; the description that will go the rounds of the groups of stevedores and gondoliers on the street outside my house the day of my return is another; and yet another, that which I might dictate late in life, if I were taken prisoner by Genoese pirates and put in irons in the same cell with a writer of adventure stories. It is not the voice that commands the story: it is the ear" (Spufford, 1989: 67).

With this in mind, interviews were analysed for themes which address the question of who and what has driven the provision of education and training for social workers in New Zealand. Memories of the two education and training councils and the NZASW were also analysed and collated as each respondent talked about the work of the NZASW, NZSWTC, NZCETSS and their opinions about what these organisations had, or had not, achieved. The characterisation of each of the three periods into which I have divided this case study as, respectively, Identity, Consolidation and Recognition of social work is a direct consequence of these themes which came through in the oral accounts.

Another theme, or category, was the role of agencies and social work employers and the working of the market through contracting and purchasing mechanisms. Influences on the curriculum and the various approaches to competency are another theme, closely associated to that centring around systems of accreditation and the application of basic minimum standards. A further theme is the provision of social work courses and the continuing difficulties of catering for the Auckland area. The respondents' life stories were collated together and have helped to illustrate and bring to life much of the historical and documented material collected in archival research. Maori and women's issues are two themes which were deliberately sought and have been analysed for the changes that have taken place over time.

Having identified these as the themes which respondents had elaborated on in answering the semi-structured interview, the data was sorted accordingly.

By the time the oral data was analysed, much, but not all, of the archival data had been collected. It was possible, therefore, to be aware of the relationship between the oral and archival data, as well as taking into account published material and the findings of earlier researchers. In this way, a sense of period definition emerged, hence the division of the material into three chronological time-frames. A chronological approach to the thesis has presented a logical structure on which to build. The themes identified have been constant, if multicoloured, threads woven across the years and generations.

Oral data were collected in order to discover the opinions held by people closely involved in some of the crucial debates and decisions surrounding the development of social and community work education. The old disagreements still held good, concerning where and at what level social work education should be pitched. Accounts, both written and oral, were more consistent with one another than might perhaps have been expected, considering the passage of time.

The period in which data were gathered has probably been significant. In 1995, when the interviews were conducted, it was becoming clear that there was, yet again, a struggle taking place over standards for social work education and who should have power resourcing and accrediting it. This is likely to have resulted in the degree of pessimism or disappointment observed and which was expressed by those who had worked very hard to establish profession social work and social work courses with high tertiary standards. Some people also referred to new opportunities and the data included opinions on social policies, and the current relationship between economic policy and social policy, as increasing freedom is given to market forces.

Maori issues form a particular theme in the later periods studied. This thesis is, however, written from a Pakeha point of view and has sought not to carry out invasive or neo-colonial research. Two themes are clearly significant in making changes in the curriculum necessary. The first is the increasing articulation of Maori development models and ways of working with tangata whanau and respecting cultural matters. The second theme in this area is tino rangatiratanga, Maori sovereignty. The rise of Maori activism in the 1970s was and still is an important influence on social work

education. The impact of documents such as Puao-te-Ata-tu⁵ and other landmark publications including Kahukura⁶ challenged Pakeha to address biculturalism, and this impact is taken into account and discussed.

Women's issues, the development of feminist social work and principles for practice, together with community work and the drive for social justice also feature in the oral data. The research shows that many who have been involved in shaping social and community work have strong spiritual values. Christianity, humanism, Maori spirituality and the radical values of feminism and liberation theology all have their part to play in this story.

The information drawn from the interviews has been used in the chapters that follow, particularly in the historical chapters. With their permission, quotations are attributed to the respondent concerned by name. Respondents' quotations are referenced in the text in bold with the year and date. On one or two occasions, in order to preserve sensitivities and practise reciprocity towards the respondents, I have referenced their quotations without giving their name. In those cases they are referred to simply as "Respondent, pers. comm. 1995".

One chapter has a style and format all its own. This is Chapter Five: "Merv Hancock, a personal account". In this chapter, the reader has direct access to Merv Hancock's account of his efforts to bring into being his visions for social work and the preparation of social workers for practice. Comments and interpretations are included in this partial life history which is contextualised at the beginning and discussed at the end of the chapter. A compelling reason for this chapter has been the wish to ensure that Merv Hancock's vision for social work and his understanding of the issues involved would not be absorbed into his student's thesis without acknowledgment.

The interviews (which at times were more like conversations) addressed the question of who and what has driven the provision of education and training for social workers in New Zealand. This information, interwoven with other data gained from primary and secondary sources, presents a picture of alliances, debates and struggles for power and hegemony over

⁵ Puao-te-ata-tu is the name given to the report written by John Rangihau, and officially referenced under the authorship of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1986).

⁶ Kahukura is a contribution to the National Guidelines of the Maori Caucus of NZCETSS (1991).

social work and social work education. It will be seen that there has been a paradigm shift in terms of who, today, is attempting to define social work and how people should be trained and educated to practice.

Ethics and Supervision

The Massey University Ethics Committee approved the research proposal and the methodology for contacting respondents, and for conducting the taped interviews. The arrangements agreed upon have been adhered to. A form was drawn up by which respondents could, having read a transcript of the interview, indicate whether they wished to be named or anonymous and whether, if quoted, they wished for the quotation to be attributed to them by name (see appendix III). All people interviewed have expressed willingness to be quoted and have their real names used. In one or two cases, people asked me not to quote certain passages, or else not to attribute them directly. These requests were respected.

Given the public offices many of them have held, it would have been difficult if people had been unwilling to be named. As it is, they have provided invaluable oral histories relating to their contributions to and views of how social work education has developed in New Zealand. Social work education and training is now a competitive and expanding area in this country. Because of my role as a lecturer in a tertiary institution which offers such training, there could have been some hesitation on the part of some people to become participants. All potential participants were provided with a clear statement about the nature of the research and could have refused to take part in it if they did not wish to be involved. A number of people declined to be interviewed. There remained representatives for each of the targeted periods and sectors and therefore the research went ahead as planned.

One aspect of the supervisory relationship should be mentioned. Two of the thesis supervisors had played key roles in the history outlined in this thesis and, because of their involvement, were also respondents. Merv Hancock was among the first students admitted to the Diploma in Social Science at VUW⁷ and also the first President of the NZASW. He was later the Director of the Social Work Unit, Massey University and, as such, he was responsible for developing the curriculum of the Bachelor of Social

⁷ Then a college of the University of New Zealand, now Victoria University of Wellington.

Work degree. In addition, he chaired the Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC. Robyn Munford was in the first cohort of students to graduate with the Bachelor of Social Work degree. She was the first Director of NZCETSS and, currently, she is the Section Head of the School of Policy Studies and Social Work, Massey University, Palmerston North.

These different roles were acknowledged and worked through, in my view satisfactorily. Merv Hancock declined to supervise me for Chapter Five. Robyn Munford and I, having worked together on other projects, already had a good research relationship which we modified in a pragmatic fashion. My third supervisor, Dr Wanda Korndörffer, is neither associated with social work nor the development of social work education and offered detached supervision where necessary.

Supervision sessions were, to begin with, tape-recorded, a process which proved invaluable. This was partly because it provided a useful system for recalling what was discussed in sessions. Perhaps more useful, though, was the way in which I could analyse the dynamics of the supervision process and was able to detect and adjust to a degree of defensiveness and anxiety on my part. This was one way in which the effects of the dual relationships between myself and the supervisors could be recognised and discussed. Supervision ended up being a positive and fruitful arrangement.

I kept a journal in which notes, reflections and miscellaneous observations were recorded. This proved useful as a record of the development of ideas and sources of information.

List of Respondents

To conclude this chapter, I have outlined the involvement in social work of each person interviewed. Respondents are listed in alphabetical order.

Mr Tom Austin

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1952

Probation Service 1949-1963

Director, Tiromoana 1963-70

Senior advisory officer (Social Work), Head Office, Department of Health, 1970-80

Member of NZASW and NZSWTC
Deceased

Ms Liz Beddoe

MA (Appl) in Social Work, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983
Social Worker for Auckland Area Health Board, 1978-90
Director, School of Social Work, Auckland College of Education, 1992-
On-going member of NZASW

Dr Wendy Craig

BSW , Massey University, 1981
Ph.D., Social Policy and Social Work Dept., Massey University, 1990
Community Volunteers, (PN), 1976-1982
Member of Aotearoa Community Work Association
Lecturer, Social Policy and Social Work Dept., Massey University 1985-90
Director, Student Services, Waikato University, 1990-

Dr Ephra Garrett

MA Psychology, University of New Zealand, Wellington
Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1952
Maori Community Officer, 1950s
Lecturer, Education Department, Massey University, 1968-75
Senior lecturer, Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University, 1975-1989
Part-time lecturer, Massey University, 1989-

Mr Mervyn Hancock

MA History, University of New Zealand, Wellington, 1949
Head Office, Child Welfare Division, 1949
Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1951
Basic Grade Child Welfare Division Officer, Gisborne, 1951-57
Senior Child Welfare Division Officer, Dunedin, 1957-1960
District Child Welfare officer, Palmerston North, 1960-66
First President and a life member of NZASW , 1964-66
Private Practitioner, Palmerston North, 1966-75
Director, Social Work Unit, Massey University, 1975-82
Private Practitioner, Palmerston North, 1983-

Mr John Hopkins

LLB., Victoria University of Wellington, 1961

Probation Officer, 1961-73

Dip Soc Work, Victoria University of Wellington, 1974

Probation Student Unit Supervisor, 1974-81

Social Work Educator, Auckland College of Education School of Social Work, 1981-1982

Self-employed consultant (particularly to NZCETSS) 1982-

Professor John McCreary

MA Psychology, University of New Zealand, Wellington, 1947

Lecturer in Social Work School of Social Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, 1948-1971

Professor, 1971-1983

Member of NZASW and NZSWTC

Deceased, 1995

Dr Dugald Jan McDonald

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1967

BA (Psych), MA (Hons) Education, Massey University,

Ph.D. Cantab.

Child Welfare Division/Department of Social Welfare, 1959-76

Senior Lecturer/Head of Department Social Work, University of Canterbury 1976-

Member of NZASW and NZCETSS

Mr Maurice McGregor

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1957

Diploma in Education, 1962

Chief Social Worker, North Canterbury Hospital Board, 1966-1975

Educator: University Extension Studies Dept, University of Canterbury, 1970-1975

Social Work Dept, University of Canterbury, 1976-1990

Executive Director, Presbyterian Support Services, Christchurch, 1977-1990

Self-employed consultant in Organisation Development, Christchurch,

Member of NZASW and NZSWTC

Ms Judith MacKenzie

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1954

Chief Social Worker, Wellington Hospital Board, 1977-82
 Chief Social Worker, Auckland Area Health Board, 1983-91
 Member of NZSWTC and ex-member of NZASW
 Self-employed Consultant (ongoing)

Mr Brian Manchester

Child Welfare Officer, 1954
 Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1957
 BA (Ed. and Psych)
 Child Welfare Division, Head Office, Wellington, 1961-2
 District Child Welfare Officer, Wellington and later, Masterton, 1962-4
 Chief Education and Training Officer, 1973-8
 Director, Social Work Development, 1978-1979
 Assistant Director-General (Social Work), 1979-87
 Member of NZASW and NZSWTC

Lt. Colonel Noel Manson

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1968
 Educator: The Salvation Army Officer Training College, Upper Hutt, 1968-90
 Employer: The Salvation Army Bridge Programme, 1972-79
 Member of NZASW and NZSWTC
 Retired

Ms Sally Marshall

Certificate in Theory and Practice of Social Work, Otago University, 1983
 Dip Soc Work, Massey University, 1995
 Community Worker, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Dr Robyn Munford

BSW, Social Policy and Social Work Dept, Massey University, 1978
 MSW, Canada, 1984
 Ph.D (Social Work), Massey University, 1989
 Employer, IHC, 1984-88
 Director, NZCETSS, 1988-91
 Associate Professor, School of Policy Studies and Social Work, Massey University 1991-

Mr J.B. Munro

Diploma in Youth Leadership, YMCA College for Leadership Training, Australia, 1961

YMCA, Invercargill, Dunedin, Australia, 1958-1968

IHC, Invercargill, 1968-73

MP Invercargill, 1972-75

Chief Executive, IHC, Wellington, 1977-

Dr Mike O'Brien

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1972

MA, York University, UK, 1979

Senior Lecturer, School of Policy Studies and Social Work, Massey University, 1980-

Ph.D. (Social Work), Massey University, 1989

Professor I.H. Robb

B.Sc (Econ), University of New Zealand, Wellington,

MA., University of New Zealand, Wellington, 1949

Family Welfare Association and Family Discussion Bureau, London, 1949-51

Ph.D., London School of Economics, 1951

Lecturer, (Social Work), Victoria University of Wellington, 1954-1966

Professor of Sociology, Victoria University of Wellington, 1966 -

Retired

Professor Ian F. Shirley

Community Worker, Auckland

MA (Social Welfare & Development), Sociology Dept., Auckland University, 1977

Lecturer, Social Work Unit, Sociology Dept, Massey University, 1977-1982

Chair of Social Policy and Social Work Dept., Massey University, 1982-

Chairperson, NZCETSS 1986-95

Mr Murray Short

Dip Soc Sci, Victoria University of Wellington, 1976

Probation Student Unit Supervisor, Palmerston North, 1977-79

Snr. Probation Officer, Taupo, 1979-93

Member of NZASW and NZSWTC

General Manager, Justice Department, Collections (ongoing)

Mrs Awhina Waaka

Secondary School Teacher and Community representative on NZCETSS.

Guide to the Appendices and Photographs

Appendix I contains a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi and appendix II, a glossary of commonly used Maori terms. Appendix III has data collection tools. Some appendices are introduced in the text and all are listed in the contents pages. Items were chosen for inclusion in the appendices in order to provide succinct information including timelines, copies of pamphlets, minimum standards and definitions of social, community and youth work. Photographs of some respondents and people who have been significant in this history are included after Chapters Five, Seven, Nine and Eleven. The selection of photographs has been based on relevance and availability.

Referencing

Referencing has been a challenge, given that so many of the sources used (apart from that of the NZSWTC archives held by the Department of Social Welfare) are uncatalogued and belong to several people and institutions. In addition, referring to people and institutions when their names or titles change several times during the time frame of this study has not been easy. For this reason, detailed references to NZASW and NCZETSS documents are sometimes included in the text, for extra clarity. Where agenda items and minutes of meetings had page numbers, these often related to specific agenda items so that for one date, there could be several pages with the same number. Agenda and minutes are therefore referenced with the date only, for consistency.

There is a list of collections of manuscripts and archival deposits used in Sources, which precedes Works cited and works consulted. Works cited and consulted is organised in two parts: published and unpublished material.

Where documents appear to be particularly significant and possibly available to the general public⁸, they have been referenced under Works cited and works consulted. Another referencing challenge is the NZASW

⁸ By which is meant that, given the conditions of access to Department of Social Welfare archives, it may be that the documents are held by them but not accessible to most researchers.

journal, which has changed its name four times between 1968-1997, and has been inconsistent in volume numbering. Documents in the NZCETSS archives were often undated and some, unauthored. As far as possible, references are given that will facilitate retrieval, but at times, I may be the only person who has a copy of a particular document or scrap of paper, or knows its whereabouts.

Many people and institutions referred to in the text have had different titles in the course of time. To avoid confusion and to honour peoples' preferences, where these have been made plain, I refer to them using the title which they have chosen.

Chapter Three: Histories of Social Work Education

This chapter examines the history of social work education, both international and local, as portrayed in the literature. Material has been organised chronologically. In broad-based histories of social work, attention paid to the development of social work education tends to be afforded for the most part a single chapter. In this study, however, it is the centre of attention and accounts of how social work developed provide a backdrop to the history of social work education.

The literature contains a variety of frameworks within which to understand the history of social work. For some, the analogy of social work developing from infancy, maturing through adolescence into secure adulthood has appeal. Others argue that a regular sequence of developmental stages can be discerned in which social work is shaped by the forces of the state, the social work profession and people of vision. Another approach argues that there is no real pattern, simply a constant shifting of emphasis between the social justice and social welfare dimensions of social work. Regardless of the approach taken, several themes and concerns stand out and are discussed in this chapter.

Two perennial questions which feature in these historical accounts focus on what the provision for social work education should be and what the core curriculum should consist of. There have been many struggles for power between the profession, the educators, employers and the state over these matters which are related to the purposes and consequent curricula required for social work education. Unless educators and employers share a similar view of social work, gaps may exist between employer expectations and the type of social worker to graduate. The contested nature of social work as either an agent of social control or liberation is another theme of significance and one to which some authors have paid particular attention, usually from a secular, but sometimes from a Christian, perspective. Many of the key people involved in social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand have a Christian humanist background which is particularly relevant given that Aotearoa/New Zealand is a small country and, as such,

there is more opportunity for individuals to exert influence in matters of policy direction and professional development.

Historical accounts of western social work education tend to portray the long-standing relationship between social work and Christianity with reference merely to underlying (and usually conservative) altruistic, charitable or philanthropic ideals. This is to sell short a rich, intellectual and well-developed seam of thinking which carries social work out of its conservative, charitable, do-good framework, and into more radical, liberationist territory associated with socialist and non-sectarian social action movements. Here it is noted that socialists, humanists and Christians have each brought a challenge to the status quo and protested the accumulation of wealth at the expense of the poor. Liberation theology and Catholic social teaching have undoubtedly touched social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in so far as they inform the thinking of practitioners and educators. The thinking of Freire (1972) and the publications of the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence have been recognised by social work educators and students as also more recent authors like Barndt (1989) of the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, Derrick (1993) and O'Connor and O'Regan (1992). A less well-known but nevertheless significant contribution to the curriculum was Elliott's Christian-anarchist thesis, which he shared with students while himself studying at Massey University in the 1980s.¹ Among these students were people like Wendy Craig, who had got involved in social action long before she came near the university, and in fact as an organic intellectual, brought with her a robust critique of society which she maintained throughout her years at university.

This chapter tracks key themes affecting social work education since it emerged in other parts of the world in the nineteenth century, and which have continued to be significant in the periods between 1949-1995 identified for this study. Recent literature shows the contemporary scene to be characterised by a strong demand from the agencies and employers for social workers with technical skills (Culpitt, 1992; Ife, 1996; Dominelli 1997). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, standards regulated by the New Zealand

¹ Some literature has dual status as primary evidence (when used as evidence for contemporary attitudes, ways of thinking and influential ideas of the day) and secondary evidence (when it could be used to contextualise arguments in a chapter such as this). Reynolds' work is of this ilk, being an extremely influential document when first published, but also making points which are as relevant conceptually today as in 1942 when it was first published. Social work literature published prior to the mid-seventies is likely to be both primary (in that it would have been used here by New Zealand educators and practitioners) and secondary, as a source of accounts of the development of social work.

Qualifications Authority represent employer interests rather than those of the profession and, internationally, educators and professionals are voicing their concerns that theoretical and reflective, critical approaches to social work are being excluded to the detriment of the professional integrity of social work (Ife, 1997; Dominelli, 1997).

International Histories

Common trends

Many historians tend to see a pattern of development in those countries where social work as we know it has a role to play. Some have construed these phases as developmental (as though they show a progression of ideas). Reynolds argued that a change took place in social work when Mary Richmond's ideas were publicised. They coincided with the first conceptualisations of psycho-social methods. Reynolds drew a comparison between the toddler, largely oblivious of the feelings of those around her, gradually growing up, developing a social conscience and appreciating the need for love and loving. Social work, she argued:

has been growing up in its practice. Once it was oblivious to what people like or wanted, and used clients and those about them for its own purposes (conceived, of course, as for the client's good). Social work has begun to be able to see people as active in their social milieu, and to aid them in accomplishing their own social ends. This professional maturing depends partly on a growth of professional knowledge and skills which are ours and which we cannot lose (Reynolds, 1942: 333).

Feisty words, written during the second world war at a time when it was realised that the state was about to demand a great deal from social work services. Biestek (1957: 73) continued the analogy in relation to the 1950s, referring to the "social work profession in young adulthood" arguing that in the next two decades, it matured with the same frustrations that adults normally encounter. If the analogy is pursued, one might surmise that social work is currently entering its old age and consequent retirement. The developmental approach is a colourful one which lends richness to the view of social work as perceived by practitioners in the 1950s who were trained in the psychoanalytic approach. Some historians of social work

regard it as not so much developmental in the chronological sense, but rather vacillating between the horns of the social policy/social work dilemma (Ehrenreich, 1985). In other words they recognise that change is constantly occurring, but avoid placing a developmental interpretation on it.

This thesis notes the developmental sequences and their international occurrence and takes a structural view of social work as an occupation which, on the one hand has developed over time, but always within the context of the state and related influences of changing ideologies.

The explosive post-war growth of social work services cemented the interdependency between social work and the state. For example, in the UK and Aotearoa/New Zealand a critical mass of social work positions has been predominantly based in statutory agencies. These agencies have been able to call for qualified staff (though, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, this call has till recently been weak), while the state has seen to it that there some provision of courses was available. Independent religious and secular agencies have also played an important role as sites for social work practice, (Tennant, 1989; Lineham, 1994) but were not monitored in the same way and, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, statistics are few and far between. As Reynolds pointed out, "social work is an integral part of the society in which it grows" (Reynolds, 1970: 31). Therefore, we need to understand society, its social goals and policies, if we are to understand its social work. Recognition of the commonalities and individual differences in the way that provision for social work education developed in the western world will assist in this task.

Chart 3: 1 below has been compiled to summarise, from the literature on social work history, salient features in social work and the way practitioners have been prepared for it over the years. The periods identified will vary in time according to each particular country. The differences between countries are significant, but the overall picture is useful. The Poor law tradition was a strong influence affecting the development of welfare provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Tennant, 1989). Later, the levelling experiences of the two world wars and the Depression, contributed to the introduction of universal and collective ingredients in the Welfare State, while the civil rights era was characterised by protests against the Vietnam War, by the Maori Land Marches and the Springbok Tour of 1981. Though

Aotearoa/New Zealand got off to a late start, we too are affected by the global monetarist and managerial approaches of the 1980s-1990s.

Chart 3: 1, International Development in Social Work Education

	Approach	Organisation	Education	Values
19th Century	Poor Law and Charity (residual)	Non-statutory paid organisers & unpaid workers	Apprenticeship in-service training	Philanthropy, Christian beliefs
1920s - 1960s	"Cause and Function"* Social reform and individual needs	Case-workers, paid & specialist	University courses (specialist) & in-service courses	Scientific, rational and later, psycho-analytic
1960-70s	Civil rights and Development	Voluntary and State agencies, generic social workers	Non-university institutions offer courses.	Critical, radical, Community work struggle for a voice
1980s - 1990s	Monetarist funder provider split	Contracting out of services & Private practice	Agency based and qualifying courses	Task-focused and industry driven, or radical.

* A term coined by Porter Lee in 1923, referring to the philanthropic cause of advocacy for the vulnerable, in which an organisation would have three functions: executives, supervisors and workers, (Leiby, 1978:180).

No matter whether the historian of social work education has followed a theme or painted a general picture, this general shape seems to emerge, with different details. The history of social work education in different countries also tends to move through these stages, beginning with new recruits learning by doing in an apprentice style arrangement. Gradually a body of knowledge gains recognition and courses are provided. Outstanding practitioners, educators and writers have been responsible for the emergence of social work as a recognisable entity and many of them were women. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, women's role in social work education has not been particularly prominent, although it has been important. This is discussed below in relation to the pattern of development. Once social workers claimed their professional identity, they have tended to challenge the authority of the state and of employers to define the true nature of the

social work task. Alliances have then been formed between state and employers who have the financial resources to ultimately control what social work tasks will be performed under their aegis.

Women in Social Work Education

Historically, women have been practitioners in fields which society considered would give appropriate expression to their nurturing roles within the family. Men, on the other hand, have tended towards authoritarian and controlling aspects of social work like probation and administration (Younghusband, vol. 1, 1978: 290, Walton, 1975: 257-8, Tennant, 1989, Dominelli, 1997). This historical pattern continues today, and in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in social work education, it has been singularly evident.

The modern history of women social workers and social work educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand has yet to be researched and written. It has not figured prominently in this study because, in social work education, few women have held recognised publicly positions of leadership and then not for long. Mention has been made of the women who contributed to the early years of the School of Social Science at Victoria University College and their accounts would be rewarding to explore.

Why is it that social work education is an area where women have not been represented at all levels of responsibility in proportion to their numbers in the profession? Almost certainly, it relates to the fact that social work education was for so long situated in the universities, where women professors have been and still are scarce. Between 1950 and 1995, there was only one female Head of Department of a university programme. Professor McCreary was replaced by a female Head of Department and indicated, in his interview, that when she left prematurely, the common perception was that her success was felt, by her husband, to be "overshadowing him" (J.R. McCreary, pers. comm. 19/5/95). Where women have held top positions in schools of social work, this has been at the Auckland College of Education and Polytechnics such as at Wanganui Community College. It is similar in Australia (Lawrence, 1976: 23).

Internationally, the list of women who authored classic social work texts is, on the other hand, impressive. There are two women, Mary Richmond and

Bertha Reynolds, whose texts for the education of social workers is discussed below. Their work was especially significant and set the scene for generations of social work students, including those on first social work course established in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Mary Richmond and Bertha Reynolds

Mary Richmond and Bertha Reynolds exercised great influence on social work education, both believing that there was much that social workers should know before they intervened in other people's lives. Mary Richmond wrote one of the earliest social work texts, not itself a history, but of historical importance - Social Diagnosis (1917). She advocated a scientific approach to conducting social assessments ("diagnoses") of clients which took account of their personal development as well as of their physical, social and economic circumstances. Her book has been described as "The first real handbook of the techniques and theory of the new profession" (Cormack, 1945: 103).

Mary Richmond was aware of the importance of the social sciences for the education of the would-be social worker (Bessell, 1987: 15). She was equally clear that respect was owed to the client. Her belief that, with enough information, there was an answer to every problem meant that caseworkers could be extremely intrusive and at times authoritarian (Woodroffe, 1962: 115). Her influence was evident on both sides of the Atlantic. Bessell remarked that as a result of Richmond's insistence that social workers have training at postgraduate level, it had proved impossible over many years to produce enough qualified social workers (Bessell, *ibid*: 15). He added to this point by noting that standards (in the mid-eighties) should be raised now that two year undergraduate courses were churning out graduates. This dilemma, whether to educate a small, elite group of highly professional social work leaders, or large numbers of semi-skilled practitioners, has been a constant issue in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The relationship between supply and demand is crucial for those involved in social work education.

When Mary Richmond's "handbook" was published the psychoanalytic movement was gaining ground in social work circles. The sociological approach was joined by the psychoanalytic and social workers have, since then, had difficulty keeping both approaches in balance. It was Bertha Reynolds, who, in 1942, during the second world war, wrote the second

classic text that social workers would study for years to come.² Reynolds endorsed the need to take account of the client's social and physical circumstances, but, at the same time, she saw that social work could make use of psychoanalytic theory. She regretted that, because it was such a time-consuming process, social workers were unlikely to go through their own analysis. In addition, because psychoanalytic methods were taught by psychiatrists and not social workers, it was a difficult subject for them to acquire (Reynolds, 1970: 9). In the foreword to the 1965 edition, we read that when she wrote the book:

The author was learning and teaching fundamental things about human relationships, vital things that affect deeply how human beings can learn to help each other (Reynolds, 1965: v).

Learning and teaching in the practice of social work was published in 1942, 1965 and 1970, a witness to its timeless quality and value. Reynolds had argued that social work was at the point where its generic qualities were discernible, in the overarching "art of working with people". By 1970, this point of view had been widely debated and generic courses were becoming fashionable. It was Younghusband who documented the progress of the social work curriculum from having a predominantly casework orientation, to one which included, by the 1960s, sociology and economics. Freud was confronted with Marx (Younghusband, 1978, vol 2: 43).

Eileen Younghusband and social work education in Britain

In her report, The employment and training of social workers (1947), Younghusband recommended the development of generic courses on which social workers who had previously considered themselves to be qualitatively different from one another (medical, psychiatric, child care officers, etc.) would study the common features of social work together. This proposal went to the Joint University Council for Social and Public Administration (JUC) in 1949, and a year later it appointed a sub-committee to develop a syllabus for a one year postgraduate course in social work. Younghusband records how, in 1951, Richard Titmuss, new to the Chair in Social Administration at the London School of Economics (LSE), saw the draft syllabus, decided that LSE should pilot it but was unable to get

² While Reynold's book, Learning and teaching in the practice of social work, was first published in 1942, the reference used in this study is to the 1970 edition.

the necessary funding until 1954, when the Carnegie Trust provided a seeding grant (Younghusband, 1978 vol 2: 22-4).

Younghusband had been aiming for an independent but associated school of social work, along the lines of the Chicago School of Social Work. The debates at the time on which way to proceed are evidence of the uncertainty as to which approach would be best. Walton noted the prevalence of a feeling that good social work education would be achieved by ensuring that it was set within the mainstream of the university and not set aside in a ghetto where social workers were taught sociology, economics and psychology at a superficial level (Walton, 1975: 204-6).

Younghusband commented on the dilution of the eventual course from the original syllabus proposed by the JUC, in that it was shorter and did not cater for research, and believed that the effects of such weaknesses became evident later in the general provision of education for social workers. The length of English courses is still a point of contention between the English, with their two year qualifying courses, and the rest of the European Community where it takes a minimum of three years to become a professionally qualified social worker.

Younghusband's on-going and meticulous documentation in reports and histories over a span of thirty years exposed the difficulties in mobilising the different but related branches of social work, their organisations and professional bodies into a coherent and rationalised generic social work movement. She was acutely aware of the relationship between social policy, social services delivery and the question of supply and demand for qualified social workers. For years, the lack of systematic workforce information bedevilled attempts to make reliable forecasts and plan for educational provision. It was only in 1976 that the Birch Report produced a comprehensive assessment of manpower needs, calling for more social workers to be qualified and recommending an extensive training programme (Younghusband, 1978, vol 1: 290). Earlier, in 1975, commenting on wastage rates she wrote:

The changing sex ratio in the population as a whole meant that the reliable spinsters of the past, who remained in their posts year after year giving service to clients and not seeking advancement, were being succeeded by others who within a

short period of qualification melted away into matrimony and motherhood (Younghusband, 1978, vol 1: 290).

She drew attention to the input of the many social work associations to social work education. Councils over the years also took responsibility for provision of, and standards for, social work education. She knew these groupings could have an effect on quantity and quality of social work education. The same is true for Australia where the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) was influential "in shaping the pattern of professional education that emerged" and in providing standards for industry at a time when there were none, especially in the later post-war years (Lawrence, 1976: 23).

Networking has always occurred between countries, as when the child guidance workers travelled from Britain to the USA to learn the new psycho dynamic methods. There were connections between London School of Economics and schools of social work in other countries, and Aotearoa/New Zealand and the School of Social Science at Victoria University College Wellington was no exception. Professor Robb³ was in London between 1949-51 with the Family Welfare Association and Family Discussion Bureau, both connected to the Tavistock Clinic and known to the LSE. Professor Robb taught in the School of Social Science from 1954 to approximately 1966, and continued to contribute to the social work programme after he became first professor of sociology at Victoria University of Wellington in 1966 (J. Robb, pers. comm. 27/4/95).

In the post-war period, the demand in Britain for knowledgeable and professional social workers grew, but there was a dearth of non-university training courses for social workers and national bodies responsible for supply and standardisation of social work education were only gradually established (Younghusband, 1978 vol 11: 20). Since the 1940s, the variety of courses in the USA, the UK and Australia has reflected a variety of specialisms in social work and their lack of uniformity makes them difficult to compare. In effect "each university department was a law unto itself" (Younghusband, 1978 vol. 11: 26).

I did my training in Scotland at this time. Scotland was the prototype for England and Wales. Following the recommendations of the Kilbrandon

³ At that time studying for his PhD and later the first professor of sociology at VUW.

Report, the social services were reorganised so that the client only had one door to pass through when seeking assistance. The generic social worker was expected to be able to work equally with children, offenders, the elderly, sick, the psychiatrically ill and so on. The Seebohm Report, published in 1968, made similar recommendations to those of the Kilbrandon Report and wanted the universities to increase their contribution to social work education by accepting

a major responsibility for experiment and development in new forms of training, including training for social group work, social work with communities, social planning and the administration of social work services (Seebohm, 1968: 168).

The worry among employers was, of course, that social workers produced under the new generic curriculum would be Jacks of all trades and masters of none. Trends towards agency specialisation are now re-emerging, which suggests that, among other things, the concern may have professional justification, while funding and purchaser demands will also be influential here. Purchasers who wish to procure specific services, are often interested in specific training. This may mean they will be less interested in supporting generic training programmes.

Social Work: Inherent Tensions and Contradictions

A central dilemma for social work has been the apparent choice between working with the individual or working with society. In the British context, Dominelli (1997: 154) has referred to "social activists" and "individual interventionists" and the same divisions and changing emphases occur in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

One method of dealing with any dilemma is first to thoroughly explore its meanings and a historical approach is one way of accomplishing this. Analysis of a dilemma frequently resolves the issue by reconstructing the given. In this case, the solution is expressed in the feminist expression: the personal is political. The reconceptualisation of the problem in this way deepens the understanding of what social work is all about. Ehrenreich's history of social work focuses on this question (Ehrenreich, 1985). He quotes Eda Goldstein, who encapsulated what this means in social work terms:

The locus of social work practice is neither in the "inner psychological", nor in the "outer reality" but in the crucial life space where inner and outer confront each other (Ehrenreich, 1985: 10).

This is not a thesis on the American history of social work, but Ehrenreich's well-argued chronological and thematic history depicting the accommodations between social work and the upper classes through professionalisation, is relevant to the history of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Professionalisation and education necessarily go hand in hand. His class-based analysis is a good example of this genre of critical social work thought and offers an analysis of the role played by social work (unconsciously?) in sweetening the pill of capitalism in the nineteenth century, while at the same time answering the call of Christian duty. Later, social workers strove to attain professional status partly for their own sake and partly by way of improving services to clients. Ehrenreich mentioned the rank and file movement, which sprang up in America during the Depression. Its members, recruited hastily into social work, studied the problems of poverty, called for social action and unionisation and later faded into acquiescence as experience of agency policy and responsibilities eventually brought its members understanding and identification with the profession (Ehrenreich, 1985: 113). The issue of professionalisation is discussed later with relation to the social justice movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Interestingly, Ehrenreich made no mention of Biestek's fifty year history of the concept of client self determination although Biestek's account, like Ehrenreich's, linked the social, political and economic events to the changing way that the concept of client self-determination was understood.

The term "social caseworker" (Cormack: 1945) gradually made way for that of "social worker" (Butrym: 1978) as the common elements of practice were recognised and named. Social workers, once they identified themselves (often through recognition of casework as their generic practice) invariably formed associations, and sought professional status through training and education (Butrym, 1978; Leiby, 1978; Younghusband, 1978; Dominelli, 1997: 155).

A brief look at when significant professional bodies were formed is useful for comparison with the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The formation of professional associations in America, Australia and Britain

took place long before it occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Chart 3: 2, gives a chronological picture of the formation of international and national professional social work associations.

Chart 3: 2, Chronology of International and National Formation of Professional Social Work Associations:

	International	Aotearoa/New Zealand
1920s	American Association of Social Workers, open to all paid social workers, regardless of qualifications British Institute of Hospital Almoners International Permanent Secretariat of Social Workers, (Paris)	
1930s	Qualifications necessary for AASW membership British Association of Psychiatric Social Workers	
1940s	Australian Association of Social Workers	
1950s	International Federation of Social Workers USA Council of Social Work Educators National Association of Social Workers (USA)	New Zealand Association of Child Welfare Workers (1949-54)
1960s		New Zealand Association of Social Workers
1970s	British Association of Social Workers and Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work	New Zealand Social Work Training Council
1980s		New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services replaced NZSWTC
1990s		Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation replaced NZCETSS

When founded in 1955, the National Association of Social Workers (USA) sought to promote social work identity; to establish a generic base for common body of knowledge and to see social workers speak in a single voice. These goals were similar to those set by the NZASW which also

included education. In the USA, the CSWE took over from two organisations competing for control of accreditation: the American Association of Schools of Social Work and the National Association of Schools of Social Administration and eventually all schools operated under a nationally recognised curriculum with accreditation standards set by the CSWE (Biestek & Gehrig, 1978: 88). The national associations consolidated regional and piecemeal efforts at centralisation. This sequence of consolidation and centralisation of an accrediting body occurred later in Britain, and in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

A significant change of policy took place when, in 1933, the American Association of Social Workers altered the conditions of membership. The decision to limit members to those with professional qualifications in social work has considerable implications for social workers and indicates confidence in the existence of a critical mass of qualified practitioners. It also signifies a common understanding of the nature of social work.

Terms used to express tensions and contradictions between the controlling and empowering aspects of social work may date, but every generation has experienced the same difficulty. Distinctions are drawn between social control, social care and social justice, casework and community work, remedial, preventive and developmental approaches (Benn, 1976). The client may either be helped to adapt to circumstances, or the social worker may attempt to bring about social change or social action on the client's behalf (Middleman and Goldberg, 1974), or with the client, using empowering and conscientising methods as advocated by Freire in 1972. The individual social worker will tend to focus either on civil rights, human rights, poverty, homelessness, discrimination and other structural inequalities, or on personal distress, crises, emotional trauma, family breakdown, abuse, and use their knowledge and skills to effect beneficial change, macro or micro (Ehrenreich, 1985). Different value positions and insights tend to have their own vocabulary.

An understanding and internalisation of the core values of social work have been an essential part of the educational process involved in becoming a social worker. When the AASW closed ranks in 1933 and insisted that members should not merely be practitioners but also qualified, this was to protect the profession from the influx of untrained, radical novices recruited because of the depression. Although under pressure to increase the number

of social workers, the Association was unwilling to risk losing precious ground gained in the fight for professional recognition (Ehrenreich, 1985). It will be noted that in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the social work profession faced exactly the same dilemma when the NZSWTC was midway through its twelve year existence. The acquisition of social work values takes place through the socialisation of social work students and has been described as part of the hidden curriculum. One of these core values in social work is that of client self-determination, which has been one of the most challenging and central values of the profession (Biestek, 1978).

The ideal of client self-determination may be applied in different ways, according to the social context and common values of the day. Therefore, it is instructive to be aware of how social workers are implementing their commitment to this value. Biestek has been criticised by radical social workers over his concentration on the individual in The casework relationship (1957) in which, it has been argued, he saw social work as merely attempting to find a way whereby a client could, with the worker's respect, be helped to achieve a better adjustment to his or her environment (Jordan, in Philpott, 1987: 25). However, Biestek's later work shows critical concern for this question. As a social worker, he was not alone in facing the challenge. There is, though, an interesting difference between his position and that of Ehrenreich.

Ehrenreich used a Marxist analysis of class and labour relations to explain the existential difficulty experienced by social workers when confronted with the choice between professionalism for status and security, and professionalism for the sake of client self-determination in the most radical sense of liberation. He is more convincing in accounting for the actions of radical social workers than when discussing those who work at a micro level with individuals and their relationships. Marx, after all, exposed exploitation and the conflictual basis of capitalist society. It follows that the exploited and those in sympathy with them will struggle for social and political freedom. Why, however, do people work in a low paid profession with unsuccessful members of society on a one to one basis? Biestek is well positioned to answer this question, by reference to Christian beliefs and ethical behaviour.

The positions of both Biestek and Ehrenreich are compatible within the overarching framework of social justice, a concept which has room for both

secular and Christian social teaching in relation to the preferential option for the poor, whether they themselves made such connections or not. At the social justice/social action end of the professional social work spectrum there have been (and continue to be) difficulties accommodating to the goals and values of employing agencies.

Social Work and Agency Setting

There is a strong relationship between social policy (as a determinant of social service delivery systems) agency setting and social work function, all of which have consequences for the education of social workers. This is an international phenomenon, for example, Dominelli has argued that employers and the state working through the Central Council for Education and Social Work (CCETSW) have gained a strong measure of control over social work education (Dominelli, 1997: 159). Agencies want their newly trained recruits to be competent in performing the agency tasks. Butrym argued that, because social work in Britain grew up within the statutory agencies,

social workers' functions have always been under the considerable influence of the values and policies of the "host" agency and those social institutions to which the agency was ultimately accountable, ie. the law, central and local government and public opinion (Butrym, 1978: 3)

The same point has been made with respect to Australia where "Australian social work is synonymous with the country's social welfare work or social service work" (Lawrence, 1976: 1).

In Britain this limited professional autonomy to a far greater extent than was the case in the USA, where social work was initiated as much by voluntary, philanthropic, industrial, and civil rights groups as by state agency. It could therefore be more independent in its development (Leiby, 1978: 3, Dominelli, 1997: 174). Biestek's history of the "elusive and very complicated concept" of client self-determination illustrated the complexity of the social worker's attempt to work with the client on the client's own behalf, while also carrying out agency functions which may well be in conflict (Biestek, 1978: 5). The social work task in Britain was circumscribed to ensure that attention was paid to the practical needs of clients -

accommodation, convalescence, diet allowances and the regular visiting of children in care (Butrym, 1978). The British Association of Social Workers' (BASW) definition of social work, issued in 1975, stated conservatively that:

Social work extends its interest beyond the immediate issue to understanding the clients' background, social situations, motivation, attitudes, values, personality and behaviour and attempts to encourage development and change by a wide variety of methods which amongst many others may well include the development of strong relationships with clients, insight-giving techniques, behaviour modification and practical help (Social Work Today/BASW News, 1975: 317).

This definition is one with which few government agencies would have quarrelled. In 1975, it would still have been compatible with the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, though by then a critical approach to social service work, namely community work, was already underway here. Community work has often been regarded by the establishment as a very threatening area of social service work, the kind, in fact, that bites the hand that feeds it. That this has been the case in Aotearoa/New Zealand is made evident in this dissertation as the history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association,⁴ together with much of the oral data in this study indicates.

Social Work and Community Work

Social Workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand were well aware of the central debates about social work in other countries and their relevance to the local situation. They were tuned into international discussions when Butrym (1978) emphasised the historical continuity of social workers' concern with both the "inner" (psychological and emotional) and "outer" (sociological and environmental) aspects of human existence and the tensions consequent upon such an approach (Butrym, 1978: 3). She argued that in Britain, before the second world war, casework was part of the social work methodology, but was practised in a context which gave equal importance to community work. This had changed with the introduction from the USA of casework as an organising concept for social work and courses which then left community and group work in the background (Butrym, 1978: 6). Butrym's arguments about social work, and the strain placed on the

⁴ See Chapter Eleven.

legitimation of group and community work by the new emphasis on casework, were published in 1978, some years after Seebohm had made a plea for group and community work to be given greater coverage within social work courses.

At that time the New Zealand Social Work Training Council was revising the basic minimum standards for accreditation and the question of recognition for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) community work course had already become an issue. The debates around professionalism were at their height in Aotearoa/New Zealand (in the period between the mid-seventies and the mid-eighties). The pros and cons have been debated and rehearsed in the literature and Barretta-Herman has an excellent summary of the arguments (Barretta-Herman, 1994) which will be addressed in their historical Aotearoa/New Zealand context in Chapters Eight and Nine. Aotearoa/New Zealand social workers, like their international counterparts, were divided over community work and there has been considerable bitterness over the distribution of teaching resources between formal, tertiary level social work courses and informal, grass-roots community work courses. Ehrenreich encapsulated the problem of professionalism and his succinct words emphasise the dilemmas faced:

Perhaps the question social workers should have been asking all those years is: "Do we really want to be a profession?" Professionalism must accept the judgement of its own high standards.

To the extent that professionalism represents a real effort to maintain competence and high ethical standards - a commitment to client needs even when they conflict with agency rules, a commitment to openness and collegiality, a commitment to the goal and the actuality of social justice, which is at the core of social work's reason for its existence - it needs no defence. But if professionalism does not measure up to, or conflicts with, these standards, it should be discarded without regret (Ehrenreich, 1985: 230).

These issues were some of the most persistent and demanding ones that members of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council confronted. Since there are references to Butrym's work in NZASW and academic

records, it is reasonable to expect they would have had been familiar with her concerns that social work was losing its balance between "psychotherapy and politics" (Butrym, 1978) and weakening its position on client self-determination.

There had always been regular communication between Britain and Aotearoa/New Zealand such that debates about the status of social and community work courses in one country would be noted in the other.⁵ The NZSWTC correspondence files contain letters between a variety of international schools of social work, social work practitioners and educators. Visits such as that of Mr Tom Austin, who went on a study programme of training courses in Britain as early as 1969 (Austin, 1969) were not uncommon. Mr Tom Austin was a public servant who over many years held administrative and advisory responsibilities for social work education in the Justice Department, Child Welfare and Health sectors. His concerns, together with Mr Buxton's about the lack of training provision for social and community workers, were jointly published in the *New Zealand Social Worker* (Austin & Buxton, 1969). The following issue carried an article by a lecturer at the School of Social Science, VUW, on her observations following her visit to the USA and the UK, in which she was adamant that social action and community organisation were not social work (Mason, 1969: 33). Social and community workers still debate this question and feel strongly about it.

At this point, the discussion moves closer to home, with more recent literature from Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand and it continues with the theme of community development and revisits the influence of radical Christian influences. The tools of analysis derived from liberation theology were introduced into the Bachelor of Social Work Degree, through people like Michael Elliott, of the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development (ESOD), who lectured at Massey in the early 1980s. His material is still taught, though the underlying Christian anarchist philosophy is not necessarily explored with students.

⁵ This is also evident from the NZASW archives I examined, in which there are constant references to what was happening in Britain and the USA. Pamphlets and other publications were also included.

Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand Histories

Histories of particular interest for their local subject matter include an Australian study of the development of social work in South Australia (Martin, 1990), together with Aotearoa/New Zealand histories of social work and social work education (Crockett, 1977; Pilalis, 1982; Shirley, 1979, 1982; Elliott, 1982; Cranna, 1989). These accounts are for the most part theses (published or unpublished) and journal articles.

The South Australian account provides a point of comparison with this study in that it too covers a fifty year time span (1935-1980) and similar issues arose for social workers in both countries as they claimed their identity. It provides a useful point of comparison between the different decisions made with regard to professionalism and credentialism in the two countries. Martin took three themes: gender, demand and domain and traced their history in relation to social work in one Australian state (Martin, 1990). She divided earlier historical writings into narrative and thematic, sociological and ideological works, but disclaimed promoting any one perspective herself.

The three organising concepts instantly identify formative issues in her study. She traced the roles of women in social work, showing the difficulties over sex-role stereotyping and the gender-status links which have been a tension for the professionalisation of social work. She documented the relationship between supply and demand, and the tensions between industrial pressure and support regarding the definition of the social work task and training for it. Her third focus, domain, signalled the perennial difficulty for social work of defining its occupational boundaries. All of these themes have been significant in Aotearoa/New Zealand as well.

The organisational and cultural context of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand is, however, significantly different from that of Australia. Here, there is only the one state, so that tensions between federal and state regulations do not occur. Aotearoa/New Zealand is smaller geographically and it can be argued that, as a result, there is a closer interface between the state and its institutions, as well as its citizens. The small scale on which social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand operates means that opportunities for a range of debates, national models and competition between ideological positions are curtailed. An important difference between the two countries

has been the exclusiveness of professional social work in Australia compared with Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Australia there were, and are, stringent criteria for membership of the Australian Association of Social Work, including qualifications and practice experience. The criterion for membership in the NZASW was based on practising social work in a recognised social work agency. The Association has now introduced a competency assessment system designed to give full membership to practitioners approved through this process and is reconsidering the introduction of registration for social workers.

Early Aotearoa/New Zealand social work history is dominated by the scholarly work of Tennant (Tennant, 1989) who concentrated on its early beginnings up until the second world war. She has traced the relationship between charitable aid (residual welfare) and social services (institutional welfare) showing how social service delivery systems reflect both approaches. Tennant supports her argument with meticulous documentation of the inner workings of agencies involved in supplying social services, together with the influential people who managed to steer a course through the political and economic circumstances of their day. Her research concentrates on Aotearoa/New Zealand prior to 1950. Histories covering social work in the post second world war period in Aotearoa/New Zealand have to date been less substantial. She cautions that "solutions prepared for our own "imperfect" welfare system may be no more novel and no more effective than those attempted in the past" (Tennant: 1989: 201).

Crockett (1977) wrote what he referred to as a "critical and interpretative history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand", in which he documented the origins of the School of Social Science at Victoria University College of Wellington, evaluated the first twenty-five years of its teaching programme, pronouncing it static, over-influenced by overseas ideas and traditional. In his opinion, the NZSWTC, while doing its best under difficult circumstances, had nevertheless failed to move things along since its inception and he called into question the distribution of teaching resources (Crockett, 1977: 87). He pointed out that only a small number of students each year gained access to the two year university social work course, leaving the majority of untrained social workers to undertake short, in-service training courses. He recommended instead an emphasis on pre-entry training for school-leavers, which could be located in technical

institutes or teachers' colleges, while the universities could get on with experimental research and higher degrees (Crockett, 1977: 91). He acknowledged the preference of the NZSWTC for situating courses in teachers' colleges but regarded this as utilitarian and suggested that it would be to the "detriment" of social work, fearing that such colleges might stifle social work. Crockett, then, was impatient of what he regarded as the capture of educational provision for public servants and recommended opening up access to resources. His opinion was consistent with that of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association.

Barretta-Herman studied the history of social service delivery in Aotearoa/New Zealand between 1969-88 and argued that its Welfare State was being transformed into a "welfare society", with implications for the very nature of social work as a profession. The term "welfare society" came from the work of two British authors (Hadley & Hatch, 1981) who argued that state welfare systems were in dire trouble and would have to change. By "welfare society" they were referring to a system comparable to the user pays, economic rationalism of many current welfare systems in the western world. The use of another term, "social services", was one into which Barretta-Herman read, as did many other social workers at that time, the beginning of the deprofessionalisation of social work.⁶ She noted the ongoing call for social work education expressed in the NZASW and government reports Social welfare at the crossroads, (NZASW, 1971); People in the social services: A New Zealand study, (Rochford and Robb, 1981); Puao-te-ata-tu, (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986); Dangerous situations, (Pilalis et al.: 1987). She concluded her thesis with a plea that people remember what has happened and a warning about the socially divisive philosophy of individualism which underpins what she called the welfare society:

The welfare state is, and the principles upon which it is based have been shown to be, fragile. They need to be nurtured and carefully monitored lest the community responsibility give way to an individualism that threatens the social fabric. New Zealand is a prime example of what can transpire when the principles of the welfare state are abandoned and those of a

⁶ I remember being involved in heated debates over this term during staff meetings in the Social Policy and Social Work Department, in which the issue was never resolved.

welfare society are recklessly adopted (Barretta-Herman, 1994: 286).

Challenges to the ideological positions of contemporary social work were made by members of the NZASW during the late seventies and early eighties. For example, in 1978, the NZASW invited Ivan Illich, a man with well-known views on social justice as a gospel imperative, to be guest speaker at the biennial conference held that year at Massey University, Palmerston North. Here he presented his ideas at the NZASW conference.⁷ It is difficult to know exactly how to gauge the influence of visiting speakers like Ivan Illich, but certainly his visit was much talked about and his ideas reflected in the writing of Aotearoa/New Zealand social workers like Pilalis (1982), Shirley (1979, 1981a, 1981b, 1982), Elliott (1982a, 1982b) and Craig (1984) who are on record because they published their views.

It is this literature which straddles the fine line between being primary or secondary material. It is included here for its commentator value, but it was part of the context of change at the time of publication. It indicates the strength of feeling among Aotearoa/New Zealanders at a time when an ideological battle was being fought between those who wanted to see social justice reflected in our social policies and those who were determined to put in place a rational economic plan which took little account of the fact that the poor and vulnerable would be made to pay for it.

Pilalis (1982)⁸ examined "ideological bases of current debates" using five ideal type ideological positions described by Young, (1971). Her article is here because it sets the scene in terms of ideological analysis, although chronologically it came after significant papers by others with an interest in the debate. The first type was conservative, in which education was a civilising agent which encouraged socialisation into a sense of service, together with a respect for the aristocracy. The second, bourgeois, cast education as a mechanism for attaining professional status, and access to the moneyed classes. The third, liberal, opened up the education system to a wider spread of people in the name of democracy and freedom. Reform and partnership with the client were given prominence. The fourth type included Marxist positions which regard society as inherently conflictual and reform as basically collaboration, with social work a sugar coating to the

⁷ See photograph at end of Chapter 5.

⁸ Ms Pilalis is now known as Dr Harré-Hindmarsh. In this context, I refer to her by the name she used as author of the text being discussed.

bitter pill of exploitation. So far as social work was concerned, it emphasised access to education by the working classes and a critical analysis. The fifth and final ideal type was the critical-libertarian position which was recent, and involved Freirian ideas about conscientisation and praxis, in which education would provide an analysis which led to collective action.

Using this framework, Pilalis referred briefly to the history of social work in this country. She argued that, to some extent, these positions were detectable here and she offered an analytic tool for determining the forces involved in the struggle for mastery of social work. Thus the pre-war era represented conservatism, with its apprentice model, while the period when the School of Social Science was unrivalled, contained elements of both the conservative and the bourgeois, making way, under a sympathetic Minister of Social Welfare in the late 1970s, for a more liberal stance. Her evidence for this was that a variety of routes into social work became possible in Aotearoa/New Zealand at that time, the result of students being accepted into social work with much less stringent forms of selection (Pilalis, 1982). This article recognised the significance of sympathetic Ministers of Social Welfare, in this case the Right Honourable Norman King, for furthering the provision of social and community work education.

Ms Pilalis was a member of the NZASW Education and Training Committee when she wrote that article and was very much involved in the questions surrounding education and professionalism. She attended the NZASW Biennial Conference in 1982 on social justice and was part of a vocal group of radical young social workers trying to get things moving in a more egalitarian direction. Also radical, and coming from a community development perspective, was Professor Ian Shirley,⁹ then a community worker who had recently joined the staff of the Massey University Social Work Unit.

Shirley wrote two papers on social work and social work education in 1981. The first paper, The Nature of Social Work, dated 4/2/1981, he presented as a briefing paper to the Basic Professional Training Committee of the NZSWTC.¹⁰ The paper argued that social justice is the founding principle on which social work is based and

⁹ At that time he was known as Ian Shirley and only later became Professor Ian Shirley.

¹⁰ Hand-dated copy held by author. It was later published and is referenced accordingly.

In essence, this pursuit of a humanitarian and egalitarian society is expressed in terms of equality of opportunity, equality of treatment and equality of results. Not only is social work concerned with equalising access to the steps up the pyramid of income or resource distribution but in a fundamental way it is concerned with altering the shape of the pyramid (Shirley, 1981: 14).

The minutes of the 58th meeting of the NZSWTC record that this paper was not adopted by the NZSWTC and that:

The tenets of the paper were found to be difficult to accept as it contained no mention of the regulating function of social work and presented a model of professionalism based on values, while the skills aspect of social work was markedly underplayed. However some members felt that effectiveness could not be measured without a value base, and use of skills without a value base could lead to a repressive rather than an enabling direction (Minutes of NZSWTC, T.C.2-1(11); 27/11/81: 6).

Nevertheless, when published, this article caught the mood of radical social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the late Seventies and early Eighties. His second paper in that year was a briefing paper to the Basic Professional Training Committee of the NZSWTC and it challenged the Council to consider innovative, rather than reformed ways, in which to educate social work students (Dec. 1981b). A year later, the paper was published in *New Zealand Social Work* and is also referenced as published. He urged an examination of professionalism, taking into account the differing value positions involved. Professor Ian Shirley identified three positions on professionalism.

The first was conventionalism, which stressed the service ethic and specialised knowledge. The second was revisionism, which emphasised the recognition of society as being the essential ingredient in conferring professional status. In other words, it was not so much what the professional does, objectively, but the fact that society ascribes professional status, that counts. The final position was radicalism, in which he argued that radicals did not worry too much about the criteria for professionalism,

being more interested in the process by which professionals maintained their status and power and thereby exercised social control (Shirley, 1982: 7).

Shirley differentiated between professional and marginal models of social work education. The former model fits in with the status quo and confers expertise and legitimation on its graduates. In the latter model social work becomes

a marginal activity requiring a total commitment and solidarity with the oppressed as a means of "unveiling the world" (Araneda, 1972). The overall objective is to conscientise the disadvantaged sectors of society so that their dignity, liberty and freedom is enhanced. There is no rigid theoretical framework of operation because theory is constantly modified and enriched through action, but the ultimate objective is a society based on principles of equity and social justice (Shirley, 1982: 7).

Professor Ian Shirley, like Crockett, argued, both within the Social Work Training Council Basic Professional Standing Committee and publicly, that professional courses in Aotearoa/New Zealand would, so long as they were only situated in the universities, prevent the disadvantaged from joining the ranks of professionally qualified social workers. He acknowledged the recent efforts of the NZSWTC to remedy this situation, but called for change. He pointed to the Tu Tangata programme and the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development (ESOD) which were both offering radically different approaches to preparing social service workers with conscientisation a core ingredient (Shirley, 1982).

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development was an organisation with a focus on human rights issues around the world, including Aotearoa/New Zealand, and it had made its challenging views widely known. The Muldoon era, characterised by the National Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Robert Muldoon with his think big projects and emphasis on maintaining law and order, not surprisingly regarded the Christian anarchist ideal inimical to its philosophy.

Professor Ian Shirley's interest in conscientisation was in tune with the Christian concerns of the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development (ESOD). Michael Elliott, an ordained Anglican minister, was the Executive Officer of

ESOD which organisation provided an ecumenical Christian voice against the exploitation of the poor, and implemented strategies for the education of Aotearoa/New Zealanders concerning development issues. ESOD issued challenges to the Government by publishing policy critiques or statements. The following example illustrates the position taken:

We (New Zealand) remain one of the world's most affluent and privileged nations, and the problems we are experiencing are insignificant when contrasted with the helplessness of those dying daily from malnutrition and disease, and the lack of proper facilities or opportunities. To make these human issues subservient to economic self-interest and the maintenance of an affluent life-style is not only contrary to Christian teaching but also, in the long run, disastrous economic policy (ESOD, 1976: 1).¹¹

This is not the place to evaluate the impact of ESOD on national social thought, though this would make an interesting Masters thesis.¹² Through Elliott's work, it had, however, a place in the development of liberationist and egalitarian ideas in Aotearoa/New Zealand and he was a close link between these ideas and some of the content in the BSW programme at Massey University in the late 70s and early 80s.

At that time Elliott was at Massey University, studying the history of ESOD and evaluating its work with Professor Ian Shirley and Merv Hancock. While there, he taught community development to the social work students. His M.Phil. thesis (1982) is a history of the Ecumenical Secretariat of Community Development and provides an interesting link between the liberationist thought of Freire and Alinsky, structural analysis and social work. These elements came together in the Social Work Unit at Massey University when Elliott was teaching there and he communicated his ideas about the biblical base of anarchism to students, as well as to staff (Elliott, 1982: 58).

Elliott described his work as a study of a Christian development agency. His theoretical sources included Catholic social teaching contained in a series of papal encyclicals beginning with *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 and publications

¹¹ See Elliott, M.C. (1982). Development Education and Change. Unpublished Thesis, Massey University.

¹² ESOD appears to have sunk into oblivion through restructuring. Certainly, enquiries made at the John Curnow Conference in 1996 indicate that its work has faded from public memory.

of the World Council of Churches. These two Christian organisations criticise both capitalist and socialist economic approaches for their totalitarian principles. Their teaching instead seeks a third way which avoids taking an extreme position to the detriment of people who have little or no power and it

focuses on issues of justice and liberation, and on the poor and oppressed peoples of the world who must become the primary beneficiaries of development programmes (Elliott, 1982: ii).

The encyclicals develop the theme of social justice in that social progress is at least as important as economic progress and urge people to be aware of the "disregarded possibility hidden in the present" (Pope Paul 1V, cited in Elliott, 1982: 44).

Elliott also drew on Baldelli (1971) who articulates utopian anarchist principles as providing an alternative to socialism and capitalism. He argued that anarchism avoids taking a doctrinaire stance, but is characterised by the value it places on freedom, justice, voluntary co-operation and doing away with centralised authority (Elliott, 1982: 31).

His thesis referred to movements such as that of The Catholic Worker, American (still going strong), the Spanish anarchist economic co-operatives (eg. Mondragon, inspired by a Catholic priest) and the lack of consensus on strategies for spreading anarchy (Elliott, 1982: 33). Elliott also emphasised the links between anarchism and socialism in relation to economic analysis of capitalism, but added that, unlike socialism, anarchists believe "a new society can be lived out now in the midst of the ruins of the old" (Elliott: 1982: 35).

In his thesis, Elliott's Christian anarchist approach represented a third way between capitalism and socialism. ESOD provided a bridge between liberation theology and social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The link between liberation theology, and social work is not usually explored in social work literature. It is arguably one factor among others which has influenced, if not the direction taken, but at least the struggle over the choice between a market-driven versus a social justice policy direction. For example, two prominent critics of the political acceptance of the free market philosophy were presidents of the Young Catholic Workers Movement, the

Right Honourable Jim Anderton, currently leader of the Alliance and Professor Ian Shirley.

There was a connection, as mentioned above, between ESOD and the Social Work Unit at Massey University, in that Elliott taught his ideas on structural analysis and development to the students and his community development philosophy and strategies continue to influence students in one of the core papers of the Bachelor of Social Work degree¹³ and provide tools for analysis which students are encouraged to practise. One of these students was Wendy Craig.

Wendy Craig, a community worker who enrolled in the social work degree at Massey University, knew Elliott well.¹⁴ While still an undergraduate student, she published her book A community work perspective to provide community workers with a resource book that could support them in their work. Clear, critical and in the vernacular, Wendy Craig's work remains a beacon to community workers and is influential in that it is a prescribed text on courses such as the Bachelor of Social Work degree at Massey University and at Wanganui Community College.

The community work movement is hard-pressed in the current phase of economic rationalism and individualism with the result that employment in this field is difficult to find and keep. In the mid to late 80s, however, it enjoyed considerable support. The (then) new approach to client self-determination through structural analysis and belief in the power of conscientisation to mobilise the vulnerable in their own cause caught on as a social work and community work approach.

Was the Social Work Unit at Massey University a radicalising element in social work at this time? The question is reasonable, but so far there is little evidence on which to base an answer. Students coming into contact with Elliott would undoubtedly have been faced with the sentiments expressed by Bertha Reynolds that social workers must choose

between contradictory forces in our society. Those which are moving toward the welfare of the people, as the people's own concern and responsibility, and those which destroy human

¹³ 79.320 Community Development, Organisation and Social Change.

¹⁴ Wendy Craig first met Michael Elliott in 1978 when she organised a group of community workers to descend upon a group of Christians who were holding a structural analysis workshop in Palmerston North. She knew nothing about him at that time. (Wendy Craig, pers. comm. 1998).

life in preventable misery and war, and relieve poverty only grudgingly to keep the privileged position they hold (Reynolds, cited by Ehrenreich, 1985: 15).

Tangata whenua challenges occurred throughout this period, as seen in Cranna's account of the School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education (ACE). A group of Maori and Pakeha students challenged their Pakeha tutors, criticised the curriculum for the Applied Social Studies Diploma for its lack of a Maori perspective and asked for the course to have a political analysis of racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Mr Print, the Principal of the Secondary Teachers College (later chairman of the NZSWTC) resisted some of the more radical suggestions put forward on behalf of the students by the Advisory Committee for the programme (Cranna, 1989: 40-51). Cranna records Mrs Hessey's sympathy towards the student issues.¹⁵ She had visited Ruskin College, Oxford, to find out about adult education methods and was willing to experiment with a radical stance in relation to giving students as much self-determination as was compatible with the College regulations (E. Hessey, pers. comm., 1994).

The School of Social Work (ACE) survived the intense internal conflict which accompanied efforts by both students and staff to address questions of racism, power and the sharing of resources within a programme that attempted to accommodate social work, community work and youth work. The present Director, Liz Beddoe, is an active member of the NZASW and chairperson of the Standards and Accreditation working party of the ITO.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed both national and international literature relating to the history of social work education. It has introduced a range of historical accounts of the development of social work education and noted that similar stages of development existed in other countries particularly where there have been similar welfare arrangements. Key issues for social work education, such as the dual nature of social work embodying social control and social justice, the emergence of social work identity and values such as the "preferential option for the poor", as well as humanism and

¹⁵ Mrs Hessey was the director of the Applied Social Studies course. She herself was British and had taught on the BSW programme before taking up the position of Chief Social Worker with the Auckland Hospital Board prior to her appointment as director.

Christian anarchism, have likewise been significant in the history of social work education. They therefore form part of the context for this historical case study and the struggles which have taken place over who controls social work, its professionalism and the education of practitioners.

Openshaw's recent account of Unresolved Struggles (Openshaw, 1995) in the Aotearoa/New Zealand school education system highlighted alliances between agencies, government and educators to show how shared interests and influences have affected change. The struggle for control of education between agencies and profession is important in the context of this thesis and prominent in the literature on social work education and the next chapter considers the place of social work courses in tertiary settings and discussions regarding whether it can rightfully take its place as an academic discipline.

Literature which addresses the tension between an academic discipline and a vocational subject at tertiary level, particularly in a university, will be explored. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the universities hosted the earliest social work courses, some more willingly than others. Discussions on whether social work has a dedicated body of knowledge (Lyons, 1994) are therefore relevant, and the evidence in later chapters suggests that, when academic communities were reluctant to concede academic status to social work, courses in those communities had difficulty taking root. Also pertinent is the debate on whether social work, a vocational subject, should be accepted into the halls of academe, or even whether social workers need training at all. Given the influence that industry exerts on training provision for social workers as well as new ideas around competency, this debate is also considered as it serves to introduce the competency debate. The implications for social work education of changing social service delivery systems and the social and economic ideologies which shape them is examined, as is the relationship between social work, its academic status and the competency debates.

Chapter Four: Academic and Agency Issues for Social Work Courses

Universities were established in New Zealand to serve society by preparing individuals for vocations which involve advanced skills and learning. The relation between the professions and universities has always been a close one.... Which new types of study leading to professional careers should be accepted into the universities and which would be more appropriately placed in technical institutes? (UGC Review Committee Final Report, 1982)

This chapter considers the issues raised in the above quotation, in relation to social work education. In the previous chapter, I indicated that case studies of the history of social work show a relationship between changing systems of state welfare and the stages through which the profession has gone. As welfare philosophies are under pressure to adapt to monetarism, so managerialism and surveillance methods have become more sophisticated. Welfare agencies employing social workers act as a kind of litmus test for the social work task and the signals sent by employers to those who educate social workers indicate ever more persuasively the capabilities and knowledge they want in their workforce. It is here that tensions between the vocational and professional nature of social work can arise as social work has had difficulties on several fronts gaining acceptance as an academic discipline in the universities.

The lack of commitment to employing qualified staff was a continual problem in the eyes of social work educators. For example, Professor McCreary, in his address to the NZASW biennial conference in 1972, pointed out that "an innovation is successful if it meets the felt needs of a society and if the needs are not felt to exist the innovators need to generate a feeling of need". He then asked the conference whether "the introduction of university education in social work met any felt needs within the employers of social workers in this country?"

It was his opinion that the "stimulus for university education came not from the field and not from the employers except to a very limited degree

but rather from private citizens, the National Council for Educational Research and University people" (McCreary, 1972: 59).

An examination of the characteristics of an academic discipline together with conceptualisation of the epistemological structures of the subject matter within disciplines is essential for an understanding of the history of professional social work education. "Enough education" for the purposes of the market may be too superficial for the academic community which aims to turn out social workers with a generic education. Under such circumstances, tensions inevitably arise, where the distribution of educational resources is concerned, in the relationship between economic and social policies (Marginson, 1993). This chapter considers these tensions in the context of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Much of the history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been concerned with questions about where social work should be taught and what social workers need to know. Therefore this chapter presents an overview of the literature concerning perceptions of social work as an academic discipline¹ and related issues. It is argued that in the three historical phases I have identified during the period studied here, changing alliances between those with an interest in social service delivery have affected the character of social work education. To begin with, there was a general assumption that social workers would be educated at university. As economic resources became stretched and the demand for qualified basic grade social workers grew, so questions were raised about the extent to which social workers needed an expensive education. Those asking questions were employers, some keen to secure skilled, professional staff and others, to employ technically competent, but not over-educated personnel.

To understand the place of social work courses in tertiary education today necessitates knowledge of the history of social work education and the debates which have taken place make rewarding history. They tell us a great deal about the emergence of a social work identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Social work, and the education of social workers are facing great change and social workers now, more than ever, need to understand the core features of their profession.

¹ Defined in a later section of this chapter.

Prior to the establishment of the School of Social Science, there was little social work training offered in the country. A Diploma of Social Science was offered by the University of New Zealand in 1922, though this was not specific to social work.² John Beck, first superintendent of the Child Welfare Division, visited the USA and Canada in 1925 and described the two year diploma at the University of Toronto in his memoirs. He was very aware of the need for his child welfare officers to be trained and saw that the Toronto diploma would be a good model. Later, there was a Miss Cameron who returned to New Zealand after training in Toronto as a medical social worker and introduced a one year course in medical social work into the post-graduate nursing course in Wellington (Jones, 1967). This course consisted of 20 hours theory and 30 hours practice in medical social work and 20 hours social case work theory. In addition there were field visits and a five week placement.³

Mary Lambie, an Aotearoa/ New Zealand nurse, recalled how the National Council of Women and the Federation of University Women made representations to the Victoria College of the University of New Zealand in 1930 that there should be a course for social workers (Lambie, 1956).⁴ In 1943, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) held a conference to discuss the provision of professional training for social work in New Zealand. Opinion was divided over whether a university was an appropriate setting for social work courses. Support for the apprenticeship system stemmed partly from concerns that an academic course might lead to social workers becoming distanced from their clients and losing their sense of vocation. Nevertheless, the conference ended with recommendations that the establishment of a school of social work should be investigated. In 1949, a School of Social Science was established at Victoria University College of the University of New Zealand and the first students were enrolled in a professional course in 1950 (McCreary, 1971a).

Fourteen years later the New Zealand Association of Social Workers was formed - a strong advocate for education and training of social workers. It took almost another ten years before the New Zealand Social Work Training Council was appointed. Throughout this period, there was

² Beeby, the Director of Education, is on record as describing it as "a pot pourri of things already taught in various departments, stuck together loosely by a bit of sociological theory" (Beeby, in Crockett, 1979).

³ Inventory of training opportunities in New Zealand, circa 1964, from J.R. Robb's archival collection in Box 47, the Beaglehole Room, VUW library.

⁴ She was on the advisory committee for the Diploma in Social Science at VUW when it was eventually established.

ongoing discussion as to how to increase the proportion of qualified social workers in the country, and where their education should take place. There were those who argued that it should be at tertiary level, at university.

Social Work as an Academic Discipline

Social work as a discipline which is at once academic and professional, has to hold the tension between the competing demands of the profession, the state, social service providers and the community of scholars. There is nothing new about this. At the same time, universities have to earn their funding along with other institutions. "Higher education in the modern world is inescapably bound into its host society" (Barnett, 1988, cited in Becher, 1989: 130). This may put academic freedom at risk. Academic freedom has been defined as the right to study and carry out research, to publish one's findings and to teach what one believes in (Swinerton-Dyer, 1995: 186).

It has been argued that academic freedom is endangered only if external political, economic or industrial pressures impinge in such a way as to cause "epistemic drift". Epistemic drift refers to

the tendency whereby knowledge structures and social structures within the university system tend to become reorganised into dysfunctional patterns when research communities come under strong external pressures of relevance and accountability (Elzinga, 1987a, cited in Becher, 1989: 137).

Social work is one of a number of subject areas currently at the interface where academic freedom and leadership encounter state policies for education through manpower service planning and funding policies. It is recognised as a discipline likely to encounter government and employer influence (Becher, 1989). In other parts of the world pressures on curriculum and funding have prompted departments of social policy, social work or social administration to question whether the teaching of social work can continue to take place within a university setting (Parsloe, 1994; Lyons, 1994; Rodopoulos, 1994; Uttley, 1994; Ife, 1996). The answer will be affected partly by whether one considers social work to be an academic subject in its own right.

Goodlad (1976) and Becher (1989) researched and debated what makes an area of study into a discrete discipline, and what gives a discipline value and status in a plural society. Closely related to this discussion is a further question raised by Goodlad: how can one best educate the expert? This confronts the problem of education and training in a society which requires experts for technological progress, yet risks a narrow and prescribed study programme by way of economies both of time and money. These international concerns have also been debated in the development of social work teaching in this country and are explored below (Ife, 1997; Dominelli, 1997).

Three aspects of an academic discipline identified by Goodlad (1976) were its characteristics, classification of knowledge and the development of academic disciplines. These are discussed below.

Goodlad referred to two distinctive ways of characterising an academic discipline which were developed by Hirst when he distinguished between forms and fields of knowledge (Goodlad, 1976). "Forms" are primary, discrete disciplines which involve high level critical analysis, complex criteria and a relationship between theory and reality. Fields are complex ways of organising what is known in an area that combines several branches of knowledge, skills and practices.

They build, around specific objects, phenomena, or practical pursuits, knowledge which is rooted in more than one discipline. They are held together simply by their subject matter (Goodlad, 1976: 45).

Hirst's is a narrow definition, but useful in that one can see that social work has the characteristics of a field rather than a form. There has so far been little examination of the characteristics of social work as an academic discipline (Lyons, 1994: 3). A more developed understanding of social work in these terms can facilitate the analysis and evaluation of current educational policies and practices.

Goodlad argued that disciplines are a social as well as intellectual phenomenon. Disciplines claim "property rights" and close relations

between academic disciplines may be interpreted as either a "take-over bid" or a "love match". According to Goodlad,

a discipline has vitality when it is neither divorced from nor wholly dependent upon education of students for a role in society, but is, rather related to some aspects of social living (Goodlad, 1976: 45).

Neither he nor Becher disputed the place of vocational or technological disciplines in a university. Law, theology and engineering have long been part of academia. Intellectual conflict has to be separated from personal or political (or cultural) conflict but

a discipline has vitality when it has contextual relevance to some occupation or occupations. Similarly, an institution is really alive only when it has its feet in the ground of social need (Goodlad, 1976: 70).

Becher and Goodlad argued that any discipline must have areas of debate and the unknown waiting to be explored. Research is seen as an essential component of any academic department. For a discipline to fit into a university, two criteria are the presence of a considerable body of knowledge and the existence of uncertainties which can be explored from an institutional baseline. In the early days of social work education in an Aotearoa/New Zealand university setting, there was debate about how much was known and whether there was enough knowledge and expertise to insist that all social workers should be qualified.

If relevant knowledge reaches a degree of certainty approximating to the field of medicine generally, then citizens may have a right to demand the services of qualified field administrators (Minn, 1966: 13).

Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1960's was struggling to educate its own professional workforce, rather than rely on a supply of transient immigrants. Under these circumstances, the Colleges of the University of New Zealand (which became independent universities in 1966) were open to influence by approaches from government and professional bodies to offer training courses that at other times may not have been deemed

appropriate in an academic setting (Ritchie, 1969). Ritchie drew attention to the links between government interpretations of welfare, social service delivery systems and the profession of social work. He challenged what he called

The New Zealand "lurk" of setting up an untrained cadre of untrained people, giving to them a professional title, and then denying their rightful concern to establish their profession by appropriate training (Ritchie, 1969: 38).

Social work has had a struggle to achieve status as an academic discipline in the university system, let alone in medical and other fields of practice. This is so in other countries, too, and Dominelli (1997: 156) has pointed out that it is critical for the professionalisation of social work that it succeed in gaining academic respect and autonomy.

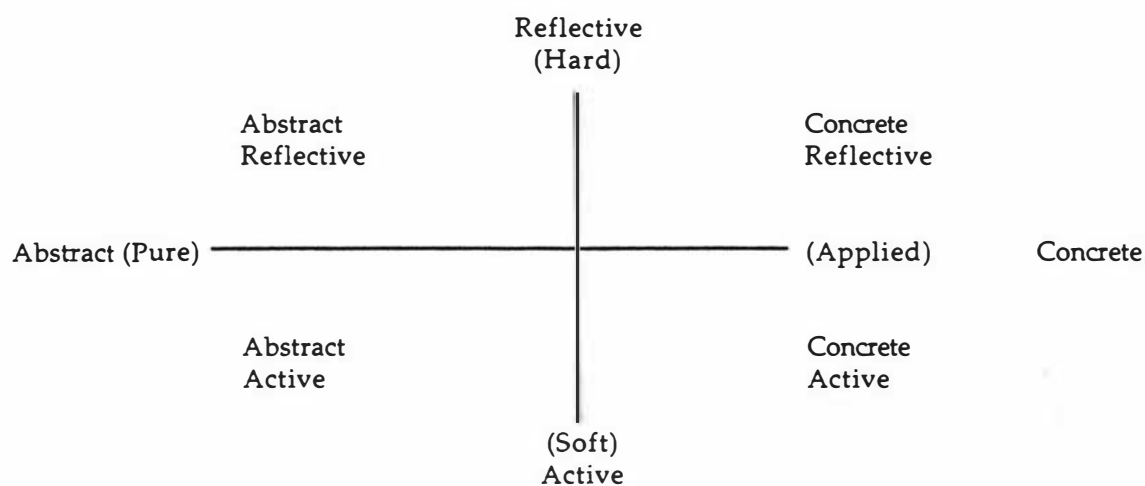
The second aspect of an academic discipline concerned the classification of knowledge. The status of academic disciplines has tended to be related to the extent to which they are perceived as abstract, theoretical and scientific (Becher, 1989: 56). The Biglan-Kolb classification of knowledge offered a framework within which to situate social work as an academic discipline (Becher, 1989; Lyons, 1994). Becher, noting the complementary nature of Biglan's and Kolb's findings, combined their respective distinctions into the nature of the knowledge and accompanying strategies for learning. The outcome is a quadrant divided by two axes as seen on the next page.

Using the Biglan-Kolb model, it has been argued that social work is traditionally a soft/applied area of study which draws on established and universally recognised disciplines such as sociology, psychology, history, law and education for much of its curriculum (Lyons, 1994; Becher, 1989).

Soft applied knowledge is built up to a sizeable extent on case law. It draws on soft, pure knowledge as a means of understanding and coming to terms with the complexity of human situations, but does so with a view to enhancing the quality of personal and social life. It is not as stable as, and has a less evident sense of progression than, hard, applied knowledge, since its intellectual roots are in the frequently reformulated interpretations of the humanities and social sciences rather than in the steady growth of the natural

sciences....For most subjects in this category, such as education, social administration and the humanistic aspects of medicine, the primary outcomes are protocols and procedures, whose functions are judged mainly in pragmatic and utilitarian terms (Becher, 1989: 15-16).

Chart 4: 1 The Biglan-Kolb classification of knowledge*



*Adapted from Becher, 1989: 11-16.

The positioning of social work as a soft, applied academic subject echoed the opinions of Biestek, who argued that

if social work were to be put on a scale measuring the level of abstraction of academic or professional disciplines, it would probably be at the lowest extreme of the spectrum (Biestek, 1978: 3).

This classification of social work as a soft applied discipline is one which may be disputed, particularly if it is felt that there is an implication that "soft" means less academically respectable. At the same time, it offers a position which accepts the validity of variety and difference. This acknowledgment that social work is an academic discipline with a recognisable but fluid identity, is at least a beginning from which to develop an understanding of it. Dominelli (1997: 156) argues that social work is at once a "discipline in its own right" and "interdisciplinary" in that it draws on other disciplines.

The third aspect of an academic discipline has particular relevance for this thesis. Goodlad considered the process by which academic disciplines develop and argued that four conditions were necessary for a new discipline to take its place in higher education.

The discipline would need to be recognisable to others, with a "transcending theoretical perspective" which makes visible the content or subject matter. The host educating institution would have to make room for it. It would need "contextual relevance to some social activity job, or vocation" since it would require funds and these would be available in proportion to its viability and the need for it. Finally, if a budding discipline existed elsewhere in the world this would strengthen its chances of further recognition (Goodlad, 1976: 52).

Goodlad and Becher singled out the importance of recognition by academics, and international status. Becher emphasised the process of socialisation into a discipline and Goodlad noted the influence of the provenance of leading scholars. The development of social work as new discipline in New Zealand exhibited all of these characteristics and the history of the establishment of the School of Social Science at Victoria University College of the University of New Zealand is no exception. The story of appointments there and the intellectual networks of the staff of the School prove to be quite significant. Professor Marsh, together with Miss Robertson, developed the Diploma in Social Science. Professor Marsh introduced the strong social administration element into the Diploma. After he left, Professor Minn and Professor Robb worked together at Victoria University Wellington and they had in common the London School of Economics, the Probation Service in Britain, the Tavistock Clinic and the Family Welfare Bureau (J.H. Robb, pers. comm. 27/4/95; T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 1995). Professor McCreary had been involved in the School of Social Science with Professor Marsh and he and Professor Robb knew each other from their student days (J.R. McCreary, pers. comm. 29/5/95).

Universities and their departments and schools have to decide what their goals are to be, and what sort of students they intend to produce. The School of Social Science was not established in a vacuum, and subsequent social work training has also had to take into account the goals of host institutions. Goodlad has argued that universities will rank disciplines according to the needs and values of the institution and these will vary

from time to time (Goodlad, 1976). This has been the case in New Zealand universities, where funding and demand affect supply, and tertiary institutions are now more than ever sensitive to government funding strategies.

Goals in Higher Education in a Plural Society

It is predictable that there will be difficulty prioritising goals in a society that

has no integrating and commonly accepted ethos but tolerates an immense variety of beliefs, lifestyles moral standards and forms of art. The goals of education in such a society will themselves be plural and may be incompatible with each other (Goodlad, 1976: 6).

This aptly describes the plural nature of contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society, with its uneasy acceptance of the free market economy. Goodlad distinguished four dominant goals that one might observe in practice. The first was "manpower planning" which is socially and politically defined and equips people with the knowledge and skills society wants. Courses were usually funded by government if they were developed as the result of manpower planning.⁵ The second set of goals, consumer goals, are socially defined by students and their parents seeking an assured career and the social status of a degree.⁶ Individual goals, where students want education in order to understand and critique their world, and to further their self-development form the third category of dominant goals and the fourth is that of academic goals which aim at scholarship (Goodlad, 1976: 6).

What authority can a university invoke in order to prioritise educational goals in a pluralist society? Goodlad concluded that there can be no absolute answer as to which goals should be given priority. Instead, the authority that can be mustered by the tertiary institution has to be that "of accepting and maintaining the tension between competing goals without burning the thread" (Goodlad, 1976: 15).

⁵In Aotearoa/New Zealand this used to be the case but the funding base of tertiary education has changed, so that the subsidy is much reduced and students make an ever-increasing contribution to the cost of their courses.

⁶I give out endless information to prospective students and their parents and this is definitely a dominant set of goals in this country.

Goodlad's work is dated in that the funding base of tertiary education is changing. For example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand a struggle is taking place over whether tertiary education is a public good, in which case the state should fund it, or a private good, in which case individuals will be expected to take as much financial responsibility as possible for their own education. If it were conceded that tertiary education is a private good, the question then arises as to whether it should be those who pay for their education (students) or those who employ them (reaping the benefit of their investment in themselves) who should dictate, through the industry training organisations, what competencies they must acquire.

This leads me to introduce a possible further goal for higher education, namely, conscientisation. Conscientisation provides an opportunity to those who wish to take control of their lives in an exploitative world and recognises the potential of education for the self-determination of groups as well as individuals. It was cited as a new theme in social work education in 1972 (Ander-Egg, 1972) and represented the strong human rights element in social work which now includes feminist and ethnic analyses (Munford & Nash, 1994).

Social work has always acknowledged its dual function of social control and social liberation. There is a constant balancing act within the profession to practise according to recognised ethical standards. The International Declaration of Ethical Principles states unequivocally that "Social Workers have a commitment to social justice" and "Social workers have the responsibility to devote objective and disciplined knowledge and skill to aid individuals, groups, communities and societies in their development and resolution of personal-societal conflicts and their consequences" (IFSW, 1994). At whatever level one considers, be it that of liberation theology and the preferential option for the poor, Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed or simply "Educating Rita", setting the goals for social work education within the tertiary sector is a challenge.

While education is not the lever for social transformation nevertheless transformation itself is an educational event. Transformation teaches us, shapes and reshapes us. Secondly, we are also convinced that education strongly helps to clarify, to unveil, the conditions we are in.... school reading is silent about the world of experience and the world of experience is

silenced, without its own critical texts (Shor, & Freire, 1989: 134-135).

The categories and frameworks set out above offer a structure for considering how social work has been accommodated into the culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand universities and tertiary institutions. They provide a context within which to address the question of how a balance between the competing goals of manpower service planning, research, scholarship and professionalism and conscientisation has been negotiated and reworked over the years.

Universities have to be clear as to what they want to produce in their graduates. For social work departments in tertiary level institutions, this is a crucial matter, and right decisions are essential, since graduates will inevitably need to be able to work with a variety of vulnerable people. Effectiveness and competence, where relevant, become attractive and though they are in themselves means to an end, can acquire the status of ends in the context of professional disciplines. "It seems much easier to set goals for the training of the expert than for education in the humanities" (Goodlad, 1976: 8).

In its early days, the School of Social Science, Victoria University College Wellington, had a dedicated budget within Vote Education, which gave it a guarantee of academic freedom. There was a close association between the School's academic staff and those in the public service who sent them students. The two groups had singularly compatible views on what a curriculum for social work should be. There was no doubt among the staff that they were completely free as to what they taught and assessed (J.H. Robb, pers. comm. 27/4/1995, J.R. McCreary, pers. comm. 29/5/95).

The original curriculum for the Diploma of Social Science owes its origins, amongst other things, to "some tentative suggestions" presented to the NZCER Conference on social work education in 1943 by Professor H. E Field, an educational psychologist from Canterbury (Crockett, 1977: 4). Three executive members of the New Zealand Council for Education and Research Sir Thomas Hunter, president and subsequently principal of Victoria University College, Mr C E Beeby, the Director of Education, and therefore responsible for the Child Welfare Division, and Mr A E Campbell were instrumental in organising this NZCER Conference (Crockett, 1977: 3). In

those days it is fair to say that, as long as the University set the exams, they were regarded as the definers of knowledge. The alliance between the establishment and academia was sufficiently comfortable to be invisible. University staff were able to design their own curriculum and consulted informally with employers, but without the surveillance and industrial demands now in existence.

Three kinds of curriculum have been identified and it has been argued that they are present in every course of study. The first and most apparent is legitimate curriculum which is the public and recognised study programme. The "illegitimate curriculum" is the second. It is openly taught but unspoken. It is not assessed, lacking measurable behavioural objectives. Instead, it puts students in touch with their creativity, and personal development occurs. The third curriculum is hidden. It is the "curriculum of subtle socialisation" in which students learn approved values and attitudes (Bevis, 1988: 37). This has already been referred to and is certainly significant for social work, where it is quite openly acknowledged that during their courses students are socialised into the way of thinking of the profession.

This analysis of layers of meaning in a curriculum is taken from a nursing milieu, but fits comfortably into the social work context. At the same time, it helps to explain the resistance, particularly, but not exclusively, among universities, to competency based training and assessment. Socialisation into the social work profession has always been part of the professional education of social workers, while the need to put social workers in touch with their inner selves has also been accepted. This was an accepted state of affairs when the social work profession guided the curriculum and pedagogy of social work education. However, as the balance of power has begun to change and other bodies are gaining hegemony in this area, the question arises: are there illegitimate or hidden curricula within competency based education systems?

The call for competency, nationally and internationally, has come partly from employers and partly from practitioners and professionals. It has grown more insistent in the last decade, and the different interpretations of competency have generated some hard questions about how one defines competency and teaches it in such a way as to produce good practitioners.

Some would argue that we do not know what competency really is. Does this signal course providers' desire for more autonomy over the syllabus?

An edited review of research into competence in social work draws attention to the range of meanings conveyed by the term (Marsh & Clark, 1990). Does competence refer to being "only just good enough" or to having a reliable set of basic and sufficient skills for the job? Competence is recognised as making sense only in relation to specific practices and the task of measuring it has been likened to the feeling that one is "shooting at a moving target " (Stevenson, 1990: 15) because social service practices change to keep pace with new ideas and situations.

The British Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work [CCETSW] made explicit the depth and breadth of knowledge, skills and personal qualities needed for a competent social service worker. However it tried to avoid the shopping list approach in a tacit acknowledgment that, while we need to teach theories, we do not know enough to prescribe theories (Stevenson, 1990). This important truth was recognised by the New Zealand Association of Social Workers and the NZCETSS, who both wanted it to be reflected in the unit standards for the NZQA framework. This is discussed in detail in a later chapter.

Gonczi has described the main definitions of competency based education (CBE) and the arguments for and against it. He describes three forms of competency based education, the first being task-based, or behaviourist assessed by direct observation of performance. This usually occurs in an agency setting. The second form is the underlying attributes approach, in which the competent practitioner will have certain general attributes, such as knowledge/ critical thinking. Here, assessment is not context specific and some people question whether generic competencies actually exist. Gonczi's third and favoured form is the integrated approach, which takes into account both the qualities and attributes of candidates and their ability to perform. It acknowledges the complexity of combining knowledge, skills and performance. Professional judgement is recognised and: "in this approach to assessment there is an emphasis on a great variety of evidence, more direct evidence" (Gonczi, 1993: 10). Gonczi favours the integrated model, arguing that it has a more flexible approach and incorporates the best elements of the other approaches (Gonczi, 1993).

This is the model being used in Australia. Gonczi recognises the criticisms about employer driven training, assessment techniques and how they determine the shape of things and the risk to critical thinking, but also points to advantages such as public recognition for the professions once their work becomes more transparent. For him, competence does not simply mean performance. It includes knowledge and he has confidence in the existence of suitable ways to assess knowledge. He argues that appropriate methods of assessment can improve courses (Gonczi, 1993).

Gonczi agrees that assessment remains an art:

a competency is a combination of attributes underlying some aspect of successful professional performance. Thus competence is a construct that is not directly observable, rather it is inferred from successful performance (ibid, 1993: 9).

Clearly, Gonczi is in favour of this form of competency based education. Others, in the UK and in New Zealand have reservations. In particular, there are concerns about student assessment which needs careful handling. One way to introduce objectivity into it, is to break the student exercise into discrete tasks or goals and to measure these individually. This solution needs to be conducted sensitively, to avoid the temptation of restricting the curriculum to what can be measured. This point was raised when the Department of Social Welfare, New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service introduced its competency programme:

what emphasis will increased professional training of social workers take? The legislation is dependent on the quality, experience, skills and values of practitioners. If training becomes increasingly crisis-skills based at the expense of preventive and empowering skills, what definition of social work are we working towards? (Allan, 1992: 22).

The competency programme referred to has now been discontinued. The programme is discussed in more detail in Chapters Eleven and Twelve. The question raised in the above quote remains. Who will now be defining social work and how are practitioners to be prepared for their work?

In Aotearoa/New Zealand the notion of competency for social workers has its own history. The NZSWTC established a Competency Working Party in 1982, which conducted workshops around the country in which

practitioners contributed their views on what knowledge, skills and values a competent social worker should have. The working party finally reported, posthumously in 1986, to the fledgling NZCETSS. Stevenson (1990: 16) noted the co-operative input from Pacific Island and feminist groups, as well as Pakeha, and surmised that the slim contribution on Maori competencies signalled ideological difficulties with the concept of competency and processes of research. In fact, the report indicates that the authors of the Maori section were unhappy with the process and questioned their authority to speak for Maori on the matter. The fact that the Maori piece was included in the "Alternative Perspectives" section would not have helped. Perhaps, too, they sensed the contradictions between the competency philosophy (designed to serve the status quo) and that of community work (aimed at social action) (Issitt & Woodward, 1992: 51).

The NZASW competency assessment programme is one aspect of this movement and was described by Beddoe and Randal (1994). They record how it was introduced in response to the registration debate, as a means by which full membership of the NZASW could be determined (Beddoe and Randal, 1994: 27). This programme had several purposes:

To improve accountability to consumers, employers and the public; To develop New Zealand standards of practice; To improve the quality and efficiency of social work services; To assist with developing performance indicators and appraisals; To enhance social work credibility and strengthen the profession; To improve complaints and disciplinary procedures (NZASW 1988: 23, cited by Beddoe and Randal, *ibid*: 28).

The competency assessment movement of the professional association of social workers was at the same time a strategy to increase membership of the NZASW which, in 1988, had reached a very low point. It was Merv Hancock who suggested the NZASW design its own measure of accountability and the competency assessment programme evolved.

The most recent and comprehensive manifestation of competency based teaching is the drafting of unit standards for registration on the National Qualifications Framework. This has been a long-drawn out exercise and one in which social work (through NZCETSS) has had to struggle to maintain a

leading role in order to preserve the prerogative of self-definition in the face of competition within the social services sector.

Academics and the social work profession now have to acknowledge the alliance between industry and the Government, which holds a measure of control over this matter through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). The NZQA explicitly serves the interests of industry in making available a trained workforce. The NZQA approves the unit standards and national certificates and diplomas. This has implications as to who sets academic and professional standards. If the NZQA is to determine unit standards against which to measure competency, what are the implications for the setting of academic standards of knowledge and scholarship and is it likely that the hidden curriculum will foster the radical critique and structural analysis that community workers need to develop?

Issues for Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

This study recognises that there is a close relationship between social service delivery systems (statutory and non-governmental) and goals which are identified and prioritised in the provision of education for social service workers. Social work developed in response to the effects of industrialisation and its modern characteristics have been shaped by the welfare state (Uttley, 1994). It is hardly surprising therefore that, as the principles underlying welfare delivery systems change, so will social workers experience strain in maintaining their traditional identity. Contemporary literature examining social work education in its new industrial context is being published as this thesis nears completion (Ife, 1996; Dominelli, 1997; O'Connor, 1997; Nash, 1997).

Because social work is intimately concerned with the individuals in their social, political and economic context, and professes to stand for social justice, these aspects of modern life form part and parcel of any informed analysis of what has affected social work education. The next section therefore addresses the implications of social and economic policies for social work education. The discussion takes place in relation to what educators aim to achieve and what employers look for in their qualified staff.

State welfare systems have changed during the period of this study and it is argued that social work and education for social workers have changed accordingly. In the early years of this study, the welfare system was clearly based on a mixture of citizen rights, universal contributions and targeted benefits, reflecting the evolution from charitable aid to welfare state. By the late 1980's, state responsibility for citizen welfare was evolving into a contractual partnership between citizen and state in which the citizen was clearly being expected to take on an increased level of responsibility for individual well-being within his or her community. This change in direction was conceptualised as producing the welfare society in New Zealand (Barretta-Herman, 1994).

This distinction between welfare models is a significant one for an enquiry bent, as this one is, on examining the development of social work education in an academic environment. The academic environment is no longer immune from the dictates of the market. Accommodations to external factors over time could result in different ways of prioritising educational goals in tune with agency expectations. This could have an impact on curriculum and even the availability of courses. It is to be expected that there are differences between the perceptions of social work educators and other interested parties as to the factors which have had particular influence on the setting of goals and the consequent curriculum. One can assume that the balance of power between the educators and standard setting bodies (where these are distinctively different entities) will have been mediated by current knowledge, policies, resources, the requirements of the employers and government agencies in particular, and the profession. It is anticipated that a different ethos will be discernible between the early and later years of the period studied. As already indicated, in the early years, the welfare state and the public service ethos were widely supported and critics comprised a small and rather unnoticed group. In more recent times, social service delivery in a free market economy has very different characteristics, arguably more closely related to the residual welfare model referred to by Barretta-Herman as a welfare society (Barretta-Herman, 1994).

As mentioned above, the immediate post-war era was characterised by the public service ethos, in which professionals/academics and public servants had a shared view of the world. Vocation, service and a community ethic were taken more or less for granted (Robson, 1955: 19ff). Character and experience were considered as crucial elements in the selection of candidates

for social work education. As the economy changes, so do the pressures on vulnerable people in society and the social services at their disposal. This in turn influences the demand for particular types of social workers.⁷

The Aotearoa/New Zealand economy has always been a dependent one. The failure of the wool market in the late sixties, international recessions and the oil crises, as well as Britain's entry into the European Common Market meant that expenditure had to be curtailed. Keynesian economics advocates a controlled economy capable of managing economic growth while protecting the common good and catering for the needs of the vulnerable in society. Social good takes precedence and economic policy is designed to serve it. This thinking was well conveyed by Walter Nash⁸ in New Zealand: A Working Democracy, published at the end of war. Contemporary expressions of public thinking can assist the process of entering into the mind-set of the times, though the reader still needs to question their contemporary impact. So we read that:

New Zealanders have learned, in the hard school of experience, that against the hazards incidental to the competitive struggle for private gain must be set the need for collectively ensuring the welfare and security of the individual and the Nation (Nash, 1944: 4).

Further on in the same publication, Nash pointed out that management of the economy (for the war), had already been introduced as the Labour Party's policy in order to stabilise the economy so that finance should be the servant, and not the master of the country's economic policy. His description of Labour Party principles encapsulates the welfare philosophy:

That the first charge on a nation's wealth should be the care of the old because they have worked in their earlier and fruitful years to make it possible for us to enjoy the standards we enjoy today, of the young because unless we care for them the future will not be provided for, of the ailing because they cannot care for themselves. That it will take collective planning both to

⁷ In Aotearoa/New Zealand, examples of this are the demand for Maori social workers in the mid-eighties, the demand for qualified staff as the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) came into effect, and currently, the demand for mental health workers.

⁸ Walter Nash was Minister of Finance and first Minister of Social Security during the first Labour Government, 1935-38.

make the best of our resources and to ensure that human needs are satisfied to the utmost (Nash, 1944: 27).

Embedded in this thinking is the assumption that the state has responsibility for the welfare of its citizens, old, young or vulnerable. There is a concern that life should be good, for all, and that this should be so is not simply the responsibility of each individual, but rather of the whole national community. Positive freedom, freedom to, is nurtured in this social democratic environment. Nash's description of Aotearoa/New Zealand after the war is a good example of a nation state, setting its own course and eager to determine its own destiny. For a while, New Zealand depicted itself as a country, which, in the famous words of Michael Joseph Savage, would act for all, so that we would be protected "from the cradle to the grave" (Gustafson, 1986).

That era was generally more sympathetic to the altruistic goals of social work which was, then, a much smaller sector of the workforce than it has since become. This is reflected in the co-operative relationship between the State Services Commission, social work employers and social work educators in the 50s and 60s.

Swinerton-Dyer (1995) recently highlighted the contrast between the immediate post-war era when government finances were expenditure-led (taxes were raised till they reached the level required to afford what the nation wanted) and the present day when government is more sensitive to the size of the budget and money spent must be shown to be put to good use. The economic pressures on education generally are being felt more keenly in 1997 than when this study began and they are unlikely to be curbed in the foreseeable future. The implications are that those who wish to purchase will be in a position to demand goods to their specification. There are dangers here for social work education. This represents a less friendly environment and one where societal, agency and professional values are much less harmonious in relation to social work and the education of practitioners.

Economic and Political Change and Traditional Social Work

Social work educators recognise that the philosophy of the new economic order and its effects on social service delivery have crucial implications for

social work practice and therefore for those institutions and people who teach social work students. One reason for the sequential stages through which social work has progressed in so many countries is its chameleon-like quality of evolving in tandem with state welfare systems. The following section discusses the economic and political challenges to traditional social work in order to show how social work education has been drawn towards adopting a technical emphasis which could be to the detriment of a critical and creative emphasis.

There is now a global market for labour and goods. Demographic and social change mean that the environment we work in will be different from that in which we were educated and trained (Statham, 1994). The social contract has been renegotiated with resultant "alterations in the balance of responsibilities carried by the state, the family and local communities" (Statham, 1994: 1).

Statham argued that professionals are now losing their autonomy to government and the public, representing a significant change of alliances. Social work is affected by political shifts in values, as seen, for example, in family policies and the call for individuals to take responsibility for their own well-being. Statham, at the time when she made these observations, was the Director of the National Institute of Social Work in Britain and able to take a broad view of matters.

The role of the state is a matter of constant political negotiation, a balancing act between safeguarding or smothering the rights of citizens, encouraging self-reliance without reneging on security and protection for the vulnerable. For some, the state provides the means whereby society can function with co-operation between stakeholders. For others, the state represents the interests of whoever controls the means of production and its role is preservation of peace in a conflictual arena. Either way, the state in Aotearoa/New Zealand has customarily been seen as responsible for providing, at the very least, a residual welfare system, without which it would be unable to obtain sufficient political consensus for government. The more residual state social services become, the more social work is challenged with regard to its social justice stance and the more pressure may be placed on social work educators to concentrate on teaching technical skills rather than critical and theoretical material.

By the time the Fourth Labour Government came to power in 1984, it was evident that there was a groundswell of concern over the rising costs and questionable efficiency of state welfare provision. The old alliances between the public service and the professional community were strained, as industrial interests commanded greater attention. The sovereignty of the nation state was no longer so confidently proclaimed, the implications for Aotearoa/New Zealand of multi-national corporations and the global economy were being grappled with.

There is a literature on post-industrial society which makes some clear distinctions between industrial and post-industrial conditions. The industrial economy is described as one based on manual power with mass production for mass consumption under organised capitalism and bureaucratic management. It is argued that post-industrial economic arrangements have challenged the industrial status quo, and manual power is being replaced by intellectual power. As production focuses on knowledge rather than commodities, capitalism may no longer be controlled within the nation state (Kelsey, 1993; Marginson, 1994; Sharp, 1994). Niche markets spring up bringing fragmentation and specialisation, the idea of national economic sovereignty is outmoded and there is a recognition that power is exercised not only through bureaucracy, but also in other domains through discourse and hegemony. The principles of a free market economy (Hayek, 1960), the preference for negative freedom⁹ for the individual (Friedman, 1962), privatisation and the commodification of all transactions, once introduced in Aotearoa/New Zealand, have taken root with great speed.

There are those who are still wondering how it is that economic good either ousted social good as a governing principle or is considered to be synonymous with it, depending on your point of view. The seven deadly economic sins of the Twentieth Century, according to the New Zealand Business Roundtable are: the growth of the state; collectivism; protection; lobbying by special interests; inflation; unemployment and the welfare state (Kerr, 1997: 3). The new language of outcomes and outputs, efficiency and effectiveness, stakeholders and consumers has infiltrated Aotearoa/New Zealand society and its social services with amazing rapidity.

⁹ Negative freedom refers to freedom from constraint, as opposed freedom to take opportunities when offered.

Kelsey has pointed out the length of time it took people to realise just what sort of political changes had been effected by the managerial new look (Kelsey 1993: 9). Much has been written on the new economic policies in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The comparison between the old and new political/industrial order in this section is derived from a number of authors, including Kelsey (1993), contributors to Sharp's edited collection Leap in the Dark, the Changing Role of the State in New Zealand since 1984 (1994) and the Conference papers of the Australian Association for Social Work and Welfare Education (1994). Sharp argued that as the role of the state is being renegotiated, the idea that any one ideological position based on "undisputed management or economic principles" can offer a panacea to the modern ills of society is hotly debated. Those who contributed to his publication argue that:

there is and can be no set of general principles from which non-contradictory institutions and practices can be derived, and there should be no end to disputes as to what principles should be followed in particular cases (Sharp, 1994: 11).

The effects of managerialism and the free market economy on education for social workers are now coming under scrutiny by social work educators and professionals. The last two sections of this chapter first consider social work in a post-industrial context and, second, the implications for educating and training social workers.

Post-industrial Society and Social Work

There are a number of factors to be considered when examining social work in a post-industrial, free market society and these have implications for understanding new directions in social work education. Conceptual frameworks are being developed which help to clarify the meaning of present trends. One question that comes to mind is whether "the skills-based industry and economic imperatives [will] overtake and disempower social work?" (Rodopoulos, 1994: 13). Markiewicz identified four aspects of the new order which she considered significant for social work students and which are relevant to the question. Firstly, the context of public welfare work and secondly the organisational context in which it occurs help to shape practice. The politics of policy development and consequent service

delivery in public welfare are the third and fourth aspects of the new order which influence social work and education (Markiewicz, 1994: 1).

These aspects provide a framework for presenting the multiplicity of significant dimensions which is used in this section. There is a further aspect which perhaps belongs here, namely the change in language and terminology that has taken place in the 1990s. Educators as well as agencies and government organisations have been drawn into this new language with remarkable speed as the New Right economic policies were implemented. (These policies are discussed in Chapter Eleven). Terms like "service providers", "purchasers", "inputs", "outputs", "competencies" and so on caused considerable distress among staff when introduced, but they have now adopted the newspeak and are quite fluent. The language of managerialism has operated as a significant mental coloniser and mechanism of domination in this area.

It is argued that the context of public welfare work is becoming predominantly one of social control (Markiewicz, 1994: 3). The ideals of social justice and prevention are either dangerous in the eyes of employers or hard to account for in terms of outputs, and, on both counts, to be eschewed. Industry is a new concept for the social service sector, which traditionally regards itself as a not for profit sector (Kane and Hopkins, 1995). How social workers will go along with marketing themselves is difficult to assess. In Aotearoa/New Zealand there has been a rise in the number of private practitioners (Baskerville and Durrant, 1996) and certainly the market is ready for them. The General Manager of the country's main statutory social service agency, NZCYPFS, in his address to the Asian and Pacific Association of Social Work Educators in 1995, described his agency as a business which should be able to deliver "the best possible product to our clients [and be] able to respond with ease to changes in the marketplace" (Page, 1995: 3).

The second significant aspect of the new order is the organisational context in which management has become a generic concept, such that social service agencies may now be managed by people who need know nothing about social work. In 1995, Mr. Griff Page was appointed General Manager of the Children and Young Persons Service. He described himself thus:

I am not a social worker. I am a manager, with a purchase agreement with the Government to provide certain results for an agreed price (Page, 1995: 10).

A manager, moreover, committed to delivering the goods in line with the accountability requirements of the Public Finance Act which he defended on the grounds that it demands the delivery of effective social services, good case management and good results (Page, 1995: 9). Page's difficulty was, as he admitted, that he was working in the dark. How does one measure good outcomes from the outputs of one's employees? He was uncertain, but, in 1995, announced his determination to find this out (Page, 1995). If successful, might he then be in a position to analyse the social work task, break it down into steps and apportion graded tasks to workers with varying skills levels? This practice represents the fragmentation and de-skilling, or routinisation of work. It is regarded as reducing professional autonomy and "expropriates the worker's knowledge" (Uttley, 1994: 5). At the same time, it risks turning the social worker into an investigator whose manager is likely to assess the client using the information provided (Howe, 1992, cited in Markiewicz, 1994).

Yet what is wrong with arguing in favour of effective social services if they really work? Two areas of concern exist. In the first place there is the distinct possibility that social workers are already working to deliver agency policies which conflict with professional standards. The second worry is not that social work might improve, but that it could be distracted by the urgency of economic imperatives and the skill-based industry and lose sight of its structural analysis and the social justice dimension embedded in its code of ethics (Markiewicz, 1994; Nash, 1996).

The politics of policy development, Markiewicz's third aspect, refers to pressures by for example, the media, on social work, particularly when a child is murdered or abused. In Britain, Maria Colwell (1974) was the first such case to really affect social work practice. There have been several such cases lately in New Zealand. It was in response to Dangerous Situations, in 1987, that the Minister of Social Welfare set the target of having 90% of her staff qualified and competent by the turn of the century (Report of the Independent Inquiry Team Reporting on the Circumstances of the Death of a Child, 1988). As a result of such situations, systems are often put in place to ensure that as few risks as possible are taken with child safety. Social

workers have received new, tighter, procedures to follow which, while laudable in one sense, prescribe their actions and risk reducing their freedom to think and act on their professional knowledge.

The fourth point to consider is service delivery and preparation of the worker. It is commonly recognised in Aotearoa/New Zealand that, where public policy objectives used to be couched in terms of social goods, they are now expressed in terms of economic goods. The dominant style of administration has become corporate or generic managerialism. This means that economic policy now has to provide the opportunity in which social good can develop. In some cases, groups can harness these opportunities for their benefit, by contracting to offer social services which suit them. This new organisational context for social work raises questions as to what happens to theoretical knowledge under the new, fragmented and prescriptive social service approach.¹⁰ It also reopens old questions as to whether the profession to date can be so sure that it does know what makes a difference to clients and how social work performance can be measured. The identification of key tasks, and the knowledge and skills these require, is one method by which social work could, some would argue, be assessed for effectiveness. This is where the competency approach has been able, understandably, to gain acceptance in many quarters. Social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand is cognisant of the competency movement. The NZSWTC Competencies Working Party described competence as

a key element in developing systems of accountability for practice, determining the quality of service, developing appropriate education and training and assessing effectiveness and efficiency (NZSWTC Competencies Working Party, 1987: 9)

and noted that

The competence of graduates is a meeting point for the concerns of educators, administrators and practitioners (ibid: 9).

¹⁰ Prescriptive in that organisations which purchase services can dictate what those services will be.

This endorses the argument in this thesis, that educators, administrators and practitioners are interested parties in terms of determining what happens in the preparation of social workers for practice.¹¹

This chapter has examined what is entailed in the concept of an academic discipline and noted the identification of social work as a soft, applied discipline, one which, moreover is intrinsically vocational and therefore predictably susceptible to industrial pressures. The early alliance between profession, educational provider and educational funder has, of late, been dissolved. Agency theory advocates that the funder be divorced from the provider to ensure, in managerial terms, a more efficient and effective delivery of service. The adoption of this theory has meant that, for example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the funder (Government: Vote Education) could, in theory, leave industry to negotiate with providers concerning the type of education and training they believe will adequately equip their future employees (Marginson, 1993). This would, however, leave an important and interested party out of the equation, namely the student, who, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, is fast becoming a major purchaser and should therefore have an input.

What does this mean for social work in the universities? It means inevitable tension between those involved, and here one has to include students, who pay an increasingly high proportion of the cost of their studies. This is in accordance with the philosophy of normative economism:

The subordination of education to economic values means that what is good for the economy becomes what is good for education, and that education is only beneficial to the extent that it is beneficial in economic terms. In the language of mainstream policies it is inconceivable that there could be "too much" wealth or "too much" economics. However, because economic goals are the dominant ones and public spending on education is an economic cost, there can be "too much" education - people can be too well informed, too well prepared for the social good. Educators want to maximise the

¹¹ Three organisations currently working to improve competency levels in social work are: the New Zealand Association of Social Work, the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and Their Families Service and Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation.

intellectual, cultural, academic, political and economic development of people. At a certain point, this objective becomes incompatible with economic production and exchange as conventionally defined (Marginson, 1993: 65).

This quote epitomises the dilemma facing social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In a way, this has been an underlying tension throughout the history of social work education in this country. The present economic policies, coupled with the new managerialism have a bare bones effect which highlights the possibility of “too much education” and legitimates the expression of such an idea.

Marginson argues that, in Australia, competency based training affects methods of teaching, learning and assessment, and is employer and industry driven. He considers that it strikes a minimalist level for students to reach and, as such, works against professionalism (Marginson, 1993: 144). Social work courses offer a combination of theory alongside the practical and skills training modules. In this sense, such courses embody both instrumental and academic approaches to curriculum. Professional social work education therefore includes training because it entails at least two substantial fieldwork placements.

Aotearoa/New Zealand academics have similar concerns to those mentioned above, in relation to the NZQA and the unit standards and the question of what will become of their curricula (Gwyn, 1995). Will the state eventually decide that minimal competency levels are sufficient for practitioners and that, to be professional (to be educated to a level where cognitive ability and specific knowledge exceed what appears to be necessary), will come to be considered a luxury for students to buy and for clients to take pot luck as to whether they encounter it?

The lasting consequence of the basic skills debate has been to tie education more closely to work in the minds of business, politicians, students and the public, while weakening the authority and autonomy of the professional educators in education policy (Marginson, 1993: 149).

This comes back to the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter about what people are being educated for, and the debates concerning status

of knowledge that Goodlad, 1976, Becher, 1989, Lyons, 1994 and Dominelli, 1996, have raised. Who will now decide what people will be educated for? The OECD has recommended a competitive market in training in which private and public tertiary institutions offer courses. It recommended the system of Industry Training Organisations now being established in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in which the public sector sets standards and maintains them through accreditation of courses (Marginson, 1993: 152).

There is a complex set of circumstances at play in this whole area. While politicians may evaluate or apportion blame, scholars and policy analysts will examine the choices which are made and try to understand them in their social, political, economic and cultural context (Openshaw, 1995). The next chapter is a focused life history of one of the leaders of professional social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Drawing extensively on the oral history material collected from Merv Hancock and others, it follows his social work career through fifty years of social work and education. This chapter is unusual in that it relies heavily on his own words, interspersed with commentary and explanation. Merv Hancock was made a life member of the NZASW in recognition of his outstanding contribution to social work, including social work education. His reflections on what happened and why, represent an invaluable contribution to this history. The chapter emphasises the significant role that a purposeful individual can take when determined to have an influence on shaping things for the future. It is followed by the chapter looking at supply and demand relating to qualified social workers. Together, these two chapters set the scene for the historical chapters which follow.

Chapter Five: Merv Hancock, a Personal Account

...identities are stories we tell about history, a retelling of the past and therefore the autobiographical is not a mere reflection of self, but another entry point into history (Stuart Hall, quoted by Witmann, 1998: 17).

This chapter is a partial life history of Merv Hancock's professional life. His vision for social work and his active involvement in the social work profession in Aotearoa/New Zealand have made a lasting impression on social work at all levels in this country. This chapter is derived mainly from the first and longest of the five interviews with Hancock in 1995, with one or two additions from later interviews. Much of the material from the other interviews has been incorporated into the main body of this study. Here, however, Hancock tells the story of his involvement in social work education.¹ Where relevant, comments by other respondents will be included.

The decision to allocate an entire chapter to the oral history of one respondent was explained in Chapter Two. As Merv Hancock spoke of the history of social work and social work education, he illuminated aspects which were unclear, corrected mistakes and put forward his interpretations of events. His account has provided a unique form of triangulation, which, in association with other oral data, the written documents and archives consulted and other historical material has added to the reliability and authenticity of this case study. Hancock has played a very significant part in the development of social work education from its earliest days in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In this thesis, the development of professional social work education has been examined in three separate stages and there is a sense in which this personal history mirrors these stages. At the same time, it provides a strand of continuity through all the changes that have taken place. Hancock's professional development entailed his recognition of potential in social work for the welfare and enhancement of individuals and communities. He understood the importance of establishing a sense of common purpose

¹ There are intermittent comments which serve to contextualise the story.

and professional identity and worked for this during the first of the three periods into which I have organised this historical case study. In the second of these periods, he was actively involved in consolidating professional social work and increasing opportunities for social work education to become available to social workers at every level. In the third period, Merv Hancock has a less prominent but nevertheless significant role in the history of social work and the education of practitioners. His reflections and interpretations of events show the knowledge and understanding one would expect from someone who is regularly consulted by social workers and others throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand who have an interest in counselling and social welfare.

Merv Hancock's account begins when he was a young man, selected to study for the Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University College Wellington having already completed his MA in history and obtaining employment at Head Office with the Child Welfare Division. Later, he was active in promoting the professional association of social workers and, through it, increasing educational resources for practitioners. He travelled to America and there looked at several social work programmes and was impressed by them. In 1964, he became the first President of the NZASW.

Between 1974 and 1982, Hancock channelled much of his energy into his work as the founding Director of the Massey University, Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) degree. Here his ideas influenced the design of that degree, the core curriculum of which is described in this chapter, together with details about the process by which that curriculum was chosen. After leaving Massey University, Merv Hancock was invited to review the NZSWTC and made recommendations for a new Council which guided the establishment of NZCETSS. In the last of the three periods identified, when NZCETSS was functioning, Hancock returned to his private practice and his interest and involvement in the NZASW remained unabated. At key points, his work for the NZASW has steered it forward and enabled it to survive inner conflict and change.²

² A timeline of key stages in Merv Hancock's professional career is included in the appendices and it is argued that it provides an example of what is meant by the phrase: the personal is the political.

Education for Social Work

This account begins with Merv Hancock in the first group of students in the Victoria University of Wellington Diploma in Social Science in 1950. Professor David Marsh was the founding Head of Department.

We were a small group of 14 who were admitted to the Diploma programme from 1950 to 51. Now at the time that first Diploma was advertised, they had intended that the Diploma would be a postgraduate Diploma. And so I was fortunate, along with a number of others. But they had begun to realise that there were not enough graduates to make the thing work. And therefore they began to recognise that they needed to take people with what we would now regard as prior learning, that whole body of people. And I think there were at least six or eight of our class who came from that group, who were far more learned in one way than I ever was. Because I was still the youngest of the group, I was 24 in 1950. And indeed in 1949 when I was selected I was 23. I was by far the baby of the group and that was always sort of part of the deal, part of the recognition.

Merv Hancock next described the people on the staff at Victoria University in those early days and reflected on the nature of the curriculum, which he depicted as having a balance between social administration and social casework.

But the important thing is that it was an extremely well thought out, extremely well-organised course. The scholarship in it was, evident. I had gone directly from an MA, I completed my MA at the end of 1949, and so I went direct from my Masterate into the Diploma. I found the levels of scholarship were equally effective in the School of Social Science as they were in other university departments.

Now the important thing is there were three foundation lecturers who were from overseas, and there were some local lecturers. Now the local lecturers were drawn from the Psychology Department at the time, which involved at that

time Professor Beaglehole and John McCreary, who was on their staff. And he himself had only in 1948 completed his MA in Psychology. And so he started to be one of the part-time teachers in that programme. But the other contributions, and one I remember, Professor Richardson in particular from Botany and Zoology, who taught us a very interesting course. There were three other lecturers at the School of Social Science in the first year, in 1950. One was Jean Robertson.

Now she was a person who I appreciated very much. She was an English Social Worker with a University background and she combined a sort of an interesting scholarship with an interestingly-applied theory. And her work on the papers that we took on, what we would now call Social Work practice, that in those days were called social casework, her work was extremely interesting and valuable. She was a somewhat distant, shy woman, friendly. And we all got on pretty well with her. The foundation Professor was David Marsh from the University of Nottingham, who'd been appointed the foundation professor. Now he was a breath of fresh air to New Zealand because he taught systematically for the two years that I was there a course in social services in New Zealand. They were far-reaching lectures. They weren't just on the structure of the social services in the New Zealand system. They were lectures in comparative social science systems where he used comparative measures, and major drawings on social scientific material. There were major drawings on social administration because he was in fact, if you now look at him, a classical product of the English move of developing social administration as distinct from sociology and anthropology. I think they're moving away from that topic, that title these days over there and using Social Policy. But the important thing was he was a most systematic scholar. I still have his detailed lectures. I've still got those in my own thought.

Now that gave rise to a view that his contribution was so dominant and so strong as to colour everything, e.g. his emphasis on the structure of the social services, the structure of the economy, and how the Government could fund the social

services. Should we have savings in New Zealand overseas so that that could be drawn upon if in fact there was a world economic crisis etc. Very interesting material throughout. Material of far-reaching importance. But so strong was his contribution that those of us who were there with him for the first three years were quite well-known as the Martians. And John McCreary always argued that David Marsh's impact upon us was such as to make us distinguishable from those who came later.

The third person who joined the school was a woman social worker from England, an applied person, a caseworker fully involved in social casework, called Brenda Stubbs. And this is where I think perhaps John McCreary's argument becomes less, less convincing from my point of view.³ She had a major effect upon us then because she was in fact psychoanalytically-organised, and dominated by the psychoanalytical tradition and its application to Social Work. In practice I suppose because I have always held a great interest in the individual and in the way in which individuals coped with a variety of social stresses, I actually warmed to her contribution. Thus at one end you would see a person with a major emphasis on social administration. while at the other end was a person with the psychoanalytic point of view. And in the middle Jean Robertson was bridging both of those areas. Now that's the kind of contribution that that particular education had.

In this passage, Hancock draws out the influence of those involved in the design of the curriculum. Here, Hancock gives his opinion on the quality of that curriculum.

Well I thought it to be well-balanced. I thought it to be so and I suppose over the period, I mean here we are in 1995 and, you know, 45 years on from all those events, I've always found it rather sad the alleged split between those in Social Work and Social Work education who are concerned with the individual and those who are concerned with social change. And the two

³ Professor McCreary had argued that, under Professor Marsh, the social work course had focussed on social administration, the implication being that this was in contrast to the casework approach of Professor Minn, who succeeded him.

are put in opposite camps. It never seemed to me to be that way. And certainly my education did not point me like that. Whatever subsequent courses led to a deepening division between those two points of view didn't affect me at any stage. I tried to keep the two balanced in between. And in fact some of the richest debates have been trying putting together some of those philosophical and social theory ideas, trying to keep them together and see how they relate one to the other.

The Fieldwork Practice Component

Fieldwork placements were a completely new development for social work at this time and their innovative nature can be seen in the following account. When Hancock was directing the BSW, this pioneering experience stood him in good stead, demonstrating the value for social work students of fieldwork in unusual or unconventional settings.

The fieldwork was what was well worked out right from the beginning. Now just let me illustrate the fact that I remember the two major placements. With Jean Robertson we did a lot of visits early on in the field part. I remember going to the factory in Miramar which was producing electric light bulbs, she wanted us to see big, large industrial complexes. Then she took us to visit other things. So she had a concern for us understanding the social environment in which people were placed.

But for my first major placement I was sent from Wellington to Auckland to the Social Security Department in Auckland to investigate whether a social caseworker would be any advantage to the social security system. And so I did a placement which I remember was interesting at times. I've never written about that. But I feel that it's something that's worth reflecting upon. The placement literally went from, I think it began early October and went right through to Christmas. I thought I had learnt that there was a place for social casework within a social security system. And that in fact one could see the advantages of such a service being available.

Now this was against the thinking of the time because social security was supposed to provide benefits, cash benefits, and therefore its services were not to be related to anything else. You either got in by the criteria and you were not to be screened by people.

The Labour Government at the time wanted no part or anything of the distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor. It wanted that removed and the citizens' rights established and criteria established, bureaucratically established and that was that. And you got it or you didn't. So, but the Social Security by getting me to go there were not in fact trying to revive the old poor law sort of ideas. Quite the contrary. It was that they had discovered that some of their beneficiaries who were entitled also had the social and personal needs that they required support with and understanding of. And the question was how to do that. And I learnt that it would, that it was possible for clients, older clients, of the Social Security Department, families that were struggling, you know, that there was a real advantage in that situation. And there were a few of those caseworkers established within the social security system during the '50s as a result of that. Not just as a result of my particular placement, but as a result of that sort of concern. And it gave rise to some of the subsequent debates about putting social security and child welfare together in the '70s, which is another sort of thing.

Here, Hancock is referring to the debate over the merging of the Child Welfare Division and Social Security and the campaign run by the NZASW as part of its efforts to influence government policy in that area. The campaign is explored further later in the thesis.

But the second placement was a placement which I did with my own Department. Fortunately when I joined the Child Welfare Service in 1949 I'd not worked in a district office. I'd worked within that Head Office system getting an orientation before I went to the University and so I undertook a placement in the Child Welfare Service in the Wellington office. And my

placement had to do with the newly-emerging housing areas in Taita and Naenae and the Hutt. And that endowed me with a lifelong interest in the housing area and in housing developments. And also the cases that I was assigned in that period. And I early learned that even work wasn't an essential component with those families in those days. So I got away to quite a good start. I had no sort of notion of eight to five within Social Work ever from those two placements in social security in Auckland and in that one in Wellington. And in the case work, the case work associated with that sort of emerging notion that you could assist people to succeed personally and recognise their rights as citizens, and their right to claim funds if they fell into a particular category in the social security system. But the division between child welfare and its very focused work with families that were struggling either with neglect or dependency, and families that were struggling with children that were acting out and were out of control or delinquent, the link between that, that service and what I'd seen in social security was profound. It was difficult to bring those two together. But the education that I had made me able to do that.

The connections between the micro and the macro that Hancock made while on placement with social security were not forgotten by him. Years later, in 1970-71, he was involved in the NZASW campaign against government policy over the narrowly conceived amalgamation of two government welfare agencies. His practical experience strengthened his sense that a much more comprehensive re-organisation was possible, similar to that recommended in the Seebohm Report on England and Wales in 1968. Still later, he stood for Parliament as Labour candidate for Horowhenua, convinced that political measures were needed in order to improve the social and economic circumstances of ordinary Aotearoa/New Zealanders.

Gisborne and the Need for Social Work Education

After graduating, Merv Hancock was appointed to the Child Welfare Office at Gisborne.

I suppose the most fundamental thing is the efforts soon after I graduated from Social Work at Victoria University. I went to live in Gisborne and work in Gisborne with the old Child Welfare Service. And I was the only one who had any opportunity for Social Work education. And as I moved around other child welfare offices in Napier and neighbouring Gisborne, and also talked with people in the voluntary agencies and the voluntary sector, many of them were yearning for opportunities for further education. So I suppose that that was the most dramatic thing, that it was the personal recognition that people were extremely interested in the fact that I had received formal education and training in Social Work and they hadn't. And this made me a somewhat special object really.

And that caused me to think a lot about it. In the first few years, from '52 to about 1955, the only vehicle for discussing those questions, of getting further education for those who were in the field but didn't have it, and so in those years it was a response to the needs of my colleagues around me, the only vehicle we had was the Child Welfare Workers' Association. And this particular Association was stitched together in the era of 1949 through to 1952/3. And one of the things that I did as my particular contribution to that was to edit one of the Bulletins. We had a Bulletin which was my contribution to the emerging Child Welfare Workers' Association, I edited the Bulletin. And Alison⁴ and I have got vivid memories of I think we had to print something on the old gestetner and then we had to print up I think approximately 100 copies and our, we went round page by page around the living room to get them into that. And that particular Journal was, that particular edition of that Bulletin, was on Social Work in Maori communities, as I remember it. But, so there was a sense in which that was a way of facilitating progress forward.

When I went to Gisborne I was 24, 25. Everybody knew I was young. But not only was I young in age, but I looked young. And this subsequently gave rise to a famous story about me. It

⁴ Alison is Mrs. Hancock.

was when I first went to Gisborne to work and the then District Child Welfare Officer was in fact on promotion to go to Auckland from Gisborne. And he had a month in which to train me. Because in those days in the Child Welfare Office in Gisborne there was a District Child Welfare Officer and the Boys' Welfare Officer, as I was, and two women Child Welfare Officers who worked with women and girls. And that's how the office was organised. So I was pretty important, going to be one of the few men that was there. And there was going to be another person to take over the office. So the District Child Welfare Officer had to take me out to show me everything. And I went out to visit a foster home because fostering was the major approach, there were no institutional forms in the statutory sector in Gisborne in those days. So the only institutional form was foster care.

We went out to Muruwai. It's about 15 miles Southwest of Gisborne, to visit Evi. I knew about Evi. And when we got there Evi said to Gordon Smith, "Aah, you've bought me a Pakeha foster child at last". And that story is known to the older generation of child welfare people throughout the country. I've told the story, the point is that there was a rule that you employed no-one under 25 in Social Work services to do with working with people, because anybody who was below 25 couldn't possibly have the human experience to understand the plight of people with families and children. And that 25 rule remained in force until the Massey programme.

I: How did you become the exception?

Well because, you see, I was 23 when I was recruited in 1949. And because I was in a Head Office situation for a start, and learning the ropes, and then I went to University to do my Diploma, I was getting myself up to the age of 25. But the fact of the matter is that it remains, and I think there is still a widespread debate that recurs regularly: 'We don't want young wet behind the ears students or graduates'.

In the next period of significance was the gradually emerging idea that we needed a Social Workers' Association that was not confined to the Child Welfare Workers' Association. Living in Gisborne was extremely valuable from my point of view of beginning to be aware of what would be involved in further education.

Merv Hancock then travelled for three months, in the United States of America.

Whilst I was living in Gisborne I had begun to see that I needed to do further education. I had undertaken my BA at Auckland. I'd finished my MA at Victoria and then I went and did my Diploma in Social Work graduating at the end of 1952. But by 1954 it was plain to me that, and I'm talking personally now because this is an issue, you're asking what about my involvement in Social Work education. It was quite obvious that at one level I needed not only to practice in New Zealand as I certainly had been, and it was fruitful, but I needed to consider going overseas. And my choice was the United States. Now at the time there was a lot of debate about this and the vast majority of people were encouraging, if you were interested in further education, post-Masters and that sort of thing, mostly they were persuaded to go to Europe. That was not my sense at all. Whether this was because of my reading of the professional Social Work literature at the time and the various things that I was reading, but it seemed to me that the United States was the place to go.

So in 1956 I went for three months to do a number of things, but one of the major things underlying the visit was to explore the possibilities of Social Work education. I made three visits to schools of social work. Now the first was the University of Southern California. And this was a private University and the reasons I went there were to do with the people who were there whose ideas I'd been reading. I was doing other things too. I had another major, other major reasons for the visit which are not relevant directly. And then when I was in New York I visited the Columbia School of Social Work. But my

real interest was Chicago, so I went to Chicago and someone helped me by making a flat available in one of the suburbs, and I found my way to the University of Chicago. Now it was the people who were writing at the time was the important thing. They published through the Journal, Social Service Review, quite a number of the scholars at the time. So I went there and I actually sat some preliminary sort of exams to establish whether I could do a Masterate or something further like that. Whilst I was there it became plain I was not going to make it. Because there were no scholarships in New Zealand, no other scholarships in America that would meet my needs. By that time Alison and I were married at this point, in 1956. Mary was five and Michael was two. So all the prospects of getting work there and then doing something like that I explored and I couldn't do it. As it turned out by 1957 when I got back it was clear that I wasn't going to be able to do that. But the reason that I'm explaining this rather complex story is that it illustrates that even then I was considering further training. For what purpose it was unclear to me, except that it needed to be done, either for more effective practice or possibly for teaching. Although I had not, at that time, formed any views that I wanted to be associated with formal tertiary teaching at University level.

I: You were already highly-qualified though, with a degree and your Masters in History, and your Social Work qualification.

Yes. But not qualified in my view. It may well be that I was being overly influenced by the canons of the time, in terms of tertiary-level education. And that was that those things in themselves were not sufficient if you were going to be involved in major work in the University. As it turned out, it was my long experience that became a factor in my eventually going into tertiary-level education. But my own perception of that was that one needed to have more in scholarship, than that for which my degree and my diploma had equipped me for. They had not equipped me for curriculum development, not equipped me for advanced scholarship and all those sorts

of questions, which turned out to be very significant actually later.

Merv Hancock was impressed by undergraduate social work education in the USA and engaged several American social work educators to teach at Massey University. He made an effort, later, to encourage and assist graduates from the BSW Degree to study for higher degrees overseas. He remained a supporter of school leavers being allowed into social work courses. His visit to America demonstrated the value of a range of different levels of social work courses, from undergraduate level to Masters and Doctoral studies. After returning to Gisborne, Hancock took up a new position in Dunedin in 1957.

Early Contribution to NZASW

And in Dunedin I was involved with a number of people in the developing of the Otago Association of Social Workers. And this was a local, regional phenomenon. So it covered Otago/Southland. We did write to the University of Otago about establishing a School of Social Work. And the argument was that the School of Social Work was comparable to a Medical School, I remember during arguing the case before a Committee of Enquiry into the Plunket Society of all things they had a retired Supreme Court Judge Mr Justice Finlay. And the Association put up the case during that enquiry, and in representation to the University of Otago subsequently to establish a Social Work School alongside the Medical School. Now when we did that none of us at that time paid any attention to the curriculum or anything like that at that stage. It was expression of a desire to have something done. Now that particular impetus carried forward very strongly from the Otago Association to emerging other groups like in Auckland then Canterbury, and Wellington. The local Associations of Social Workers began to emerge. And so there was a kind of a Federation.

And just as I was leaving I came back to Palmerston North to work. This was an unexpected trip because this was coming back to my home, the city where I was born and raised and

educated at school. I had never thought that I would return here. So early on after my return here there was another opportunity for Social Workers to get together and we formed the Central Districts Association of Social Workers. And again one of the major themes of that was education and training. That theme sort of gathered around the notion of a forum where you can meet together and talk and exchange ideas.

Now with the Central Districts group emerging and Otago and Canterbury and Wellington, and the beginning merge in Auckland, we were clear that we needed a New Zealand-wide conference. And it was agreed that as Otago had been the first, then the National meeting should be in Otago in 1963. We decided earlier, in 1960, to hold it and an interim group was sort of formed to help Otago, which they did. And they organised the work of the Conference. And that was well-attended and those regional groups indicated at that time that a basis could be found, they'd like to see the emergence of a national group.

But one of the key things that all at that meeting in Otago, as I recall it... was this concentration on further education and training. So I'm locating the interest in further education and training within a collegial group.

I: Can you say a little bit about how the National Association was formed?

When I got back here to New Zealand, see this is a personal piece that has an effect on this, I was promoted from Gisborne to Dunedin to become a Senior Social Worker. And I went to Dunedin to work. Now whatever happened it had the effect at the time, that that promotion to a university city where the needs of the Association were emerging and where there was a lot happening, but there was no money to get overseas meant that I actually recognised I was not ever going to get that opportunity. So I put it aside, I didn't actually try any more to do that. You see the only scholarships that were available were for students who got First Class Honours or who were in the

Classics in the Humanities and in Science. And the notion that anyone in Social Science, there were no scholarships. Social Sciences at that time was encapsulated within the Arts of course in the University. But there were some people who got postgraduate qualifications in Psychology, but they were Research Psychologists rather than practising. Those of us who were in the practice end of human knowledge, there was no way forward. You had to do it yourself or not. So I gave it up and got on with my work.

This heartfelt account of the personal consequences of the lack of academic status for social work in the university system serves to illustrate the way in which social work was barely regarded as an academic discipline at the time. Hancock suggests that he gave up the idea of studying overseas, yet he encouraged graduates from the Bachelor of Social Work degree to do this and that was one way in which he ensured that international links between social work educators were fostered.

And I suppose with the age of our children, all the rest of it. Now the one other unusual event that probably is relevant, but not directly relevant to Social Work education as such, in the late part of 1959, I got a request to go from Dunedin to Wellington for an interview. The Head Office of Child Welfare Service had been asked by the United Nations Economic and Social Council whether they would find a New Zealander who would go and work for the United Nations in Beirut. Well Beirut in those days was not the Beirut of the '70s. However it was a centre for the United Nations. I went to Wellington and Alison and I actually fronted up to whether we would go or not. But social events in the Middle East, changes in major policy in between Egypt and Israel, it was after the 1956 war you see, there were all sorts of changes that meant it did not proceed. But it got right to the stage where the possibility was real that I would be sent. It didn't come to pass. But that was the only other time which I made any effort to do anything other than contribute in the New Zealand scene.

I: Can we talk about your personal involvement in the provision of Social Work education?

I think the next stage is for me to refer to the beginning of Social Work education with which I was involved. And this began for me through University Extension in Otago. The University Extension Otago used to run some courses both in Dunedin and in Invercargill. And I became involved with those and the courses that I remember were courses about the structure of the social services. And they were designed for people who really wanted to understand more. So there was a mix of both people who came from the social services, but also people who had an interest in the social service came to those courses. They were taught at weekends, Saturdays and so on.

I: Were there any practitioners and employers?

Yes, there may have been, and some general public I think. Now that particular innovation I think strengthened the interest of the Otago Association, in the question of further education. As we understood it, the University of Otago may have made some representations when the Victoria School was being established. The School should have been established at Otago rather than at Victoria because of the natural coincidences of interest between applied matters and the Medical School and the social side of things. The Dean of the Medical School at the time was very greatly devoted to medical/social matters because I think he was clearly into preventive medicine at the time as Dean of Medicine, as well as being the Dean I think he was the man who discovered the need for iodised salt. And so he had a natural interest in the social structural matters that affected the individual rather than starting at the pathology end of things.

When Hancock returned to Palmerston North, he earned his living both as a private practitioner and by teaching numerous short courses in social work, both as an independent educator and for the University Extension Department in Palmerston North.

Now Ephra⁵ and I had been colleagues in Wellington. I had met Ephra, and she came and worked in Palmerston North. So there were natural connections that we had, and both Ephra and I had been graduates, she was in the second year, the second lot of students in the School of Social Science. And now Denny [Ephra's husband] encouraged me to offer some extension courses in the period 1960 to '63. That was before the Extension Department was taken over by Massey University. Massey wasn't established as a full autonomous University 'til '63/'64 when it took over the old, what is now the College of Education campus. There was also the Victoria University College campus you see and Bill Oliver and other lecturers came up from Victoria at that time to establish that. Now that was the University Extension and I was doing some things there for the University Extension. And those courses grew, those local courses grew in importance.

They were straight self-improvement, self-development courses. You enrolled for your course and you were interested in it and so on. There were no certifications. The logical development of that was that after the Association was established in 1964, there was a real impetus to try and convert those ad lib, ad hoc courses that were now sort of running through the University Extension, convert those courses into some sort of Certificate. Now Canterbury were the first, I think, were the ones that were first off the starting block in providing that sort of thing. And eventually the Association, probably not in my years as President, but in the next several years, with Dugald McDonald and Gary Hermansson and Ken Daniels and a few others, established a Board of Studies for the Association which then encouraged the development of these Extension Certificates in different places. Now I was not directly part of that. My contribution had been at the earlier stage.

I think I remember being part of a small delegation after I'd stepped down as President and after I'd moved into private practice. I remember going with the local group, seeing Dr

⁵ Ephra Garrett was a lecturer in the Education Department at Massey University. She had the Dip. Soc. Sci. and was a child psychologist.

Stewart, then the Vice-Chancellor at Massey, about doing something in Palmerston North. That subsequently came to nought. It didn't actually emerge. But in Auckland, and certainly in Christchurch, the Association was directly involved. Now my part in that, my preparation for those sort of things happening was more helping those initial things start. And that's as I recall it.

The place of extension courses was significant for many involved in social and community work, as the following account by Wendy Craig indicates. She was emphasising the strategic importance of social work training for community workers, reflecting on her personal development in social work education.

OK. I think that if you really look at it, my personal involvement in the development of Social Work education really comes back to my involvement in community work, even before I ever went to University. And at that stage recognising that if you're going to work with untrained volunteers within the community and if they were actually going to be able to fight for social justice, they needed training. Otherwise they were in danger of being abused themselves or abusing the people that they worked with. And so it goes back then. Now that would probably go back to about 1975, when I was fairly actively involved in Citizens Advice Bureau and budgeting advice and things like that, and to be involved so I knew the questions that people were asking. So and then I'd been doing a lot of courses. You know, all those continuing education kind of stuff then in 1977, it might have been 76, I first supervised a student on placement. The very year that the degree started. And working, you know, realised that I was actually involved in the training of people and yet I hadn't received any formal Social Work education.

I didn't have any formal training. I'd done a lot of those courses. They were extension courses. And they were I think with X. She and I both started University together. But she went full-time from the start. I was a very critical consumer because the whole Social Work Training Council really was

terribly terribly middle class. And so I'd come into the University really from a working-class base and I'd been fine with that. And from the community base in a very big way.

Here Wendy Craig expresses the perceptions of the NZSWTC held by community workers and many of the more radical social workers at the time:

I mean for me community work and social work education, community work education had to be based on that, you know. It had to have a real strong community base or you lost touch. And so I was really critical of the level of training. And even though there was a conflict in students going to University.....my first four years, equivalent two years full-time, I was a full-time community worker right throughout those years.

I So you never lost touch.

No. And even my last two years, that was full-time, I mean there's no way I could have sneaked away from the community.

I So looking back, did you find that social work education was relevant training?

The relevant theme was really, and that's the beauty of University education as opposed to maybe Polytechnic, is the whole critical thing. I mean Universities and Social Work education was getting into critical, that whole questioning everything. But I did it right from the start and I used that, you know. That's what Universities were about, teaching us to be critical thinkers. And so we really began to, you know, right from the time I first became involved, I kept saying "Why?" instead of "Oh yes" and "Why not?" And so I guess that was the advantage because I mean Universities really did encourage that. So Merv and Ian in a sense were my mentors really because they encouraged it....(W. Craig, pers. comm. 17/9/95).

Wendy has described a typical route into university-level education for many women. Her perception of what university education was about reflects the notion of social work being taught as an academic discipline in that setting. I remember Wendy when she was a BSW student and her critical contribution raised the level of debate in a challenging and invigorating way. The same appreciation of the critical approach to study taken by the universities, was shown by another community worker and respondent, Sally Marshall. The distribution of resources between social and community work education was strongly contested, as will be discussed in later chapters, but in the early years the NZASW worked to make education and training more accessible to all practitioners.

The NZASW contributions to social work educational provision has been considerable. In this next passage, Merv Hancock describes some of the efforts made by the NZASW to improve the provision of social work education:

As President from '64 to '66 I had to adopt a much less focused contribution on education. And it was sort of a broad focus on the development of the organisation. And within that period we established the standing committee on education and training. Now I would have been on it but I would not have been the chair of it. As I recall, Dugald⁶ was the original chair of that Committee. But that whole story is worth teasing out in the records. I was concentrating I think on the broader aspects of that. I remember one policy piece that had a bit to do with helping me get moving on my interest in social work education itself and the provision of it. And that was in 1964, before I was elected President, we had a forum during the 1964 Conference in which the emerging Association was saying to the State Services Commission "We want you to open up your in-service training courses to the volunteer agencies". And I suppose that was the fundamental policy thrust of the Association at that stage that I had a bit to do with. I didn't teach in any of those courses. But I had a lot to do with making sure they happened.

⁶ Dr. Dugald McDonald.

I also adopted a very strong position to help Social Workers in institutional settings get a parallel course established that ran parallel to what the State Services had established for Social Workers in field positions, for Social Workers in residential institutions. And Maurice McGregor ran a week-long course at Canterbury. Now I remember having a lot to do with getting that set up and getting it happening, but I didn't teach in it.

Hancock is referring here to the Templeton Course in Christchurch. The month long Templeton Hospital Course for Workers in Institutions, was held in Christchurch late in 1965. This joint effort by the three groups of interested parties involved planning meetings between the NZASW (the secretary, Merv Hancock and Colonel Abel) and Messrs. King, Waite and Austin from the SSC, during which the course outline was developed (secretary, report of visit to Wellington, NZASW archives, 17/2/65). A planning committee was formed in Christchurch, comprising a number of people who together, give an idea of the spread of interest and the range of residential institutions at that time. Many represented religious institutions.⁷

Maurice McGregor was seconded from the North Canterbury Hospital Board to run the course. Sister Bartholomew was the Course Tutor. The assistance of and contributions of support from the University of Canterbury, the Department of Health and the SSC were fully acknowledged in the foreword to the Course programme (Course for Workers in Institutions, 29/9/65 - 19/10/65). The NZASW was appreciative of the SSC involvement, but not afraid to mention its disappointment that so few public servants were sponsored by the SSC to attend the course.

The photograph at the end of this chapter depicts Maurice McGregor talking to Sister Bartholomew, Mount Magdala Convent of the Good Shepherd, Associate Course Director, Len Coughlan, Dept. of Internal Affairs,

⁷ Sister Bartholomew, Mount Magdala Convent of the Good Shepherd;
Mrs K. Ford, Principal, Girls' Training Centre, Burwood;
Miss E. Macdonald, Social Worker, Templeton Hospital, (Secretary);
Major D. Adams, Assistant Manager, Salvation Army Men's Social Service Centre, Addington;
Mr. H.E. Cohen, Senior psychologist, Paparua Prison;
Mr. C.T. Ford, Reader in Education, University of Canterbury;
Mr. D.J. McDonald, Boys' Welfare Officer, Child Welfare Division, Christchurch;
Mr. M.R. McGregor, Psychiatric Social Worker, Department of Psychological Medicine, North Canterbury Hospital Board.

Christchurch and John Morrison, Senior Social Worker, Anglican Social Services, both lecturing on the course as well.

Hancock continues his account explaining how he left the Child Welfare Division and set up in private practice, an innovative move for those days.

So a lot of my energy in the '64 to '66 period was dominated by what I would call operational, structural things for the Association. The next stage about the provision, it really has to do with my move out of the statutory sector into the voluntary sector, into private sector. Now the reasons for all this happening are themselves intrinsically interesting but I doubt that they'll be relevant to your material. In 1966 the Palmerston North office was upgraded because the city was growing, the population was growing. And the district, in terms of the existing social services, the way of organising within the state services, went up a grade. I had to apply for my own job, which I had already been in for six years. And I got my own job confirmed, but a colleague with much more senior, much longer service, another 15 years service ahead of me, appealed, and he won his appeal. I then decided to set up in private practice.

Now that's a whole piece in itself, but its connection to Social Work education is this. That one of the important elements in my subsequent establishment of the private practice was earning fees for teaching courses, extension courses. And so from 1967 through to 1974 I taught extension courses for Victoria University in Masterton, and I taught extension courses for Massey University in Palmerston North, in Napier, and in New Plymouth and Wanganui.

Well now, those courses were a mixture of things. There were some courses that were specifically designed for social workers that were one-off courses. Other courses were specifically designed for volunteers. Like I had a series of courses on helping people, and an advanced course for helping people, which was for training volunteers who wanted to work as volunteers in a variety of social services ... I've also taught

courses that were associated with the human developmental or social psychological environment for the growth of children, because there were a lot of people from parent centres and play centres that were wanting to participate in courses like that as a contribution to their training. So I really paid my rent in private practice by undertaking those courses. The cost was real though because it meant often that I had to be away at weekends to do it. But they were really quite important. Now none of those courses were directly for a social work qualification. Many of the students took them to their employers or took them into play centre, if they were play centre supervisors, as a contribution to their development. But that was an important contribution. So that provision in that sort of field prepared me quite a lot for subsequently what happened when I moved to Massey.

- I: Can you tell me a little bit about how you developed the courses? Did people come and ask you to run a course? Or did employers come and ask you to run courses? Or, or did you see a need and advertise?

Well a lot of them were discussions with social workers and people in the helping services, what they required and what they wanted. And a lot of them were based on a 'yes we've done this one, what would you like, what would you like to do now?' I had helped in the mid '60s in getting people from the Victoria School of Social Work to come up with the Association and run some courses down at what is now Caccia Birch. We used to run some things down there and I mean with Beryl Mason who was from the School of Social Work⁸ came up and would run it. And so they always, they were often for a particular group, like the Association. I don't remember consulting any employers, but the line between the employers and the needs of those who were participating, I was in touch with a lot of people at different times who would express interest in what could be offered and so on. Those sequences were closely associated with helping people in a light sort of title, but it was a deadly serious sort of effort to get people who were volunteers to bring their own experiences

⁸ Victoria University, Wellington.

and use those to make them more effective in the work they were doing. And they were quite formative in a whole lot of ways, and I think employers in the voluntary agencies were very keen to have their volunteers given more opportunity. But the offerings were made by University extension out there in relation to perceived needs.

In this passage one can see how the University Extension Department was able to assist employers as well as practitioners in improving levels of qualification in social work. This is a small example of one of the alliances which have from time to time occurred in the development of education for the social services. In the early years, universities were more likely to show an interest in this level of vocational training for the social work than to consider offering degrees or diplomas in the subject.

Private Practice

When Merv Hancock took up private practice, he was keen to ensure that private social work practitioners had a recognised standard of practice. He therefore encouraged the NZASW to develop some standards and in 1970 the Education and Training Committee was set the task of doing this.

When I went into private practice I had to devote a substantial amount of my energies to what I would regard as making the practice succeed, having an income to support my family. So the years between 1967 and 1974 were largely dominated by the demands of my practice. But as you would understand, if you look at what happened to me in those years of 67 to 74, my practice concentrated on family work. And whilst my card said 'a social work practice' I chose the word family counsellor to meet the needs of the time and meet the needs of clients out there who were looking for something and they could employ somebody to work for them. Only they were in charge because they were paying the money. Now I put a very substantial effort into that whole area. It connected up with my long-term interest in social casework and that has always been substantial and important throughout my professional working life. So I suppose half of my practice was devoted to my social casework, using my social work knowledge, my professional standards

and my field of work with families who were having trouble with their marriages or families and so on. Of the other half a quarter was devoted to teaching and paying the rent through running training courses. And the other quarter was beginning to apply the material relating to what you'd call social justice, but I would call, meeting the social needs of the community.

During this period, Hancock felt that political measures were necessary if the situations facing many of his clients were ever to be improved.

In that period I began to be aware that I needed to become involved politically. Now I had been a long-term member of the Labour Party. But I had put the membership aside to the extent that I thought that too overt participation in party political life would not be of aid to my clients when I was in child welfare or other things. Not that there was any hindrance to that. But that was my reading of the fact. So I worked quietly behind the scenes. Now this was in the '60s. But in the late '60s and early '70s there was a decline in the New Zealand economic conditions. It became plain to me that I was going to have to do something. Joe Walding [Labour Party MP] was a close personal friend of mine and I'd been a supporter and worker on various committees. In '71 he talked to me about my becoming a political candidate. So I became a political candidate in 1972. And I stood for Horowhenua, it was then the Manawatu electorate taking in the Horowhenua from Levin to Palmerston North. It so turned out in the 72 election I lost by about 200 votes. I didn't expect to win it. I was standing really in support of ensuring that Joe got back in Palmerston North. It was a rural kind of electorate at the time.

Now that particular move needs to be seen within the context of my own views about what you do as a social work professional. In other words I had always seen that if I was going to be involved in politics I needed to be involved not in community work undertaking social action, but I needed to be involved personally in a political machine that actually did that sort of thing. So I was carrying three threads at that time

in my private practice. A strong interest in the family work, the social casework, which I maintained throughout and a strong interest in supporting the Association and professional matters. The education and training through the University extension and finally getting into the political field.

Now in 1973 Alison became ill with a major cancer and she almost died in 1973/74. But she got some major treatment and recovered, but her recovery was slow through 1974. So I made a public statement that I had decided to no longer seek public political office. I would continue my support of major political activities, but I would not seek public office in central Government.

It was in 1974 that the Social Work Training Council was established by the Labour Government (at the end of 73/beginning of 74). I was not associated with the Social Work Training Council. I was not on any of its Committees or anything like that. I did one or two things subsequently for them but I was not really active in any of their Committees. I felt I had done my piece. But the initiatives for Social Work education in universities were being responded to by the universities. And Massey decided it would have a look at it. And so in 1973/74 a working party was established at Massey chaired by Graeme Fraser.⁹ It was in his self-interest for Sociology to grow. He invited me to join with him, Ken Daniels, and Gary Hermansson.¹⁰

Now that whole time, I must say I played a leading part in that working party. But whether or not at that time I thought I would be joining the University, I don't myself remember it like that. I remember thinking this is a really important thing to do and what shall be the structure of any programme that is established? And what should be the curriculum in any programme to be established?

⁹ Professor Graeme Fraser was Head of the Sociology Department at Massey University. He worked with Mr. Hancock to introduce the BSW Degree.

¹⁰ Ken Daniels was a qualified social worker and at this time he was a student counsellor at Massey University; Gary Hermansson was a member of the NZASW.

Now that particular working party worked very hard and established two fundamental principles. One was that it would be a high-standard academic applied degree, an applied four-year degree. And secondly it would be open to young people direct from school. And although it was not designed with their particular interests in mind, it took account of the fact that social work was not so specially different from any other kind of profession, that it shouldn't close the door to any age. Now flowing from the first principle was the fact it was a four-year degree which meant it was to be a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work. Now that was novel and different. And the models I drew upon, the system to do that was the United States material. And as you can see, my links go right back from the beginning. Although I had this strong influence of these three English people who taught me, my readings at the university had already alerted me to the fact that the United States seemed to me to have more to offer to New Zealanders, to the New Zealand scene. Whether that turned out to be accurate or not is another matter. But that seemed to be the case. So I was drawing upon the debates in the National Association of Social Workers (USA) about advanced degrees, Masters degrees or Bachelors degrees.

Massey University adopted the working party's recommendation to establish the Bachelor of Social Work Degree. It was not surprising, therefore that Hancock was invited to establish the programme.

Head of Social Work Unit, Massey University

When the position was advertised at Massey, Graeme Fraser rang me up and said "Look, I've advertised the position. We'd like you to apply". Now I hesitated partly because I knew that my own perception was that practice was my field. But he continued to indicate that he wanted me to apply for it. They knew that I had a degree in History, and that that degree had included quite a lot of sociological material because of my natural inclination in academic terms is towards historical sociology. That's where my major contribution lay. And that I had a deep-rooted interest in New Zealand history, and in New

Zealand social development and New Zealand society. And therefore a whole lot of things were fitting together. Because they were wanting to establish a New Zealand society course in the Sociology Department. So I responded by applying for the job and thought the time had come for me to actually enter a university and not only say what I believed but actually do something.

Now there were good grounds for establishing a course at Massey because it already had an extra mural component. And I could foresee that that extra mural component was going to be of high significance for the Association of Social Workers. Going back to my early years, the needs of people in places like Gisborne, Rotorua, Whakatane, Greymouth for education and training, many of them anchored in their environment by families, led me to a very clear perception in those days that an extra mural component [was needed], but we couldn't do that 'til we'd established properly a good internal academic programme. So that had a lot to do with my going, and I got there at the beginning of 1975. I took up my appointment on the first of January 1975. So the task was then to take the working party's broad recommendations and convert it. And so the first year was dominated by establishing a curriculum and taking a curriculum through the Social Science Faculty, through to the Dean's Committee, through to the University and down to Wellington to the Academic Committee of the Vice-Chancellor's Committee and all of that. Now as it turned out, that's Graeme's field. But what I was able to contribute was the actual content in relation to that theory.

This passage and the one to follow, gives a detailed account of the approach to curriculum planning for the innovative four-year Bachelor of Social Work Degree. The underlying principles of high academic standards and being integrated into the academic community reflect Merv Hancock's conviction that social work is an academic discipline in its own right, but one which draws on a range of social science subjects best taught each within their own discipline. This would leave the social work input to come from social workers and allow for experts in their field to teach economics, Maori, anthropology, psychology and sociology. Hancock later

pointed out that one crucial difference between the BSW programme and the VUW social work courses was that whereas the BSW students had a choice of whether to follow in the psychoanalytic tradition, this was not the case, at that time, at VUW.

The Development of the Bachelor of Social Work Degree.

So the decision's been taken it was to be a four-year degree, then how do you do it? So what was established was that it would have a continuous Social Work theme right through it. It wouldn't be a two-by-two, it would not be a broadly two first years and then you do your professional in the second two years. We decided that right from the beginning there would be a major Social Work contribution. It would be a 28-paper degree and it would fit a four-year degree. It would fit the pattern of the University in having a yearly seven-paper programme. But the first decision is what are the foundation core academic papers? Because it was to be an academic applied, it was not to be an applied degree without academic, respectable and applied.

Here is the recognition that the degree was to be designed in such a way as to deserve respect from academics in other disciplines. This was a departure from the School of Social Science and one which has differentiated the BSW degree from other social work programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It facilitated the integration of social work as an applied academic subject and enabled the staff and students to mix with the wider academic community.

So the fundamental decision was taken that the four basic Social Science subjects would be expected of the beginning students. They needed papers in introductory Sociology, in introductory Anthropology, an introductory Economics and introductory Psychology. Now that basic commitment to the Social Scientific basis of knowledge was a distinctive Massey component. In other words it said there is a relationship to Economics, there is a relationship to those core subjects. In addition to that, you needed a New Zealand society paper, which happened to be taught by Sociology. In addition, there

had to be a major Social Work paper which was taught right from the beginning and hence what was called 151 in those days. And then the students had an option after that. They could either take another Psychology paper, another Economics paper, or a Human Development, and that was their first year.

I: Was that contested in any way?

Well it was contested, yes, it was contested even in my own mind because I had a natural tendency towards the Arts. In other words, I have always cherished the notion that the Arts associated with literature and music in particular are, and visual arts, were the really important elements for social work to be involved in. These were not an option in the Massey degree. Basically music was relatively non-existent in the programme. I was also interested in the natural sciences and the possibility of a natural science paper being taught was also explored extensively. I discussed it in some of the original documents and talked about it, whether we could get the Science Faculty to teach a human biology paper. The only time we were able later to do that was when I introduced into the 251 course a series of lectures by Sylvia Rumball on human milk. The 251 also had music included in it in its early years. We had some musical sequences that were incorporated into the workshop.

The applied component began with the Massey degree in the first year. There were field trips and expectations of what students would do in that first year. So it was not an intermediate year after which you then got into the professional thing. It was a year in which you learned specific things. For instance the field trip was compulsory in the first year, and the field trip always involved in that first year major visits to agencies, whether the field trip was in Napier or Hastings or in New Plymouth and secondly major participation in terms of social research. So although social work was being taught in an applied manner in that first year, alongside the traditional Social Scientific disciplines the students were expected to prepare material that would enable

them to think is this the right place for me to be? So that the first year, whilst it had a mix of major academic material plus some applied material, it still gave the students sufficient time to say no, I want out of this, and to take their papers into a BA in Social Sciences if they so chose. And some students had in those early years to do that, with my full encouragement. Because this was not to be a degree that trapped people into it and then they couldn't get out and they lost out.

Even in the second year of the programme, students were encouraged to continue a major in the Social Sciences. So they continued to take a major in Psychology or in Sociology or in Anthropology, or anything else. The option in year one was two Psychology papers, or Human Development, which was taught by Education. But by then there were two additional papers. We'd gone from one in social work to three. One was a paper in the law in social services which paralleled the practice paper 251, and the other was to do with Maori, called Maori Culture. And it was taught by Maori right from the beginning.

Even if you got to the end of your second year and you again had some doubts at the end of the first year, even at the end of the second year you could still go out and take your papers and still complete your BA in the Social Sciences. No trap. Very important principle.

I: And the University accepted that without difficulty?

The Social Science Faculty did because obviously they were pleased that their subjects were being drawn upon. So we weren't duplicating resources. And in fact it meant good use of their resources. It also was relatively acceptable because it didn't say Sociology is superior to Economics or Economics was superior, or Psychology is superior. It was genuinely agnostic, but it believed that the core of the Social Science issues were encapsulated in all those Departments.

I Merv, at this time, this is 1975 and '76, the Social Work Training Council was still very young. Were you liaising with them much?

Once we established in the first half of '75, what the structure of the degree would be, we visited Victoria University to explain what we were going to do. We visited the Social Work Training Council to explain what we were going to do, then sent copies to the other Universities, asked the Association, as widely consulted as possible. And one of the most significant events was the submission of the curriculum to a Conference that we called, and about 200 came, or at least 150, because I remember what we called the Social Science one, was at least two thirds full, and people came from everywhere.

Now one of the most important features of that was the visit of a considerable number, perhaps upwards of ten, Maori Welfare Officers from the Department of Maori Affairs. And the issue was does this material meet the Treaty? We were asking them does this meet the needs of the Treaty? And does it meet the needs of Maori community work? And what did they think about it? Now there was strong support from them for that because of the major emphasis of the inclusion of the Maori cultural paper on its own standing. The negotiations surrounding that were intrinsically interesting because the Professor of Social Anthropology was Professor Hugh Kawharu, and he was also simultaneously the Head of Department of Maori Studies. The two had not been separated out at that stage. And so we were catering for Social Anthropology, but in the second year we were asking for this paper. And the paper 'Maori Culture' was to be taught by them with input from our ideas but the lecturer would be selected by them, or approved by them. Now there was a lot of debate about what that curriculum would be and Professor Kawharu was very supportive of the idea but also making sure that we did it properly according to Maori concepts. So we had to have a lecturer who was himself eventually drawn from the Department of Maori Affairs who was a Maori community worker. And he was fully bilingual, taught a lot of the Maori language in the course, he also took the field trips to Marae.

Now Professor Kawharu at that time was warning about overburdening Marae at that stage, so therefore we worked entirely to the Maori approach to it rather than doing it ourselves. But that led to the establishment of links with, over those years, with links with Parawahawaha, with the Marae at Omaki, Hastings, and finally with the Marae at Kai Iwi. Now at a certain stage Ephra took that course over. When the Senior Community Worker was transferred from Palmerston North to Northland we transferred with Professor Kawharu's consent that course back into what was then Sociology. The wide consultation gave us a good feeling that we were on the right track.

I: And did you feel pressured by any particular groups or?

No. My sense of it was that we were in tune with the time. That we were in tune with what were the needs of workers, and that you could see that I was aware of the extra mural component. I'll talk about that again in a moment. But the important thing about it was that we were in tune with the time, we were in tune with the needs of workers. We were in tune with the needs of the employers, who were beginning to say 'Yes, we want a greater number of graduates. Yes, we are willing to look at diversity. We can accept that Victoria and Canterbury on the whole are going to concentrate on mature students. Yes, we do need a flow of younger students coming'. So yes, it seemed to me, that there was no major criticism at the time. I think there was some sort of apprehension that the BSW might be seen as a better thing than the Diploma, but I kept on saying look, this is a University degree that's got applied and academic components. You shouldn't be comparing the two. Now they are of equal merit in their contribution to Social Work education. One's not better than another.

Now the big thing then arose associated with the question of how do you ensure that the applied is applied? And for that reason the whole notion of four full placements was essential. And we recognised the 120 days for applied fieldwork which

was the then prevailing standard internationally became in the Massey case 180 days, and that was not designed to inflate the thing so it was superior. It was designed in curriculum terms that if you had a four-year degree there ought to be exposure to, to a wide range of opportunities for placement and a more extensive number of hours that should be put in. And that if you've got that, then the teaching of the practice component, for instance the structure of the degree implies taking Social Work knowledge seriously. Social Work knowledge, the knowledge that was drawn from the University's academic background through Sociology and Anthropology and Economics was presumed to be a body of knowledge that all Social Workers ought to have. But there was a whole body of Social Work knowledge which, in New Zealand, was largely untapped and undeveloped. And therefore that really supports the notion of full placements, the notion of students writing about their placements and there being a body of knowledge that's accumulated over time to do with that. Now that was a very important emphasis in the degree in the early days. Now the debate surrounding the applied degree, well, there were people who argued that it was always better for Social Work if students have a liberal Arts degree before they do an applied degree. That still remains a significant debate all around the international world so you can have a student who's a graduate in language or a graduate in music or the Liberal Arts or the Social Sciences. And that Social Work can take that and just apply that. Now whilst that's an admirable model and is a reasonable model, it is not the only model. Some people in the early days debated whether we were just a balance between the applied and the academic. And I think that debate still continues. But in the construction of it in 1975 we tried to give equal balance to the accumulation of knowledge from the broad liberal Arts/Social Sciences and the accumulation of knowledge from social work itself, which has largely been underplayed and understudied in New Zealand. So we tried to give a great deal of importance to that.

It meant that when you take it seriously you've got to train the people to whom the students are going, so that they value the

knowledge that they themselves have accumulated and can mediate it to the students. And so that meant training people who were taking students, whether they were supervisors or not. And it meant taking up that whole area of placements and the feed back loop of the Social Work knowledge back into University.

In 1976 we opened the programme for two groups,¹¹ and we began to teach straight away in 1976. And I had been there a year, and during that time had been developing the curriculum. We then asked Ephra whether she would join us from education. So she became a critically important member right at the beginning. Now of course we were old colleagues. We had been at the School of Social Work together, at Social Science together, not in the same year, but we knew each other. She herself is Maori so it was a significant appointment in terms of the commitment of the programme to that territory. And we began to teach. Now what happened was that we had two groups of students emerge, to our surprise. Forty six students who we'd never heard of before, mostly young, registered for Part I of the programme. And seventeen students who had BAs or part BAs were from other places and registered to do a composite Part I and Part II programme.

- I: Now when you say Part I and Part II, is that years one and two? So you actually had to teach two years in your first year.

That's right, yes. And that group included Robyn Munford and it included Bruce Asher and Angela Gilbert. Quite a photo I've got of the group. But that group yielded a group of nine who graduated in 1978.

In '77 we decided to go extra mural because remember that I had been working as a young person in remote areas, was aware of the needs of this. And we were trying to balance offering the opportunities for those who were in the job, who were older, who were desperate for training, combined with a

¹¹ In order to recognise students who already held experience and learning which equipped them to move into year two at once.

group of people who were coming new and fresh. And we had an equal commitment to both of those. Now in '77 we taught the 151 course extramurally for the first time. And there was always a group of people that were joining the programme as a result of extra mural teaching. And you've still got that phenomena going on now. But that extra mural thing was, for my money, one of the greatest things that the Massey programme opened up. And there was a trade-off, and I think people could recognise it. It paid off, OK you're going to take young people. We don't, well a lot of us don't think too much of that. But we can well see that the structure of the programme you've got is going to allow people to do it extramurally. Now in those days extra mural was only available for people studying for degrees. If we hadn't established the BSW we would never have, at that time, got permission to teach the Diploma. In the Social Science Faculty there were only degrees. You could only study, extramurally, for degrees.

There are two significant points here. Merv Hancock talked about the need to educate employers so that they can both appreciate the education of those whom they employ and pass on to them their own learned wisdom. Professor McCreary at the end of our interview, pointed out how, he felt, employers had failed to encourage the supply of qualified social workers and that as a result there was an inadequate demand for them. Hancock's comments here signal his recognition of this and his strategy for addressing the difficulty.

The second point is about the special qualities of offering an extra-mural programme. This characteristic of the Massey University social work programmes has made them available and accessible to a very great extent. Little research has been published on the effects of extra-mural social work offerings in Aotearoa/New Zealand although both Massey and Otago University have programmes in this subject. After the first three years of the extra-mural Certificate in Social and Community Work, the programme co-ordinator published an article about it. Student feedback was encouraging and it is believed that the course provided a much needed part-time and modular programme (Nash, 1991).

Designing the Post-Graduate Curriculum

Merv Hancock was interested in developing the full range of university degrees, recognising the long-term importance for professional social work that it should generate research and publications.

We were going to establish an MSW on the top of a BSW, and we were going to establish the opportunity for people to do Doctorates. Now that took ten years to realise. We got the MSW going by 1980.

And we got our first registration with staff PhDs with Rajen Prasad and Robyn, already long ago we decided that it was important for Massey to let some students win scholarships to study overseas and come back. And in Robyn's case what happened was that we said to her finish the degree BSW and go and get some practice. Don't you come near the place. So for three years she worked for the IHC. Then, having got a Commonwealth Scholarship, she opted to go to Canada to do an MSW, which she did, which then provided the basis for an enrolment in a PhD when she got back. So we'd actually started on that whole business.

So that was part of the early training. It was not by accident that we got to the position where we're at, because if in fact you're going to really develop social work knowledge you've got to provide the academic pathways for that to occur. Now that's a long process. But we've still only got a handful of social work PhDs who graduated. For me it had a simple co-relation. You provide a pathway for PhDs so that you can later equip people to teach in the University. So whilst you don't necessarily have to have PhDs done within your own University, you could send some of your graduates to other PhD programmes overseas if you can. My preferred option is always eventually to have a flow of New Zealand PhDs who are then able to teach in Victoria or at Canterbury, at Auckland, or at Massey itself.

The whole question of indigenous New Zealand Social Work has been a continuing theme for me. Now unfortunately the

word indigenous has now got two or three quite significantly varying emphases in it. But the notion that there is something related to the knowledge accumulated in New Zealand/Aotearoa, that in fact is worth doing something about, is what that's about. The word indigenous is now given much greater importance because of recognition of indigenous people and their rights. And I happen to be very much in sympathy with that and I hope the material about the early years of the degree illustrates some aspects of that, but that word indigenous has always remained with me, that is what is local and is what is created from within, is what I'm talking about using the word indigenous,

- I: I remember, it must have been early 1980s, we had a series of discussions which I think you led or started off, looking at what is indigenous Social Work. Do you remember them? Over at the community health student unit.

Yes. I remember that. They weren't recorded.

- I: I don't think we realised how ...

How important it was. Although the model of a BSW clearly was existing in the United States, our nearest neighbour doing the BSW was the University of New South Wales. We never visited them but we corresponded with them. But they were our nearest local example in relation to that. But the notion that the University models that were international - I accepted, but the content and the internal part of it, the part that always interested me was the indigenous piece. What can we, what knowledge can we develop from within without rejecting what is from without because that's always the catch, that you become so indigenous that you become blind to what is outside. We tried to avoid that as well.

That principle, of preserving what was appropriate for social work regardless of its provenance, while recognising and communicating the indigenous, was embedded in the philosophy of the BSW when Merv Hancock left the University and returned to private practice in 1982. It was an area where he

was, perhaps, drawn two ways. He recognised the value of what was being done in the USA, but knew that for Aotearoa/New Zealand, there was a need for course content and processes that were local. Maori were making this very clear during the early days of the BSW degree and the call for Maori culture and teaching continued.

The Ministerial Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council

Merv Hancock was asked to carry out the Ministerial review of the NZSWTC. He was a predictable choice, in that he knew a great deal about social work education but was, at that time, no longer directly involved in any educational programmes. He had already demonstrated an understanding of Maori concerns by the way he developed the cultural components of the BSW degree.

Well, I think I need to say that looking back, and its always a dangerous thing to do, but another feature of that time was the recognition that the old frameworks, call them social work or what, were breaking down, the old welfare approaches were breaking down. They were not sufficient to encompass the social changes that were taking place in society. The old structures that existed were not satisfactory to deal with the multiplicity of interests that were emerging with the changes in the economy. Now in 1985 when we were writing those recommendations we were very situational, if you see what I mean. We were responding then to what was emerging, now without doubt if you track what was happening say with the emergence of community work which was saying 'we have a different identity to social work' the fact that many of them had been and still are social workers and were now proclaiming this new identity of community work and that it was different from social work was in part a reflection of the changes in society and in part an ideological thing.

It suited Wendy Craig to be as radical as she could be in working for community volunteers and getting into the welfare field and being a continuous critic of the state departments and of the arrangements made for clients and of

the power issues, and the more she proceeded down the track the more she became critical of the dominant methods and forms of social work so it became important to her ideologically to establish that so she wrote a book about it while she was a student at Massey and we helped her publish that book but the important thing was that that differentiation was important at the time.

It was important to Maori to see that they could have a community work approach that fitted in with their approach with life. It suited social workers who wanted to be more political but weren't prepared to work with particular parties but wanted to work with a mix of professionals and things like that and to become advocates in relation to things. It suited some religious groups so there was quite a coincidence of interests that gave rise to the sharpening of that point of view. Now we responded to that. I don't think then we foresaw how deeply by mid 1990s the removal of jobs community workers could take up would occur, I don't think we foresaw that the changes in the structure of the economy, the changes in the way the government tried to get out of welfare would mean significant loss of jobs that was the case. You may accuse us of being naive at the time but we thought that there was going to be a place for that.

The matter of identity is raised here, community work identity and Maori identity, together with that of small religious communities keen to practice a more radical form of spiritual commitment to social justice. What is being said here, is that these student interests were accepted in the degree at that time. Merv Hancock was able to tolerate and even support the huge challenges the social work students made to the BSW programme in the early 80s and this was the strength of him as a person (W. Craig. pers. comm. 1998). Changes in social and economic policy have since affected social service delivery and now an accommodation is sought between the demands of industry and the critical conscience of the university in deciding on curriculum delivery and standards at which to aim.

As it was, in the early 1990s, when seeking guidance as to how the ITO might best be constituted, NZCETSS revisited the recommendation of the

Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC, that the new Council should have Maori regional representation. This recommendation was one that stemmed from Merv Hancock's ideas recorded above, in which recognition is given to reading the mood of the times and accepting that change occurs and making every effort to accommodate new approaches without compromising well-tried standards.

Whether this has been accomplished with success will depend on whose point of view is taken into account and it is probably too early to begin making such evaluations. Merv Hancock, in developing the BSW curriculum, had recognised and responded to the determination of Maori for autonomy and self-determination. He was able to take this process further than Professor McCreary could, partly because of work of Professor McCreary's own students, such as Mr John Rangihau. The BSW degree and the students enrolled in it, were, in turn, more restrained in comparison with the politicised School of Social Work in Auckland.

This simply related story provides an account of personal experiences and interventions in the development of social work education. It shows an individual influencing events through institutions and agencies. It depicts a social worker's ability to draw on his wide-ranging education to read the signs of the times and draw up strategies which would eventually bear fruit in the national provision of social work education and training at several levels and with a varied array of curricula. Thus, the early certificate proposals and personally tailored training courses, with the BSW and postgraduate degrees formed a continuum of study open to social and community workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Later chapters in this study draw on archival material from organisations closely involved with social work education. In Aotearoa/New Zealand many personalities have contributed to decisions and directions for social work education. Merv Hancock had a vision for social work from his earliest days in the profession. This account, in his own words, shows him in methodical pursuit of this vision. It captures what it has meant to him to be a social worker and a social work educator. He has brought to his work a sense of balance which has enabled him to promote essentially a liberal and for some, traditional, approach to social work.

He quickly recognised that many people wanted to have education and training for their work. He was determined to make this possible and to do so in such a way that all would have access to education and training at a level appropriate to their needs. His belief in social justice was a particular force behind this story which concludes with the following words:

My interest had been partly a reflection of my own philosophy and my own background that influenced me to go into Social Work in the first place. I responded to the sort of material that I learned at the School of Social Work where the themes of social justice were taken for granted. The concept of equality wasn't so much in the ascendant at that time when equal access to all services throughout the country was such that the concept of social justice didn't need a whole lot of pushing.

The criticisms of those years had to do more with the rigidity of bureaucratic instruments that were devised to deliver services and the fact that some of these systems were not flexible enough to meet the needs of individuals. That was an important criticism which I agreed with and have continued to agree with throughout my professional life. But the social justice thing became more significant as the economic situation declined. It's important to remember that when Marsh was lecturing on the relationship of the amount of money devoted to social security as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product in those years, and where that money that was set aside for those should be invested, whether it should be invested in New Zealand or invested overseas, those debates were in the times that people have now completely forgotten, the time of economic stabilisation. They were post-war. In other words, the influence of the war systems was still upon the scene so that they were more easy to argue. But as the 60s went on and the terms of trade for New Zealand altered dramatically, which they did from the mid-'60s onward, you then get the failure of the wool market in 1967/68. Then the less money available in the wider community, stuff of which Marsh and others had talked about in the late '40s and the early '50s became more evident so the theme of social justice re-emerged as a new title. No longer would we be talking about equality, because that had

manifestly declined. So what became important was the assertion of the principle of social justice. Because of my own personal philosophy, that always was relatively self-evident from my point of view. And therefore I joined the many efforts that were made to heighten that particular theme. But the notion of access and the notion of people being given power to do their own thing, I think that theme has certainly been with me from my earliest emerging understandings of things. And so you didn't, even if you were a caseworker, what you were doing was trying to assist people so that they could make their own decisions. You were not taking decisions on their part. If you assumed that you were doing something psychotherapeutically to them, because you knew better than they, that particular philosophy has always been alien to me. So that the notion that in your case work, if you were actually planning and working with the client so they could make decisions that would influence their family they could do things that would be more positive for their own progress, seemed to me self-evident. And I've never been away from that. If anything it made me more critical of the paternalism of some major therapies at the time.

In subsequent interviews, Merv Hancock explored other aspects of social work education and the influences on it of many factors such as the Social Work Training Council, which the Minister of Social Welfare invited Merv Hancock to review, the Planning Council, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, and other matters.¹²

Merv Hancock has been significant for his enduring interest in the field and for his ability to encourage social workers to adapt without abrogating their responsibilities to develop themselves to their fullest potential in order to offer their clients the best possible service. His keen sense of the political has been a resource which he has used on behalf of the social work profession. His vision of the potential for social work to be an instrument of social change is as important today as it ever was.

¹² This material is incorporated into the thesis as these areas are discussed.

The next chapter traces the demand for and distribution of qualified social workers in social services agencies since 1949, using the limited documents and resources available. This data helps to the tensions which have accompanied every effort to increase resources for social and community work education by illustrating the extent of personnel planning carried out and the paucity of statistics available to support it.



Sr Bartholomew, Mt. Magdela Convent of the Good Shepherd, Maurice McGregor, Dept. of Psychological Medicine, Len Coughlan, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Jan Morrison, Snr. Social Worker, Anglican Social Services, all engaged in running the course: Workers in Institutions, Templeton, Christchurch, 1965.

Original held in the School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University.



Dr. Ivan Illich with Professor Graeme Fraser, at the NZASW Conference, 1978, Palmerston North. The conference theme was 'disabling professions'.

Original held in the School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University.

Chapter Six: The Recruitment and Supply of Qualified Social Workers Between 1949-1995.

In the previous chapter, Merv Hancock described how, after qualifying as a social worker, he became aware of the desire for education and training of child welfare and other social workers. As with Hancock's partial life history, which straddles the three periods into which I have divided this study, so this scene-setting chapter explores the demand for, recruitment and distribution of qualified social workers, as documented by a number of organisations, between 1949-1995. It looks at the changing proportion of social workers in the workforce with professional social work qualifications. Information on supply and demand indicates the value put upon social work in society and helps to illustrate employer attitudes towards it. Changes in supply have occurred when employer groups or government leaders have signalled their determination to raise the level of professional qualifications of their staff.¹ Two ways in which this determination may be signalled are the provision of financial resources and clear policy statements. I believe a combination of the two is more efficacious than one without the other.

Merv Hancock drew attention to the demand by individual practitioners for the opportunity to gain a qualification for their work. Employers and practitioners, when moving in the same direction, towards a qualified workforce, have shown the potential for significant change. A common interest of this kind can be quickly responded to by educational institutions. When one party shows reluctance however, progress perceptibly slows down, as will be shown in this chapter.

The statistics help explain the urgency felt by those involved in social work education who have endeavoured to increase resources for training and education and influence recruitment policies. Information on the levels of qualification held by all social workers, both statutory and voluntary, has not been gathered in any uniform or systematic fashion. The information in this chapter reflects this difficulty, but has the merit of supplying information which we know was at the time available to members of the

¹ See, for example, the Hospital Advisory Council recommendations in 1971, and the effect of the Minister of Social Welfare's call for most social workers in the Department of Social Welfare to be qualified by the year 2000, both discussed later in this chapter.

NZASW, the NZSWTC and the NZCETSS, because much of it comes either from the archives of these organisations, or from individual members of them.

In each period there are different sets of information about the extent to which those in the workforce were qualified and the recruitment policies of various agencies. Mr Tom Austin (a respondent in this study) kept excellent statistics while he was at the Department of Health and made them available to me. Information about the levels of qualification and the proportion of qualified social workers compiled by him, as well as from other sources, is presented here chronologically.² This background information is useful in contextualising debates and policies which will be introduced in later chapters.

The first professionally qualified social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand had trained overseas. The Diploma in Social Science was established at Victoria University College in 1949 and provided the first Aotearoa/New Zealand professional qualification in social work. It took two years or more to complete a formal social work education qualification and numbers on the courses were small. In 1975, the New Zealand Social Work Training Council developed basic minimum standards for social work courses and went on to accredit them. These standards and issues around accreditation are discussed in Chapter Ten. The NZSWTC became the first government organisation to recognise professional social work qualifications in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The question of what should count as basic minimum standards, and whether these are pitched at the same level as internationally accepted professional standards, has been and still is an ongoing concern in this country.

² Sources of information for this chapter are as follows: a) Articles published in journals of the NZASW; b) Mr Austin's statistical reports to the SSC, Annual statistics of the Department of Health, gathered from the annual Public Service Official Circular and Classification lists and presented by Mr. Austin to the NZSWTC, between March 1976 and March 1980 and the 1988 Health Social Work Workforce Report; c) Sundry reports from Government agencies; d) Occasional research reports from universities; e) Documents on the subject held in the archives of the NZASW, NZSWTC and the NZCETSS; f) The NZSWTC Report, commonly referred to as the Rochford and Robb Report, 1981; g) Public statements by concerned parties, for example when NZCETSS launched its National Training Guidelines Package, 1991; h) The Final Report of the Evaluation of Professionalisation Strategy, Coopers and Lybrand, March 1996, commissioned by the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and Their Families Service.

Social Workers' Qualifications: 1949 - 72

Qualifying routes into social work varied according to the field of social work concerned. In child welfare, people tended to be teachers before becoming social workers. The Child Welfare Division was a part of the Education Service and, like nursing, a transition from teaching was acceptable. Voluntary agencies like the Salvation Army had their own training school which included modules for social service work. Probation officers, like Mr Tom Austin himself, tended to be recruited from the army. It was usual that social workers in the hospitals should have a nursing background, moving from that into social work.

An early report to hand is a university research report which described the employment of medical social workers in New Zealand General Hospitals in 1964. There were at that time 53 medical social workers, of whom 50 gave information about their qualifications for the job. There were 46 trained nurses, 19 of whom had post-graduate nursing diplomas and one had "the New Zealand Social Work Diploma", presumably the VUW Diploma in Social Sciences. Four, who were not nurses, had been trained overseas as medical social workers.³

Mr Tom Austin's recruitment and retention figures for social workers employed in the health services and in government agencies provided regular summaries of social workers by grade and qualification in Child Welfare, Health Department, Justice Department, Maori and Island Affairs, and the Social Security Department. His statistics give us an idea of the demand for courses for social workers. For example, according to his 1965 Report: Recruitment and Retention of Social Welfare Staff, the statutory departments employed 291 field officers, and had 40 vacancies. Only 26 staff had a Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (the international term for a professional social work qualification), with or without a degree. In his commentary, he noted the qualifications sought in advertisements: Income Security required a good standard of education and a qualification in social science was preferred, while Child Welfare signalled that preference would be given to holders of an appropriate university degree and indicated that those with teaching qualifications would be considered.⁴ These early figures

³ Robb, J.H. (1965). Report on the Employment of Medical Social Workers in New Zealand General Hospitals, Victoria University of Wellington.

⁴ Austin, T.H.J. (1965). 'Recruitment and Retention of Social Welfare Staff' State Services Commission, 6/7/65.

were compiled while Mr Tom Austin was the Director at Tiromoana, and he continued to gather statistics while a member of the NZSWTC, as Chief Advisory Social Worker of the Department of Health (T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 19/6/95).

Mr Tom Austin was closely involved with improving educational provision for social workers. In his interview, he explained the connection between himself, Mr Barnett, the new Secretary for Justice, Mr Mayhew, the Chief Probation Officer, and Professor Minn as noteworthy in that it illustrated the close ties between senior officials in the justice field in New Zealand who were active in promoting the education of probation officers and social workers and the School of Social Science at Victoria University College in the 1950s. Here is an example of the co-operative alliance between the university and a statutory social service. Austin made the following points at the beginning of his interview for this research, when filling in the details of his personal work history.

I When you were with Probation and Health, would you perhaps have been looking at what you wanted for social workers?

Indeed so, and for the service itself. Rather, studying what was needed in the context and the available resources at the time ... maintaining the level of service then provided ... but looking forward (a definite emphasise on this) to staff development, service development, the improvement of social work skills largely in those days. From on-the-job training and in-service courses there was inevitably and properly in my view a degree of ad hocery, if a probation district or latterly a hospital showed a particular interest in, say, professional development then one got in behind them. As a personal aside, I found a vast difference between being in the Probation Service Head Office as part of the Directorate staff and in the Health Department working in an advisory, consultancy and support role where one had no authority as such, but one hopes quite a bit of influence. ... I was in the Probation Service, from 1949 to 63, initially in Auckland then as District Probation Officer, Palmerston North, from 1953 to 62. I was a Probation trainee in the UK 1948-49. I didn't quite complete the course because we came out to NZ. ... I chose to do the practical course because I'd

just come out of the Army and I'd been away from home and I mention this because it gave me at least some clues as to probation work even though it was different from that in New Zealand. And you know I found it extremely useful. I can claim that right from the beginning I was interested in training, staff development and service development.

I was fortunate in coming in 1949 because it happened to be the year that the probation service in New Zealand began a revival. ... In 1949 when I arrived out here, ... there were merely 5 full time probation positions and, by sheer luck, one of them was vacant. ... I found that sort of background I gained in England extremely useful. I applied within a few months of arriving out here for a Social Science Bursary the first year they were introduced. I was awarded a bursary but was told that, because I'd only just arrived out here that they would defer me taking it up for 12 months. I couldn't see the sense of this at the time, but in fact they were right because that extra 12 or 15 months of getting to know New Zealand, the Social Services such as they were then was extremely useful. ...

The other personally interesting thing was that the person who interviewed me for my probation training, was one W.G. Minn, then (I think I've got this label right), the Secretary of the Probation Training and Advisory Board in Home Office. So he came out to NZ, ... He replaced David Marsh. So that there were then, may I claim it, three of us with probation experience from the UK, mine minimal, (and I emphasise that). Pat Mayhew and Professor Bill Minn, we three combined together in the latter 50s and early 60s, a number of in-service probation courses, held for the most part in Arohata Borstal or at the penal training centre at Mount Crawford prison. Biestek's Case Work Relationships, that was very much the textbook. The interesting thing I think is that at that comparatively early stage in the Probation Service, the in-service focus was to a very large extent on social work or case work principles rather than as I think happened in other services in so far as they provided in-service courses or training

much more on agency issues (T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 19/6/95).

This account shows concern on the part of senior personnel in the statutory agencies to take responsibility for their employees so that people with a job to do should be properly prepared for it. It also shows Mr Tom Austin working in Justice and Child Welfare as well as in the Health Sector. Mr Tom Austin showed surprise when asked to comment, at the beginning of the interview, on his time as an employer, saying he never regarded himself as one. In Justice and in Child Welfare, he held managerial positions in which his bureaucratic function was defined less clearly than it would be today. With the current breakdown of employment into measurable tasks, the rationalisation of management and employee roles has crystallised. As a result, there are new styles of working and expectations of what should be achieved in the workplace.

Another example of how effective a few words of encouragement by the right person could be in encouraging social workers to attend training courses comes from Professor Robb:

And I remember at one stage, I suppose about the second year that I was on the staff when we were beginning to feel that the enthusiasm for coming on the course was declining among the field staff in some of the departments; I was at a training course or something of that kind which Child Welfare was running at Christchurch at the time, and Charlie Peek, who was then the superintendent of Child Welfare came in to sort of address the troops during the course and someone said to him obviously with an eye to my presence "How do you view the relevance of the training course for people's careers in the Department?" and he said very firmly "its not the only thing we take into account, but if we ever had two people otherwise equally well qualified for promotion or a job we would certainly choose one who had been through this course". And I got the impression that from that moment the number of applicants jumped up (J.H. Robb. pers. comm. 24/4/95)

In 1967, Maurice McGregor⁵ estimated that 16% of social workers employed by government agencies had a Dip. Soc. Sci. (VUW) or equivalent, while 24% would probably have been through the course at Tiromoana⁶ (McGregor, 1967: 21). Two years later, Messrs Austin and Buxton (1969) examined the future for social work training in New Zealand. They looked at recruitment and selection, staffing, the need for the establishment of what they called a National Council for Social Work, the nature of social work, where training should take place, whether this should be pre or post entry and what sort of curriculum would be appropriate. After pointing out that there was "little certain knowledge about the total number of full time social workers in New Zealand and their level of qualifications", they estimated that:

Including those holding administrative appointments there are about 700 social workers in statutory services and local bodies (hospital and education boards). Of these approximately 15% hold a professional qualification. Possibly a further 45% have attended Tiromoana or other short courses and others hold university degrees, not always in the social sciences (Austin & Buxton, 1969: 5).

Little was known about the proportion of qualified workers in the non-statutory sector, but the authors estimated there could be as many as 300 social workers of whom possibly only 5% would have had a professional qualification. Given that the graduates from the VUW Dip. Soc. Sci. tended to get promoted soon after their return to work, it is not surprising (but was at the time worrying) that the proportion of basic grade social workers in the Public Service who had the Dip. Soc. Sci. or equivalent actually dropped steadily from 14.5% in 1956 to 5.8% in 1969. This point was raised by Levett (1970) at a biennial NZASW conference which was focussed on education and training for social work.

Levett, building on the work of Messrs Austin and Buxton, diagnosed the "Crisis in University Education for Social Work" as having several features which were of concern. There were insufficient graduates in proportion to the number of practitioners. There were too few graduates in non-governmental organisations. There were many graduates with an average

⁵ At the time a member of NZASW and Chief Social Worker at the North Canterbury Hospital Board. He was a respondent in this study.

⁶ Tiromoana was a residential training institution for statutory social workers, and is discussed in more detail later.

age "too high to adequately staff the profession at field levels". There were too few people with degrees who were attracted to the VUW graduate Diploma Course and finally, there were too few social work staff at the university (Levett, 1970: 23). This summary of the situation was acknowledged as cause for concern. The following table illustrates the distribution of qualifications among different levels of seniority.

Table 6: 1 Distribution of Qualifications, 1956-69

Persons with the Dip.Soc.Sci. or Equivalent Qualifications in the Public Service at Senior and Field Level Positions*				
	1956	1961	1966	1969
<u>Senior Level</u>				
All Senior Social Workers	54	89	162	180
% Dip.Soc.Sci. or Equivalent	14.8	30.3	29.6	33
<u>Field Level</u>				
All Field Social Workers	203	313	457	480
% Dip.Soc.Sci. or Equivalent	14.5	9.3	5.9	5.8
<i>*Qualifications tend to be under-reported in the State Services Classification lists. These figures were compiled by locating each known Diploma-holder in the lists (Levett, 1970: 25).</i>				

The NZASW Education and Training committee proposed the establishment of a New Zealand Council of Social Work Training and the NZASW Conference members supported the proposal but decided the NZASW did not have the resources to set one up. Instead, the Association established a working party to carry out research on the training needs of social workers, in order to develop a national policy on social work training.

The following year, Austin's 1971 Annual Report to the Health Department collated a summary of social workers by grade and qualification (see next Table). It was recognised that graduates from the VUW Courses seldom stayed long in the front line. These figures support this view as one can see by the higher proportion of qualified staff above the basic grade levels of 103

and 104. It was cause for concern that, with the exception of the Health Department, those with qualifications were clustered in the higher positions, while the workers dealing directly with clients tended to be less qualified:

Table 6: 2 Summary of Social Workers by Grade and Qualification, 1971.

	Head Office & Controlling Officers			Controlling Officers of smaller districts			Merit Grade .104			Merit Grade .103		
	Total	With Qual	%	Total	With Qual	%	Total	With Qual	%	Total	With Qual	%
Child Welfare	26	17	65	64	18	24	31	2	6	160	3	2
Health Dept.	1	1	100	8	8	100	3	2	66	32	10	31
Justice	12	4	25	33	3	9	17	2	12	60	5	8
Maori & Island Affairs	.8	5	63	11	3	27	10	0	-	49	2	4
Social Security Dept.	-	-	-	5	3	60	3	2	12	26	1	4
Totals:	47	27	57	121	35	29	64	8	12	327	21	6

	Total	With Quals	%
Total of all staff recorded	559	91	16
Total in Grades 104/103	391	29	7

Austin T.H.J. (Dept. of Health, 31.3.71: 2)

Another significant report prepared, Social Work Services in Medical and Psychiatric Care (Austin, 1971), provided an overview of practitioners in the health field and discussed strategies which needed to be put in place so that social work practice in the health services could “develop in a professional and appropriate fashion”.⁷ This discussion made some particularly significant points in relation to the influences which have helped to shape social work education and the supply of qualified social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There were about 180 social workers in the health field (using a wider criterion than in the Table 6: 2 above, including

⁷ Austin, T.H.J. (Sept. 1971). *Social Work Services in Medical and Psychiatric Care*, Dept. of Health.

paediatric, psychiatric, geriatric, rehabilitation and community health workers). This meant that they were second in numbers only to the Child Welfare Division (Austin, 1971). Austin identified five interrelated factors which he saw as influencing the progress to date of professional social work practice in the health field.

Firstly, the existence of only a small pool of professionally qualified social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand meant that social workers lacked a critical mass to help in establishing the profession. Secondly, there was little understanding among medical staff as to what social workers could be expected to do. Thirdly, social workers were unable to agree among themselves about their role in the health field. Fourthly, social workers who practised in isolation from one another were a fragmented group of people with little chance of being listened to. Finally, he suggested that social workers tended to get involved in tasks that could be done by less qualified people (Austin, 1970: 12).

This last point can be interpreted as an indication that social work skills should be recognised not only by others, and not wasted, but that social workers themselves must recognise these skills. Austin went on to observe that social workers:

require a clear sense of professional role and of the functions appropriate to it - a need that is emphasised by the nature of social work growth until now, by the fragmentation of services inevitable with regional administration and by the isolation unavoidable in an attenuated country...(Austin, 1971: 12).

All of these observations were recognised by members of the NZASW as they tried to establish some form of national recognition for themselves as a profession. At the same time, while Austin was writing, the question of how the statutory social services were to be reorganised was still a very emotive and important matter for social workers.⁸

In this report, figures relating to the recruitment of health social workers showed that 41% of employees had less than two years service and 63% no more than 5 years (Austin, 1971: 4). Austin argued that this was partly because of an increased establishment for health social workers, but

⁸ The mobilisation of members of the NZASW over this issue is discussed in Chapter Seven.

considered that it could best be explained by a fairly high turnover rate among staff. The effect of this was a service in which the majority of staff had less than 5 years work experience thus offering a rather "thin base on which to build a viable service" (Austin, *ibid*: 4). Austin ended this particular report with a barrage of questions centred on what sort of social work identity was likely to evolve in the near future. Would it be fragmented or unified? His questions show a clear perception of the difficulties facing an emerging would-be profession.

A few months after this report, Mr Daniels, as a member of the NZASW Education and Training Committee, called for more information on the distribution of qualified social workers in the social service workforce. This was on the occasion of a special meeting organised by the committee with Professor McCreary on his appointment as Professor of Social Administration in the Department of Sociology and Social Administration at Victoria University. It is recorded that at this meeting there was a general agreement that the NZASW had "an important contribution to make regarding training for the profession of social work" (Daniels, 1971: 23). Here one can see the recognition of an alliance between the New Zealand Association of Social Work and the sole provider of professional social work training at that time.

In 1971, perhaps in response to the statistics in Austin's annual reports, the Hospital Advisory Council determined to do something about the low level of qualifications among the social work staff in its employ. A Committee on "Means of Improving Training for Social Workers Entering the Health Service" was established and its findings were presented in 1972. The preamble stated:

New Zealand has been slow to accept the need for social workers and is far behind other countries in the development of social work services in the health field.....Social workers require specialised knowledge. Their basic skills are the same irrespective of the setting in which they are employed and their basic training should be generic. Specialised training can follow this and be provided for by the employing agency (Hospitals Advisory Council, 1972: 5).

Perhaps here it is worth noting that the Committee was convened by Professor McCreary, and these views reflected his own thinking on the matter. Here is an example, therefore, of an employer group showing leadership in planning for a recruitment policy to raise the level of practice in a sector of its workforce. The Committee recommended that the Hospital Service should aim to recruit only qualified people, that it should encourage current employees to get training and that in-service training schemes should be set up. It called for more social work courses, suggested that the service consult with the Department of Social Welfare on this and drew attention to the (new) "statutory obligation placed on the Department of Social Welfare to provide for the training of social workers" (Hospitals Advisory Council, 1972: 5).

The Committee also recommended that the Department of Health and Victoria University should discuss difficulties in recruiting trained social workers and the need to raise the number of places on their courses; that the Department of Health invite the University of Otago to provide information about the proposed medical social work course (which never materialised) and that discussions should begin with Massey, Canterbury and Waikato Universities to see if they would establish courses for social workers. The Committee dismissed the possibility of using the guidance and counselling courses in universities to supplement training on the grounds that "they were too focussed on education" (Hospitals Advisory Council, 1972: 58).

A significant question in this thesis is the extent to which groups and individuals outside the educational institutions have influenced the establishment of training courses for social workers and shaped their curriculum. The Committee commissioned by the Hospital Advisory Council was composed of people who, wearing different hats, would be the very people with whom the Department of Health was being advised to consult! New Zealand is a small country, where the interface between Government and its citizens is relatively close. Time and again, those concerned with social work and the provision of training appear on committees in different roles in relation to the NZASW (professional hat), the NZSWTC (a mixture of interests with the employer interests in the ascendant) and the educational providers. This has implications for the consideration of what may have influenced decisions.

Austin's Annual Report for the year 1972-3⁹ noted the changed recruitment policy by Hospital Boards who were now, unlike the Public Services, insisting that social service appointees must have either a recognised social work qualification or social work experience or both. Here is an example of the effectiveness of leadership by an employer group for raising the level of qualified practitioners in a particular field.

This beginning period in the history of social work education in New Zealand shows the lack of a consistent national information base. This was only recognised as being problematic when employers first recognised the value of qualified social workers. The NZASW and Public Service organisations began to call for the introduction of workforce planning. Qualified staff were scarce, and those with qualifications were quickly promoted into positions of leadership and responsibility. As a result, social workers at the interface continued to deal with cases for which they lacked training and the call for more courses which were accessible to a wide spectrum of practitioners continued.

Social Workers' Qualifications: 1973-86

This second period I have identified is characterised by efforts to consolidate the recognition already gained by social workers that their occupation now had an identity of its own. In this phase of social work education, many tensions arose between groups of people interested in social work. Ideological and other battles were fought over social work education. The New Zealand Social Work Training Council was involved in all these tensions and battles, either directly or indirectly. This period of social work education was influenced by both the NZSWTC and by Professor McCreary, a key member of the Council who was involved in many of the developments of his time. Professor McCreary convened the 1975 NZSWTC working party responsible for the Report: The Training Needs of Social Workers in Post. This Report was circulated to organisations concerned with social work training for comment. In the covering letter, care was taken to explain that:

The purpose of the report is not to exert pressure on organisations to release staff for courses or on educational institutions to adapt courses or accept a higher number of social

⁹ Austin, T.H.J. (1973). Social Workers Employed by Public Service Departments and Hospital Boards.

workers in post. It rather suggests ways in which the maximum use may be made of the training opportunities offered by developing courses (NZSWTC, covering letter from Executive Officer, attached to Report: The Training Needs of Social Workers in Post, 22/1/75).

A wealth of information about social workers employed in government departments and hospital boards was provided by this report, from which it was hoped that a strategy for training up the workforce could be developed. Key statistics are described in the table below.

Table 6: 3 Survey of Training Needs of Government Departments and Hospital Boards, 1975.

Social workers in service requiring training.	900
Number who could take the MA Course.	50
Number with degrees who could take Diploma or similar course.	100
Number with U.E. who could take Diploma or Technical College Courses.	180
Number with 6th Form Cert. who could take Technical College Course.	40
Number with School Certificate or less, who may qualify for special admission to Diploma Course.	90
Total	470
Balance for whom little could be done by way of a two year course.	430
(NZSWTC Jan. 1975, TCR 75/5)	

This Report showed the need for immediate attention to the provision of in-service as well as pre-entry courses. While the Council had a preference for pre-entry training, the need for in-post training was recognised.

The Report also noted that the likelihood of six new courses for pre-entry training being established meant it was now possible to aim for a “fully-

trained social work service". It was suggested that agencies should consider how to take advantage of the new opportunities with as little disruption to staffing as possible. It was pointed out that agencies owed it to their clients to raise their standards through employing "people trained to an acceptable professional level" (NZSWTC, 22/1/75: 2).

The working party argued that allowing for staff turnover and provided new appointments were qualified, it would take between 5-6 years to train 400 in-post social workers at 10% a year. This was dependent on six new courses being opened up as already requested of the Government by the NZSWTC. In the event, the three university courses were introduced, (Auckland, Canterbury and Massey), but only one of the three Teachers' College courses was eventually given funding by government and became established at the Auckland College of Education. This is not surprising, given the economic situation and the change of government, but it meant a set back to long-term plans for a well-qualified social service workforce.

This Report raised many of the issues from Austin and Buxton's 1971 article on the training needs of social workers and they feature as perennials on the agenda of the Basic Professional Committee of the NZSWTC: pre-and post entry courses, bonding and financing of students and government responsibility for training social workers in voluntary agencies which offer services that the government would otherwise have to provide. The lack of information on the training needs of non-statutory workers, coupled with the absence of hard data on the social work task had to be addressed, if rational and consistent planning was to occur.

The Report also highlighted a group of people in the category of those for whom it was decided little could be done by way of a two year course. This was the group for whom flexibility was the number one criterion for any course. Members tended to be married women or rural workers who could not leave home to study. It is worth noting that married women who lived away from the main centres in which courses were available were classified in this report as "unavailable for training". When asked what it was like for women social workers wanting to take up a career in social work, Judith MacKenzie (one time Chief Social Worker at both Wellington and Auckland hospitals) gave a thoughtful reply:

I think there have been the opportunities, but I think that for women in New Zealand through the 50s, 60s, 70s and into the early 80s it was very very difficult to take up those opportunities. Now I took up those opportunities because I had to - I was one of the few pre-entry qualified social workers in the country, but because I had to work, I chose to have children, and therefore I had to work for income because I had good education qualifications I could afford to have some child care in my own home, but you see there was no easily available child-care service in those early days - we didn't have a vehicle until the 60s I mean 30 years on, we are in a different world. Everybody has a car, has access to day-care if that's what you choose and I know that a number of my colleagues actively dropped out of employment, there was continuous employment in the public service that led you up into the top jobs, and I worked either full or part-time for 40-something years and I went back to work when my first child was 6 weeks old and everybody thought doom and disaster it was going to be the delinquent of the world and all those things.

No, practically no-one did that and I think that another 10-15 years on you'll have far more women in senior positions in the business world. But that still does not answer the dilemma for women who have pregnancy, child birth and those early years of infant and child care to manage. Where there is a couple prepared to split child care down the middle women will have the same opportunities almost as men. Women on their own with children have a very hard time. Perhaps, too, women choose not to enter top jobs because they may have to behave as men do in situations where tough decisions have to be made.

Still there should have been more women in top jobs in health, as health employs more women than most industries, but men have dominated. I'm fairly sure it has had to with family life and such responsibilities. I've regarded myself as a feminist all my life without putting a particular label on it (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95).

This concise description of the choices confronting well-qualified women raises central questions and dilemmas which have faced women (and still do), including many of the respondents, about childcare versus career and the sexual division of labour within the heterosexual household. These were the considerations which highlighted, amongst other things, the need for extramural (distance) courses in social work.

In 1980, the NZASW Membership Committee reported on a membership survey in which 357 members were surveyed and it was found that 42% were qualified, while 37% had relevant qualifications and the rest "non-relevant" (not specific to social work) qualifications. Of these, not counting the tertiary education institutions, the highest percentage, but the smallest number of qualified staff, were in statutory organisations, followed closely by the quasi-statutory agencies, which employed the greatest number of staff in the sample. Voluntary agencies trailed behind with the second largest cohort of staff and the lowest number of qualifications.¹⁰ The survey covered all financial members of the NZASW and defined a qualified social worker as someone with a New Zealand university degree or diploma in social work or similar international qualification. The majority of social work qualifications listed as held by NZASW members were British. This does not, of course, necessarily imply that most members of the NZASW held overseas qualifications.

The NZSWTC, as mentioned above, had been regularly supplied with statistics on the recruitment and retention of social workers for hospital and statutory agencies, recording the qualifications of this part of the social service workforce by Austin. It was acknowledged that, while this group employed the greatest number of social workers, nevertheless there were significant numbers in the voluntary sector who also required access to education and training.

In virtually every complaint about the gap in information on professionally qualified members of the social service workforce, one finds it is non-government social service workers about whom there is least information. This has remained a constant problem for those engaged in workforce and education planning in the social services. The New Zealand survey, People in the Social Services, 1981, commissioned by the NZSWTC and commonly referred to as the Rochford and Robb Report, was one important exception.

¹⁰ Membership Committee, NZASW, (1980). Report on Membership Survey.

Rochford and Robb were commissioned by the NZSWTC working party to explore the "goodness of fit" between the social work tasks as described by practitioners and statistical information regarding qualifications of social service workers in non-statutory agencies. Professor McCreary convened the Rochford and Robb research working party.¹¹ In their introduction they noted that 78% of social workers were unqualified and that

Considering the complexity of cases carried by social workers, the responsibility attached to them and the long-term effect of their intervention in their clients' lives, such a gap in training is quite unacceptable (Rochford and Robb, 1981: 4).

This is an important point which has been repeated at regular intervals throughout the period studied. It is one that is in tune with the current culture of accountability. People in the Social Services is the most comprehensive survey of the social service workforce available and provided the only national survey relating to all known social services in New Zealand. In all, 1100 agencies responded to the survey, with between them 5,794 questionnaires being returned by practitioners. Findings relating to social service qualifications distinguished between professional and other social service qualifications. It was found that 17% of paid social workers and 22% of paid administrators were professionally qualified. Most of them had been through the VUW Diploma and MA courses. Of the unpaid social service workers, 4% of unpaid organisers were professionally qualified, while 24% of unpaid community workers had a social service related certificate (Rochford and Robb, 1981).

Overall, it was found that 78% of all in the paid social service worker group had no social service qualification, while 85% in the unpaid worker category had no social service qualification. To translate this into numbers, there were 853 paid social workers without a qualification and 1,237 unpaid social workers likewise (Rochford and Robb, 1981). Despite all the debate and the efforts of so many, the overall level of qualified social service staff had altered little since the mid-60s and their distribution across agencies was uneven. Within service sectors, however, there were differences.

¹¹ Other members of the team included Mr Austin, Ms Bruce, Ephra Garrett, June Kendrick, Mr Lucas and Dugald McDonald.

For example, the Department of Health figures for the same year (1981) show that, of 494 Hospital Board Social Workers, 36.4% were qualified and 53% of those appointed during that year were also qualified. In this Report, note was made of the percentage increase in qualified social work staff in the Hospital Board Service between 1977 and 1980 showing a steady rise in professional qualifications for each year except 1980 when there was a 0.9% decrease.¹² By 1983, the proportion was 48.5% (Dept of Health 19/3/83). From this it is evident that the hospitals were leading the field in recruiting qualified social workers. The policy of raising the level of qualified staff had had a visible effect.

A policy to ensure that one's staff are qualified for their work is laudable. It is, however, important for employers to be sure that if staff are qualified, their qualifications are relevant. This concern was aptly captured by one respondent, who said:

But the reality is that if a course is so heavenly-minded it is no earthly use to us. There's no point in investing money in it (J. B. Munro, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

This was an employer concern and, in 1982, the Visiting Fulbright Professor at Massey University, Professor Sheafor conducted research into the goodness of fit between the curriculum of the Massey University Bachelor of Social Work and the social work task (Sheafor, 1982). This entailed a survey of practitioners to discover what their daily tasks actually were. His findings supported the argument that health social workers were the most professionally qualified social work groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand at the time. For reasons to do with the diversity of social work as an occupation, it was decided to use a regional rather than a national sample. The catchment area was based on the Central North Island (New Plymouth, Gisborne, Hawkes Bay, Manawatu and Wellington). There was a 61% return rate for Sheafor's questionnaire, resulting in 385 respondents. It was found that 36% of respondents had a professional qualification, which is a much higher proportion than in earlier studies. Two reasons were put forward for the higher level of professionally qualified respondents. There was a high return rate from social workers in Hospital Boards, which had pursued a policy of recruiting professionally qualified staff for several years. It was also

¹² Department of Health, (1981). Hospital Board Social Work Services as at 31 March 1980.

felt that perhaps those without professional qualifications were less inclined to complete and return what was a very detailed questionnaire (Sheafor, 1982: 7).

Given these figures, it is noteworthy that Discussion Paper 6 for the University Grants Committee, Review Committee, Social Work, indicated that of "approximately 2,500 salaried full-time social workers in New Zealand only 10% have a professional social work qualification".¹³ The categories and definitions are unstated but were different from Sheafor's research, for they were concentrating on full-time social workers, while Sheafor included half-time workers as well as full-time workers.

A series of questions relating to the proportion of qualified social workers employed in the Department of Social Welfare was asked in Parliament and the Hon. Venn Young replied that out of 577 staff, 93 had a recognised professional qualification. This information was supplied to me by Merv Hancock, and to it is attached a note to the effect that of the qualified staff, 4% were frontline and 18% were first level supervisors. The caseload per social worker on December 31, 1981, was 30 cases and 15 reports. At that time, the likelihood of seeing a highly qualified frontline staff in the Department of Social Welfare was remote.¹⁴

Small, local studies were conducted by groups interested in the supply and demand for qualified social workers. A regional study was carried out by members of the NZASW in Waikato in 1983.¹⁵ It was prompted by Department of Health circulars in 1980 and 1981 which sent a clear message that future social work appointments were to go to candidates with social work qualifications. Two members of the Waikato Branch of the NZASW who took the initiative to conduct this survey into levels of social work qualifications and the demand for social work education in the area were motivated to do so because, although they had the B. Soc. Sc. from Waikato University and were employed in the Social Work Department of Tokanui Hospital (in Waikato), they could see that their chances of promotion were jeopardised by the new recruitment policy. They wanted to discover how others were affected and what could be done about it.

¹³ University Grants Committee, Review Committee. (1982). Discussion Paper 6, Social Work.

¹⁴ Parliamentary Question for written answer on Tuesday, 10 August, information supplied by Merv Hancock.

¹⁵ Ings, K, & Saxby, F. (1983). The Waikato Social Work Training Survey. NZASW (Waikato) Branch.

They found that out of 85 respondents, 15.3% (n=13) were qualified. By qualified, they meant that people had a specific and recognised social work qualification. Eight of those qualified had New Zealand qualifications and the other five qualifications were from other countries. Just over half of the qualified staff held senior positions in the social services and the majority were men. Many of those without a social work qualification held related degrees and diplomas and almost half indicated enthusiasm for gaining a specific social work qualification.

In discussing their findings, the authors noted that many staff had over four years of experience, which in itself was considered a valuable asset. The small number of Maori social workers in an area with a high Maori population was remarked on. Employer confusion as to what counted as a social work qualification was accompanied by a variety of recruitment policies. The authors concluded

that agency ambivalence and the resulting confusion about requirements for qualifications and financial assistance to gain them is doing little to aid the position of unqualified social workers wishing to make social work their career (Ings & Saxby, 1983: 11).

This useful, if limited, regional finding echoed the general picture about levels of social work qualifications held by social workers in New Zealand during the mid 1980s.

A study of South island agencies relating to the proportion of qualified social workers suggests a similar situation, though its findings are more difficult to interpret because of a poor response rate.¹⁶

These figures, despite their variety, convey an overall impression of levels of qualification that hovered around the 15% to 17% range across the board. Where a particular sector, like the Hospital Boards, introduced policies for raising the level, this had a discernible effect which can be seen in the 1988 health social workers workforce profile described below.

The enormity of the task faced by the NZSWTC becomes obvious. Its lack of secure funding and the inhospitable social and economic climate in which it had to survive during the second half of its existence, render its

¹⁶ McDonald, D., & McGlinn, J. (1985) Continuing Education in Social Work Project, Dept. of Social Work, Canterbury University.

achievements the more remarkable, and its failures somewhat more comprehensible. By the time the NZCETSS was established, there was still a serious shortfall in the proportion of qualified social workers. Opinion was divided as to the merits of putting resources for education and training of social workers into an elite few or into many at a more basic level.

Social Workers' Qualifications: 1987- 1995

In the third phase identified in this case study there is a shift of emphasis from professional to employer leadership with regard to social work education. This is signalled as the work of the NZCETSS gradually changed in emphasis from servicing the interests of the practitioner groups to addressing those of employer groups. This change of direction eventually culminated in the disestablishment of NZCETSS which was replaced by an Industry Training Organisation.

A sense of the original direction taken by NZCETSS can be seen in the work of Awhina Waaka and Moriana Wynyard, who were members of NZCETSS. They provide role models for Maori, and for other women, in their way of working within a Maori kaupapa. Their example was a learning experience for the Director of NZCETSS, as she recounts in this passage. Her account gives a flavour of the commitment to social change of so many of the original NZCETSS members.

You know we've had the patriarchy long enough, and I would think its now time for women to lead social work education. And in fact because you know I think about diversity, and as I've said to you the women's movement is unified I think in this country you have to look at women in relationship to class and culture. And I think when I look at Awhina and Moriana that for me what really struck me was first of all the kind of hidden work that Maori had done, the hidden work that Maori women had done. And it looks like they've done all that groundwork and then there would just be Maori leaders that were male. But they were just there, you know at the marae teaching things, teaching knowledge. It's really amazing the kind of work they'd put in. And I see women very much as being leaders and being there to really stand back and have a view of where we're going. I think there's a lot of influential

women at the moment who are really standing back and reflecting and thinking about where we're going. I think the unfortunate thing is I think we're in a time of struggle for women and I think I reflect that and so do you, in the sense that we have now got these opportunities, but we haven't sometimes worked out what's happening at the home front. And so we've got incredible pressure on us to be superwomen in the home, and superwomen at work, and I think that those are the difficulties. And we're in a sort of period of uncertainty of how that's going to work out and work through. I think the feminist movement in social work has been very influential, but it needs to be much tighter (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95).

Another respondent, who is a community worker, made the following passionate comments about how people in the community work movement were thinking in the early days of NZCETSS.

What we were interested in was being able to do the work back in our local communities. And we didn't want the training to happen in the institutions... 'cos they were into EFTs and full-time courses and all those things - not the people who work in half-way houses with kids that they pick up at night, the Maori women drop them off, they're off their faces, and out comes all this incredible pain of cultural abuse and sexual abuse, every kind of abuse that you can name. And these young people that are doing this work need the training and some support so that they can do the work. So give us the money to pull them out for a day a week sort of thing. And keep the training in, you know, and where it's needed so that the work can keep going. But no ...

I: So while the NZCETSS is disbanded and turned into an ITO and the unit standards become the framework, do you see that as possibly offering an alternative which is an acceptable one for you?

Yes. I think there is the potential for that to happen (S. Marshall, pers. comm. 2/10/95).

Here, the focus is on cultural and class preference for locally-based and short-term, modular courses and on the fact that the people who were actually picking kids off the street were unable to get training.

This respondent felt that the community work courses which the Aotearoa Community Workers Association had helped NZCETSS to develop, were put beyond the reach of many community workers when they were made available through the polytechnics. For her, this was a betrayal of the aims of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. She was hopeful that the unit standard model would be more accessible for Maori. This point of view, which is not particularly unusual, indicates the potential for an alliance between community workers and educational institutions offering courses registered with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. These issues are, of course, perennial and in one way or another, the NZSWTC was preoccupied by them, while NZCETSS took them up with enthusiasm and optimism.

When asked about the connection between feminist community workers active in the 1980s and feminism in the social work curriculum, Sally Marshall talked about "a huge backlash to the power of women". She was referring to the difficulties faced by Maori women working in Women's Refuge, with responsibility for their whanau and dealing with the question of where the men fit into the picture. Her feminism refused to be set in concrete and she was very aware of the spiritual journey of Maori women as they struggle to find their place in modern Aotearoa/New Zealand guided by Maori spirituality.

I asked people to tell me their views on the influences that social policies leading to restructuring have had on social work practice and how employers have influenced education and training for social work. Their views resonate with feeling and concern. They emphasise similar points with regard to New Zealand, (and in a very concrete manner) to those now being published overseas (Dominelli, 1997; Ife, 1996; Preston-Shoot and Jackson, 1996). They are rooted in the reality of social work in New Zealand today.

In this context, key themes which have emerged from respondents were: mechanisms of market control; social work identity and changing attitudes and alliances. I worked in a hospital setting when the Area Health Boards

were introduced. Their introduction heralded major structural changes, which had an impact on social service delivery and therefore on how social workers would need to be educated.

For example, in 1988, as Area Health Boards were introduced, hospital social workers were among the many health service employees faced with changes in public sector employment policies. To assist with the changes a workforce profile of health social workers was carried out. The statistics produced built on those collated by Mr Tom Austin with Mavis Dickie to show qualification trends between 1975-87. One can see that the proportion of professionally qualified social workers holding recognised qualifications increased from 26% in 1975 to 56% in 1987. Of these, 43% had New Zealand qualifications in 1987, whereas in 1975 that figure had been as low as 11%. The report stated that the increased number of people with New Zealand qualifications was the result of the new social work courses which came into being in 1975. Throughout the period there were between 11% and 13% of professionally qualified workers whose qualifications were gained overseas.¹⁷

The employment policy put in place by the Chief Social Workers (Health) had been effective in raising the level of qualified staff in the health services to a higher proportion than in, for example, the Department of Social Welfare, where a rather different recruitment policy had been adopted. This is described in Chapter Nine in the context of the NZSWTC and disagreements between Chief Social Workers and the NZASW Executive on professionalisation. It proved to be one of the more bitter debates among social workers and their colleagues.

The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services issued the National Guidelines for Accreditation and Course Approval for social service courses in 1991. The Minister of Social Welfare launched the guidelines. In her prepared speech, she linked "the provision of high quality social services" to "the availability of competent education and training", adding that recent, fast-moving changes had taken place over what the government and the community wanted out of the social services.¹⁸

¹⁷ Workforce Development Group. (1988). *Health Social Workers: A Workforce Profile of Social Workers in Hospital and Area Health Boards*. Wellington: Department of Health.

¹⁸ Minister of Social Welfare. (1991). *National Training Guidelines Package Launch*. Wellington: Department of Social Welfare.

The next day, newspapers quoted the Minister's acknowledgment of her "grave reservations", given the high number of unqualified social workers, as to whether the laws safeguarding the welfare of children could be upheld. Out of 1,233 Department of Social Welfare staff, 346 had a tertiary level qualification but only 131 of these were recognised social work qualifications.¹⁹

The following year, the Minister for Social Welfare called for urgent attention to be paid to this situation in the light of the Mason Report. This report had unequivocally noted the need for higher proportions of fully qualified social work staff in the Department of Social Welfare, at the time, the NZCYPs. She set the now famous target that her Department would have 90% of its staff qualified by the year 2,000.²⁰ Efforts to bring this about were known as the professionalisation strategy which was reviewed by Coopers and Lybrand.²¹ The Coopers and Lybrand Evaluation of Professionalization Strategy (1995) provides the final set of statistics for this chapter on the distribution of social work qualifications. It reported that 409 staff (49% of the total) had a level 'B' qualification (Coopers and Lybrand, 1995: 3). It noted inconsistent recruitment policies among NZCYPs offices and estimated an 8.3% annual turnover of staff (ibid: 4), which was above the 5% target (ibid: 5). The Report found that only about 10% of those eligible had actually completed the Competency Programme by September 1995 (ibid: 3).

There has been no successor to the Rochford and Robb Report²² and, therefore, the extent to which we have a stable national qualified social service workforce as a result of the resources put into training and education in this area is not known. The level 'B' qualification in social service work was accepted as a tertiary level qualification. It had a critical social justice component and a curriculum-based approach to education and training, but Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation has now designated it as an "Old World" qualification.²³ Employers can now choose the "New World" National Certificate and Diploma with NZQA recognition as well as more traditional university and college of education courses. It could be argued that a tendency to lower the highest standard of

¹⁹ Figures quoted by the Daily Post, 12/4/91.

²⁰ The NZCYPs Competency Assessment Programme (Toward 2000) has been described in Chapter Eleven.

²¹ Coopers and Lybrand. (1995). Evaluation of Professionalisation Strategy.

²² Shortly after the Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi ITO was established a hurried Colmar Brunton survey was carried out, but they recognised the limited nature of the survey and the complexities of defining the social service workforce (J. Thomas, CEO of Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi, pers. comm. 1996).

²³ Expressions currently in use in the ITO.

qualification required by employers is emerging. Certainly, comments from experienced student supervisors indicate that they have concerns lest the levels at which students are learning are no longer as deep as they used to be (Ellis, 1998).

Mechanisms of Market Control

In this thesis, I argue that NZCETSS changed its emphasis from being practitioner-led to being employer-led and that this was in response to changes in direction guided more by economic than by social policies. In reply to my question about the influence of restructuring on social work practice, education and training, one respondent referred to "the monstrous policies of Government". In his opinion, the benefit cuts of 1991 were "wicked". Taking what he described as a commonsense position based on his observation of life, he argued that the benefit cuts took money out of the economy. People on benefits don't save money, they have to spend it and by denying them a proportion of their weekly spending money there was an immediate effect on the economy. He pointed out that the local foodbank was bankrupt. He had recently spent six weeks helping out at a Salvation Army "family store", frequented by "ordinary Kiwis, new arrivals or new immigrants". He believed they were budgeting conscientiously and as well as could be expected. He was particularly concerned with the situation of the elderly, especially those paying rent for their housing (and therefore affected by housing policy) and who do not have superannuation through work. They

dress differently, talk differently and if you ask for a subscription, think twice, or if you ask for a donation, think twice and they go for the coin purse and not to the wallet. Now these are just things you see because you have been trained to see (Respondent, pers. comm. 1995).

Agency funding mechanisms came up as an issue in this context, for example, form-filling and meeting the requirements of funding. The practical effects of the new accountability systems have been to "fine tune" the work of agency services to what purchasers will buy. Here, an example given was the increasing age and frailty of elderly people when they enter rest-homes, with the consequence that their stay is shorter and the staff, social workers, caregivers and employees no longer have time to form meaningful relationships with them. Staff have to confront death and

dying more frequently and risk developing a hardened attitude in order to cope with increased levels of stress as families and their frail elders come and go so quickly. Another respondent felt the social services were simply not human enough, because of their out-put orientation. He, however, optimistically believed things would come round full circle.

The implications of these changes in the social work task in terms of how workers should be prepared to put them into practice was brought out by another respondent, who noted that employers were less able to dictate what they wanted in graduates, or qualified staff, and felt the market was an empowering mechanism for some employers but not for all. The respondent making this point felt ignored by policy makers and educators alike. His agency is a large, national one, directly affected by changes to health and welfare policy. He saw a clear link between the state of the New Zealand economy and changes in policy, such that social policy held second place to economic policy. It was his hope that his Industry Training Organisation (not Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi) would promote more relevant training units for his staff and that a fairer proportion of training funds would become available for voluntary organisations.²⁴

Conclusion

It is still very difficult for people to understand the contradictions and tensions between generic and specialist social work education. The former endeavours to turn out professional graduates capable of critical, sociological and psychological analysis as well as with cultural and social work skills. The latter tries to meet the current demands of social service employers for practitioners with specific competencies. Some employers are now signalling that their criterion for employing graduates is that they should come equipped with agency-based practitioner skills. In earlier years market signals were much less defined.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, efforts to increase the proportion of professionally qualified social workers in the workforce have never been wholly successful. The proportion of professionally qualified basic grade

²⁴ It is, as an aside, interesting to note that itemising the social work task in order to ascertain training needs for social workers is not a new idea. The implications of breaking down the component parts of a task to make it manageable and measurable were long recognised by employers and the NZASW, while references to the distinction between social workers and social welfare workers (one adopted by the Australian professional Association of Social workers) can occasionally be found in working papers of the NZSWTC and discussions during the first two historical periods of this study.

social workers in the workforce has rarely risen above 20% except in certain fields of practice such as health, or in certain regions where social work courses are available. In the early period, it was taken for granted that this was a goal at which to aim. Education providers and government agencies had a co-operative relationship in which the latter trusted the former to educate social workers in an appropriate manner. The NZASW provided an impetus for more educational opportunities to be put in place and advocated for the recognition of high professional standards. In the 1980s, there were debates about what these standards ought be. The debates centred on questions of professionalism and elitism and the place of Maori in social service provision. The professional association became divided on these issues. There was a degree of bitterness over decisions and policies regarding recruitment of staff and access to social work education. As community work became a force within the social services and the training needs of community workers were recognised, hostility towards the university programmes became evident and for a while this negativity was a force within the NZCETSS.

Finally, government strategy to standardise educational qualifications in vocational areas took over the educational struggles between different kinds of social service workers and various educational providers and employers. It did this through the Skill New Zealand Policy. For the social services this policy has been implemented through Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation and is referred in a later chapter.

This chapter, like Chapter Five, has presented material on social work education spanning the three periods into which this study is conceptualised. It has focussed on the theme of supply and demand and provides information which indicates some of the issues and difficulties that have been encountered by those with an interest in the provision of social work education. The next two chapters focus on the earliest of the three periods of this historical case study, the period in which social workers defined their occupation for themselves as they recognised how much they had in common with one another. Chapter Seven provides the political, economic, social and cultural background for Chapter Eight, which addresses the development of social work education.

Chapter Seven: 1949 - 1972, Introducing the First Period

We run the risk of losing what is good. Much planning in the past few years appears to have lacked any historical perspective. The message we have been given is that nothing in the past is worth mentioning, Nothing was much good, and nothing will do but a completely fresh start (Dr. Ross Howie, interviewed by Donna Chisholm, on his retirement from National Women's Hospital, Sunday-Star Times, Jan 29, 1995:C7).

This impression, that "nothing was much good, and nothing will do but a fresh start" would be unfortunate if applied to the history of social work education for history helps to clarify reasons for the choices that each generation has made, the criteria by which they were made and the structural importance of social and political contexts for the decisions taken. The previous chapter showed how the demand for professionally qualified social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand after the second world war outstripped supply despite the efforts of several groups of advocates for greater provision of education and training.

This chapter sets the scene for the early development of professional social work education and prepares for the following chapter which describes how it took shape in this, the first of three historical periods identified for this study. Material is arranged chronologically and the political and economic circumstances of the time are introduced, together with cultural and intellectual approaches affecting social work. Employer interests in the provision of social work education and in the curriculum, as served by the State Services Commission (SSC) and the Social Science Advisory Commission, are explored together with the organisation (and re-organisation) of social work services. In this way, one can understand the background influences which have been brought to bear on social work education. In the early years, one can see a stronger alliance between the employers, whose interests were predominantly represented by the SSC, the School of Social Science and the NZASW, than was evident at the end of this period. The part played by the SSC has been positioned in this preliminary chapter, not by way of diminishing the work of the SSC, but because it relates to the organisation of social service. The following chapter

will then focus on social work education and training, as well as on the educators and the professional association of social workers.

It is argued here, that since social work is dependent on the national welfare systems which host it, information on both is crucial to the understanding of how people were educated for social work. Welfare systems alter in relation to the dominant political, economic, social and cultural characteristics prevailing at the time and it is further argued that the perceptions people have of social work, its importance and status in society affects the value placed on different kinds of education and training for social work practitioners.

- This first period, in which professional social work education became available in New Zealand, is one in which recognition by a varied group of practitioners of the common base of social work practice (Bartlett, 1970) gradually took place (Barretta-Herman, 1994: 12). This was a pioneering phase for professional social work¹ and, for social work education, a period of twenty years dominated by a single institution with a professional programme catering mainly for public service social workers.

Political, Economic, Cultural and Social Background

The earliest part of this period is characterised by strong national support for collective state welfare principles and a Keynesian approach to a planned economy which had seen New Zealand through the second world war. In the 1950s, the country could rejoice with the Right Honourable S. G. Holland, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in the National Government, over the state of the economy

We pledge ourselves to work for the benefit of the people as a whole in an endeavour to build a country in which every one can enjoy a life of happiness and good health with freedom and security (Holland, 1950: 29).

Of course he could, literally, afford such sentiments. In his financial statement on 18 October 1951 he reported

New Zealand's finances are in good shape. Our prospects are excellent. Our greatest anxiety is the preservation of peace.

¹ By which I mean social work that is defined by professional social workers themselves, rather than by others, be they public servants or employers.

Our main immediate problems are those arising from prosperity which calls for just as much if not more wisdom and care to manage than does adversity. When things are going well is the time to guard against carelessness (Holland, 1951: 17).

He had good reasons for his optimism² for he was able to claim that

Our national finances are in sound and healthy condition, production is high, there is employment for all, there are more goods available to the people than ever before, there is an unsatisfied demand for our primary products, our total overseas earnings are substantially greater than our total overseas spending, notwithstanding the removal of restrictions on the expenditure of sterling funds (Holland, 1951: 17).

I have quoted at length because the expression of confidence and abundance is in such contrast to the circumstances in the late sixties and seventies when, as Professor McCreary succinctly put it when interviewed, "the money dried up". Then, despite the increasing need for social services, the money to finance the education and employment of social workers was to come under increasing pressure.

Mr Holland, Prime Minister from 1949 to 1957, took on a country which was tired of war-time stringency and wanted to taste the benefits of material prosperity. The immediate post-war years were characterised by full employment. The Korean war (1950) created a demand for New Zealand wool and this boosted the economy. "Competitive free enterprise, freedom from bureaucratic dictation" and "an easing in the burden of taxation" were the National Party's vote catchers after the war (Chapman, 1992: 370).

These were years which witnessed the migration of Maori to urban centres in search of employment, together with the influx of immigrants from the Pacific Islands and the last great wave of immigrants from the United Kingdom. The country was desperately trying to educate its citizens and give them the necessary skills for a developing and industrialising nation. In view of the costs of providing training, these debates were grounded in the economic and political contexts of the day (Beeby, 1992: 11).

² In 1951, the number of (men) registered unemployed was 24! (NZ Census of Population and Dwellings, cited in Trlin, 1977: 47).

The economy had boomed after the war, unemployment was not a problem, but getting teachers and other professionals qualified inevitably took time. In 1944, Beeby, for example, was "riding the razor edge of disagreement" when he expressed amazement at "the amount of practical wisdom in untrained workers", but pointed out "the waste of their time getting it" (McCreary, 1971a: 9). This was a tactful way of suggesting that the apprenticeship system alone was inadequate for social work education, given that he knew that a university setting was not necessarily seen as the most appropriate site for a school of social work. There has always been a fear that an academic setting for training could result in distancing practitioners from the workplace. The link to practice was given importance by those who suggested that lecturers should be involved in work with social work clients.

In 1957, the Labour Party returned to office. The country experienced the destabilising effects of a collapse in the wool, butter and cheese markets. After a difficult three years, National replaced Labour reaping the rewards of Labour's success in turning the economy round which left the country poised for prosperity in the sixties. The political price of Labour's achievement was unpopularity as the electorate resented the high taxation levels set in 1958 (the Black Budget) and chafed over the restrictive import regulations (Chapman, 1992: 380).

Mr Holyoake was Prime Minister during the sixties, the years of stability, prosperity, flower power, the Vietnam war and student rebellion. As the decade drew to a close, the country entered a new recession, with unemployment and outward migration. A change in mood occurred in which voices of dissent were raised and some began to recognise that inequalities and injustices were present in Aotearoa/New Zealand and that some were more equal than others.

A lack of analysis by post-war governments as to what philosophies of welfare should underpin their social policies was noted, (Jack & Robb, in Trlin, 1977: 29).³ The question of freedom of choice for individual citizens

³ Earlier, the United Nations Social and Economic Council had urged international communities to take the initiative for a more planned approach to social development (Gatenby, 1976:7). Aotearoa/New Zealand responded with a series of national councils of which three were the New Zealand Council of Social Services (1965) and the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services and the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations in 1968.

in relation to alternative systems of welfare, examined by Oram, rehearsed the classic arguments between proponents of a welfare system governed by market forces and one supported by communal efforts (Oram, 1969: 43). This is a crucial choice that Aotearoa/New Zealanders have had to address. The decision closely affects social work education in as much as social work takes its shape in accordance with the social service delivery system under which it functions and this, in turn, is contingent on current philosophies of state welfare. It was in this context that Minn talked about

The danger in the present fashion of equating all human activity with a financial profit-and-loss type of book-keeping. The trouble with that approach is that the cost of not taking action because "we can't afford it" could well, if it has not already done so, lead New Zealand down the same path to disintegration, conflict and despair which now faces those nations which followed this lack of financial investment in the last and present century (Minn, 1971: 5)

Professor Minn may have been characterised by his successors as following the casework tradition, but these words indicate a firm grasp of the political implications of giving priority to economic well-being as a means by which to measure social well-being.

Political and economic circumstances providing the backdrop for social work education were, then, initially benign as far as social work was concerned. There were fewer pressures on social services in the early years while the economy was healthy, unemployment, for example, was negligible in the early years. As Aotearoa/New Zealand moved into the late sixties, the economy came under pressure and the political mood became much less confident. These early years witnessed the rural migration of Maori into the cities in search of work and a share of the material and citizenship rewards for solidarity during the war.

Cultural considerations

Public policies concerning cultural matters were largely assimilationist during these early years. References to Maori issues and cultural concerns rarely appeared in the source material used for research into this early period. This may be because the sources used are largely of Pakeha origin. In later issues of the NZASW journal, tangata whenua issues gained more coverage, but to begin with, the journal published an insignificant amount of material on this very important area. A description by McMaster and Smith (1971: 11), of twenty social work students from the School of Social Science, who attended the Maori Welfare Officers' first National Conference in 1971, shows how the students had obviously been deeply moved by this occasion. Mr John Rangihau and Professor McCreary organised the student visit at which Professor McCreary gave the keynote address. Marae visits remained part of the curriculum for social work students at Victoria University of Wellington.

This lack of coverage on Maori matters may be partly accounted for by the fact that social work with tangata whenua was seen to be not so much a NZASW concern as the business of the Maori Welfare Officers' Association (M. Hancock, pers. comm). Other explanations would have to consider monocultural approaches in social work and assimilationist attitudes in general.

Interestingly, not all Maori Welfare Officers were Maori. Social workers working with Maori could obtain an additional qualification through the study of anthropology, in which discipline there were Maori language papers. One respondent, a social work graduate from Victoria University of Wellington, described her preparation for work as a Maori Welfare officer:

When I completed my degree in 1952 I actually took anthropology extramurally from Auckland and for that I had to do a paper in Maori language so I went off for two or three years to Ngati Poneke in Wellington and learnt Maori and in fact my first position was as a Maori Welfare officer in Auckland and I would have been one of perhaps two Pakeha who were working with the Department of Maori Affairs and my particular thing was to (I was still very young) work with young Maori men and women coming into Auckland and to

assist them with employment and accommodation and with their homesickness and so on (J. McKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95).

The Provision of Social Services

This section examines the social services during this first period and the range of institutions involved, both statutory and voluntary. These comprised the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department, together with the Probation Service of the Justice Department, Maori Welfare Services under the Department of Maori Affairs. In addition, the Hospital Boards employed medical social workers. There were also numerous voluntary agencies, both religious and secular.

Maori welfare organisations were organised into statutory and voluntary groups. These are described in the New Zealand Yearbook (1975) as consisting of Maori associations comprising the New Zealand Maori Council, the district Maori councils, Maori committees and the statutory Maori Affairs Department. (Department of Statistics, 1975: 178). The main voluntary organisation was the Maori Women's Welfare League, set up in 1951, with branches across the country. It is worth including an example of the language used in the Yearbook for 1975 to describe the functions of these groups, not only by way of information but also for what it displays by way of public attitudes to Maori.

The primary function of the Maori Women's Welfare League is to educate the mothers of the race to an appreciation of the higher standards of attainment on the home front...

The primary function of the New Zealand Maori Council is to encourage Maoris [sic] as individuals and in groups to take the initiative in matters affecting their own welfare and that of their kinsfolk...

Maori wardens carry out special functions. They are appointed by the Minister at the initiative of Maori committees to whom they are responsible. Their function is to assist in the

maintenance of order and to stamp out mischief before it becomes crime (ibid: 179).

In 1962, the Maori Welfare Act was passed, its aim being

...the social and economic advancement and the promotion and maintenance of the health and general well-being of the Maori community and the facilitation of full integration of the Maori race into the social and economic life of the country (ibid: 179).

Social workers today pay considerable attention to Maori cultural considerations and students are expected to graduate with appropriate levels of cultural sensitivity. In the early years of this history different, monocultural, sensitivities were often deemed appropriate and acted upon.

Throughout this period, the Child Welfare Branch (later Division) was a small part of the Education Department operating under the Child Welfare Act 1925. At the beginning of this period, between 1949-50, 1,848 children went through the Children's Court. In 1951, there were 1,796 children boarded out, the number placed in employment was 566 and in residential schools for the deaf there were 298 children. These are small numbers in comparison with the 16,624 cases handled by the Child Welfare Division in the year ending 31/12/69 (Department of Statistics, 1971: 199). And yet, in 1971, the Child Welfare Division was still a small concern, employing 290 social workers in 29 district offices, 464 institutional workers and 270 clerical officers (ibid: 199). This helps to put in perspective the small numbers graduating yearly from the School of Social Science.⁴

Medical social workers were initially part of the District Nursing Service. In 1964, there were 53 medical social workers employed throughout the 25 hospitals in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Throughout this first period, they increasingly allied themselves with other social workers, distancing themselves from the nursing profession as they joined the NZASW and recognised themselves as an independent profession. Mr Tom Austin noted how, by 1973, the hospital social workers were fast becoming the most qualified group of social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Austin, 1973).

⁴ This was about 10 a year, (Jack & Robb, 1977: 32).

Jack and Robb refer to the provision of services to the elderly as "an example of administrative confusion" (Jack & Robb, 1977: 35). In 1950, the Government had formed a financial partnership with religious or charitable institutions by subsidising homes for the elderly run by them. By 1977, services for the elderly lacked co-ordination and needed to be re-organised (Jack & Robb, *ibid*: 36).

There were many voluntary secular and religious organisations in the social service arena. Some familiar and not so familiar secular ones include: the Plunket Society, the New Zealand Federation of Health Camps, the New Zealand Federation of Tuberculosis Associations, Crippled Childrens Society, and the Intellectually Handicapped Society. At the beginning of this period, the religious groups had divided their contribution into specific areas. The Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Brethren concentrated their efforts on orphanages and childrens' homes, while Roman Catholics and Anglicans catered not only for children but also ran maternity homes. The Salvation Army, on the other hand, served all types of need, using "industrial types of institution" (Department of Statistics, 1951-52: 149).

A recent article on the National Marriage Guidance Council, established in 1950, illustrates the way a social service adapts to its host environment (Renouf, 1995). Renouf argues that the National Marriage Guidance Council has had three different kinds of relationship with the government. In its infancy it acted as a pressure group, as it forged formal and supportive links with the government. It quickly asserted the principle that its workers must be seen to know what they were doing, before being allowed near a client. It set its own national standards and with state support made training available for all volunteers. By 1955, the Government, concerned to support the family, recognised the Marriage Guidance movement as an agency worth sponsoring. Through the Justice Department, it was supported for thirty years,⁵ until the political and philosophical notion of the state as purchaser, not provider swept the partnership away (Renouf, 1995: 9-10).

Social workers held a variety of titles during these early years. The NZASW Full Membership Agencies Register lists child welfare officers, social workers, psychiatric social workers, medical social workers, probation officers, prison welfare officers, Maori welfare officers, case directors, branch

⁵ This support included a reputable training programme for its members.

secretaries and field officers to mention a few of the terms in use in 1968 (NZASW full membership agencies register, 1968).

In 1971, when the Department of Social Welfare Act created the category of "social worker" as a State Services Occupational classification this helped to confirm social work as a recognisable occupation. There was some discussion in Parliament regarding this choice of occupational title. Matiu Rata, opposition member for Northern Maori, commented that the term "social worker"

sounds a terrible title. Could not the Minister find something more appropriate? (M. Rata, NZPD, 1971: 3171).

The Hon. B E Talboys, Minister in charge of State Services, pointed out that this was

an honoured title as members will appreciate and is looked upon with great respect by those working in the field and is, in fact, the title they wish to have (B.E. Talboys, NZPD, 1971: 3171).

The story of how social work came to be an honoured title and an occupation worth an education belongs largely to the NZASW. However, some credit also belongs to the State Services Commission and the Social Science Advisory Council. The former supported the professionalisation of social work as a public service occupation, while the latter supported the education of public service social workers.

The State Services Commission and the Social Science Advisory Committee

Efforts to bring social work up to a professional standard were assisted by the State Services Commission (SSC), which formed the State Services Advisory Committee (SSAC). The original function of the SSAC was to select people for the Social Science Bursaries for the School of Social Science (T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 19/6/95). The Superintendent of the SSC and Heads of the Government social work services sat on the SSAC.

Mr Tom Austin considered the SSAC an influential body whose functions changed and adapted to the needs of the day. In other words, its function

broadened out from being just a selection committee for students of the Victoria University Diploma, to, as Mr Tom Austin put it, being "a sort of fatherly watchdog over Tiromoana",⁶ to assisting in the setting up of the NZSWTC (T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 19/6/95).

In addition to the SSAC, the State Services Commission worked in other ways to assist with social work education. For example, it established two schemes for the promotion of training for child welfare officers. The earlier scheme, the Social Science Cadet Scheme, was introduced in the 1950s. This recruited young people over eighteen who would study towards a social science degree while working in Government Departments that provided a social service. The cadets, once graduated, had the opportunity to then enrol in the Victoria University Diploma in Social Science. Social Work traineeships were introduced later, aimed at older candidates who would either have completed their degree or be about to do so. The scheme was administered by Brian Manchester from 1961-2, as a member of the Child Welfare Division at Head Office, seconded for this purpose to the Social Science Advisory Committee (B. M. Manchester, pers. comm. 14/11/95).

Mr Tom Austin recalled how it was a sub-committee of the SSAC which drew up the model for the Tiromoana Social Work Training School, established in 1963. This programme offered introductory in-service training to public servants in the social services. At the request of the NZASW, it was agreed, in 1966, that two places were to be available for social workers from voluntary agencies on each course. In this way, a trickle of voluntary social service practitioners was included.⁷ Considerable importance was attached by the NZASW to this admission of the voluntary sector to these courses. It was seen as a mark of support and co-operation between the SSC and itself. The Tiromoana course consisted of two, four week residential modules separated by at least six weeks back in the student's agency under supervision. It never claimed to offer more than an introduction to social work practice, but it encouraged many to proceed onto the Diploma in Social Science and had a good reputation in the field. An insight into what was attempted at Tiromoana can be gained from Mr Tom Austin's unhesitating reply to the question of what were his main aims for the students.

⁶ A residential social work training centre established in 1963 by the SSC.

⁷ By 1970, 400 social workers, including 24 from voluntary agencies, had been through Tiromoana. The Hon. D.N. McKay, mentioned these figures in his opening address to the 1970 Social Work Education Conference.

A sense of their own capacity. One of the real successes of Tiromoana I think, was that quite a number of persons who went there, because the standard of teaching in Social Work and Human Behaviour and Development was very good and there was also Darracott's contribution on the group work side ... began to see that, "yes, I enjoy this", or "I can do it". Where it was appropriate, we might take one or two people aside and say you know you could do the Vic course. If you look through the Vic. graduate list I think you will find that in the 1960s and early 70s quite a number of people who got bursaries and succeeded on the diploma course had had as part of their training background a course at Tiromoana (T.H.J. Austin pers. comm. 19/6/95).

Three examples of the involvement and influence of the State Services Commission indicate that it exercised a supportive role but had to adapt to the arrival of a new player on the scene in the shape of the professional body, NZASW. For instance, in March 1965, the NZASW organised an interdisciplinary seminar on The Basis for Family Therapy led by Dr Don Jackson, Director of the Palo Alto Mental Research Institute, California. Members of the Association were invited from all over New Zealand. One member, based with the Marriage Guidance Council, Wellington, wrote to the Rev Archie Elliffe, then secretary of the Association to point out that there were some "rather irate" people in the State Services Commission who were "rather upset that they have not been informed to what is going on" (L. Webb to A. Eliffe, pers. comm. 12/3/65).

Theirs was not a petty concern, but one which affected the SSC in that NZASW members who were also public servants wishing to attend the seminar were contacting the Commission to ask if it would give them leave and funding to attend seminars and courses. It showed that the SSC expected to be involved in the organisation of training and education for social work and would very likely guard this area of responsibility.

In 1965, members of the Association received a letter from both the Secretary of the NZASW and Major Thelma Smith, Convenor, Training and Education Committee, regarding the ten day supervisors course to be held at Tiromoana. This informed members of the "helpful co-operation of

Professor Minn and the staff of the School of Social Science combined with the practical assistance of the State Services Commission" which made it possible for the NZASW to jointly offer such a programme to its members. The tone of the letter says a great deal about the thinking of the NZASW in those early days

It will of course be appreciated that the responsibility of those who attend the course does not end at that point but that they will be very closely associated with the training of social workers in their own centre. You will know that from its inception the Association has regarded training as a most central section of its order of reference and extensive negotiations with the various authorities have been carried on with the hope that a Certificate in Social Work may become possible (Major T. Smith, pers. comm. 28/7/65).

The central importance of supervision in relation to social work training was here made plain and, when the certificate courses became available, candidates could not get NZASW recognition for the qualification unless they had undertaken the supervised fieldwork for which the Tiromoana courses helped to prepare supervisors. Over the years, several of these joint courses for supervisors were run at Tiromoana.

A similar example of the interest taken by the SSC and the Social Science Advisory Committee in the educational activities of the NZASW is seen in Mr Tom Austin's request on 3/3/66, as Executive Officer of the SSAC, that the Association clarify for him the relationship between the Association's Certificate and the Tiromoana Course (Draft Minutes of National Council of the NZASW, 1967). Mr Tom Austin was himself a consistent supporter of education for social workers, but was aware of the need for systematic recognition of qualifications in social work.

Another activity of the State Services Commission was its regular publication of guidelines for prospective social work trainees. Here one can see the conventional (mainstream), contemporary thinking about social work. In 1966, its booklet describes the social worker's role as follows:

Modern New Zealand is a fast-changing society. Established attitudes and relationships are constantly being subjected to the

pressure of progress. For some, adaptations to the increased tempo and the greater stresses of modern life is not easy. Inadequacy, mental instability, physical disability and poor environment are some of the factors which make this difficult. In times of stress, the number of "social casualties" - people who have succumbed to personal problems or weaknesses - can be expected to increase (State Services Commission, 1966: 1).

This approach clearly places the focus on the individual, whose "failure to adjust" (ibid.: 1) is described as both a personal misfortune and a cost to society. In this context, the social worker will be someone with a "balanced personality", "genuinely concerned", with a "good knowledge of psychology and community resources" (ibid.: 1).

This definition indicates the thinking of the State Services Commission in relation to what it wanted in its qualified personnel. Social work, conservatively defined, lacked its later radical manifestation in social action born out of a structural analysis. The Victoria University course had been in operation for sixteen years by the time it was written. It has been criticised for maintaining the status quo (Crockett, 1979) though accreditation documents and personal communications suggest that, in the context of its times, the early curriculum had maintained a balance between the personal and the political (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 26/9/95; E. Garrett, pers. comm. 25/10/95). The founding professor, David Marsh, came from the social administration tradition in Britain (what we in New Zealand call social policy) and critical sociology was always part of the curriculum, taught first by Professor Marsh and later by Professor Robb.

Agency Influences on the Curriculum

When respondents were asked their opinions as to whether the Government or the statutory agencies had interfered in the development of the curriculum for social work during this first period, they considered that the Government had been influential through being supportive, but felt there had been no overt dictation of what was to be taught. In the course of his interview for this research, Professor Robb made a number of points in this respect. He felt that there was an "explicit, conscious and open kind of

pressure on the part of those who sent the social work apprentices"⁸ (J.H. Robb. pers. comm. 24/4/95).

From his account the pressure was a co-operative one which did not diminish the leadership role taken by the School of Social Science

We had a lot of contact with people in the agencies, it became general practice for them to invite us to a good many of their conferences and ... we would often be asked to give papers or take sessions ... and we often got invited to policy discussions within the Department ... The influence of the agency on courses, well they would make their hopes, wishes known to us and we would discuss them quite happily and sometimes we'd do what they wanted, and sometimes we wouldn't, but I think really on the whole at that stage it was a pretty amicable relationship, all things considered (J.H. Robb. pers. comm. 24/4/95).

Professor McCreary was more definite about the lack of agency pressure when asked whether the government had particular wishes as to what they were taught, he replied

No - they didn't care really, these people just had to get a training. They trusted whoever was in the academic area as to what the students would get (J.R. McCreary, pers. comm. 29/5/95).

At the conclusion of this first period, Professor Robb, recognised the inbuilt tension over whether social work is an occupation defined by its practitioners or by those who employ them. He addressed members of the NZASW, quoting from a paper on training given to the Council of the Charity Organisation Society, 1894: "We must at once dismiss from our minds the idea that workers are to be trained only with a view to their being useful to their trainers" (Robb, 1973: 23).

These cautionary words echo through the decades as social work employers grew stronger and more organised. This occurred as agencies developed their own conceptualisation of the social work task and what they wanted

⁸ A reference to the cadet and trainee schemes.

their employees to be able to do on the job.⁹ In the early days, however, the social work profession developed slowly and conservatively, supported in agency circles by people with vision and assisted by the staff and graduates of the School of Social Science who exercised considerable leadership and support.

Approaches affecting social work

This section looks at several approaches affecting social work and their implications for the preparation of social workers for employment. Approaches to social work varied during this period as did attitudes to welfare. While a growing sociological understanding that there exist structures and mechanisms in society which disadvantage certain people and families, led to the development of secular, philanthropic and humanitarian approaches, the nineteenth century charitable approach continued to inform much of the thinking behind the social service systems.

The 1918 influenza epidemic, taught the country that for economic reasons as much as for humanitarian ones, health and medical services must be reformed and housing improved (Rice, & Bryder, 1988). Later, the 1930s Depression caused the citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand to reconsider how appropriate to their circumstances was the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor. The election of Michael Joseph Savage, Labour Prime Minister in 1935, heralded a social security system regarded by many as the first welfare state and informed by a collective philosophy of egalitarianism. It was this political and philosophical position, according to McCreary, 1971 (a), which prevented the term "social work" from being in the title of the School of Social Science. This was the period which is commonly regarded as introducing the belief that the state has a responsibility to provide its citizens with social security from cradle to the grave. That the Hon. P. Fraser was not favourably disposed to social work itself, may also be surmised by Charles Peek's description of once being asked by him¹⁰ to take over the running of a residential institution.¹¹ Peek had objected, saying "I know nothing about child welfare", whereupon Fraser

⁹ Itemising the social work task in order to ascertain training needs of social workers is not a new idea. The potential in breaking down the component parts of a task to make it manageable and measurable were already recognised by employers and the NZASW in this period.

¹⁰ Before he became Prime Minister, when Minister of Education

¹¹ Peek was to rise to the top through the ranks of the Child Welfare Division, and was described by a colleague thus: "He lifted social work out of the 19th Century, for childcare. That is what he inherited. He went back to the community." (Denni Reilly, pers. comm. 1985).

replied: "Good" as far as he was concerned, that was qualification enough, he did not want anybody who knew anything about the present set-up at all (C. Peek, pers. comm. 1985).

Oram, however, writing in the late 60s, argued that the New Zealand State has never accepted full responsibility for all citizens, particularly not those with physical, intellectual or emotional disabilities (Oram, 1968: 26). There has certainly always been a strong voluntary contribution to welfare by the voluntary sector.

The Churches and their Social Commentary

I have earlier suggested that religious groups have made a significant contribution to the social services in Aotearoa/New Zealand and that this has had an impact on social work thinking and the education of practitioners. This section notes some of the more relevant Christian value positions. Lineham argues that, in the 1930s, the voluntary agencies were often quicker than state agencies to react to social distress. In this way, they signalled a sense of social responsibility towards one another that led to contemporary social security provisions being referred to by Ministers of the Crown as "applied Christianity" (Lineham, 1994: 181), a term coined by Michael Joseph Savage.

In 1922 the Methodists issued a social creed in which clause nine read:

[The Methodist Church stands] For the fact that in the message and mission of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ - a message of goodwill and brotherhood - will be found the only power for promoting effectively the reconstruction and regeneration of society. Hence we seek to secure the recognition of the Golden Rule and of the Mind of Christ, as the supreme law of society and the sure remedy for all social ills (Methodist Church of New Zealand, 1922: 75-76, cited in Lineham, 1994: 181).

Some Churches made public their analysis of the connection between government economic policy, unemployment and the consequent lack of spending power of citizens. In 1933, the Methodists called for a "complete overhaul of our economic system with a view to a just distribution of the necessities of life" (Methodist Church of New Zealand, 1922: 75-76, cited in

Lineham, 1994: 181). In 1934 the Presbyterian General Assembly put out a strong challenge to their congregations to seriously consider the respective merits from a Christian point of view of a society based either on free and "ruthless" economic competition or one in which sharing of the "common task" and the "common wealth" was promoted (Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1934: 53-54, cited in Lineham, 1994: 181).

In 1941, the National Council of Churches was formed (at that time it did not include the Salvation Army or Roman Catholic Church) and the Interchurch Council on Public and Social Affairs, which included the Salvation Army and the Roman Catholic Church, also came into being (Lineham, 1994: 182). These organisations have, from time to time, made public statements appealing to the humanitarian and altruistic elements in society to temper, through public policy, the economic difficulties which arise for people living on or below the poverty line.

In a practical manner, Christian social service agencies were active in New Zealand during the 1950s through to the 1970s. Lineham has argued that, as the period wore on, their Christian inspiration and their congregational base diminished. This, he suggests, was partly due to the way they came to depend on government funds as they grew in size and then matched their goals to what the government would support financially (Lineham, 1994: 185).

The criteria for and nature of Government funding for voluntary agencies gradually increased as did Government expectations for sound standards of social work practice in those agencies receiving its support. An examination of the Christian agencies represented among those organising, teaching and attending the Templeton Course for Workers in Institutions¹² shows a high level of involvement - of fourteen course members, ten were from Christian agencies. By the end of this period however, the religious contribution to social services was declining as the secular one increased. I would argue that the intellectual commitment to the underlying principles of social work has remained, and is particularly evident in the number of those strongly influenced at one time or another by their religious beliefs, who are now teaching social work.

¹² In response to the request for help from the Superintendent of staff training at the SSC, the Templeton Course for Workers in Institutions was a significant effort, but lack of resources made it difficult to repeat.

Which Way Social Work?

To summarise social work attitudes and positions on future directions as this period drew to a close is to risk over-generalisation. The period ended with a real tussle of wills between the government and social workers which eventually affected social work education, in that legislation was enacted which gave a government department responsibility for social work training. Issues explored below shed further light on the thinking of this period and include models of education and training, professionalism and the reorganisation of the social services campaign.

The New Zealand Social Worker published many of the debates which capture much of the thinking of the period and its relation to the education and training of social workers. The journal also covered the vigorous campaign against the amalgamation of two government social service agencies, discussed in more detail below, during 1970. The campaign is a good example of the position taken by the NZASW in relation to the Government and social work employers at a time when it believed client interests to be endangered by a strategy to reduce social work to an administrative and bureaucratic job. It shows the NZASW as a well-organised and united group of people who had developed their professional identity together with a sense of direction.

For example, as social work became a more clearly identifiable occupation in its own right, the contribution of both social casework and social administration, as taught in the Diploma in Social Science was gradually becoming clearer. Recognition of the distinction do not necessarily entail an either/or approach, but rather a live tension between the two which helps to keep both approaches honest. The NZASW was determined that its members should be able to have education and training that was not agency-based. This was partly because they recognised the existence of common characteristics within the profession despite the range of fields of practice that it encompasses. They therefore promoted courses that were generic and "suitable for a social worker in any agency" (NZASW Biennial Report 1965: 11). There was an expectation that agencies themselves would initiate new employees through in-service programmes. The first biennial conference reaffirmed

its belief in the fundamental principle that social work training wherever undertaken should transcend agency barriers. (NZASW Biennial Report 1965: 13).

This approach paved the way for social work to grow as a profession, with autonomy to develop a common identity, in recognition of its common base for practice. It meant that social work could continue to work both with individuals and with groups to bring about personal and social change.

As the Sixties drew to a close, the need, both international and local, for co-ordination and long term planning for development was recognised by the New Zealand Government. The establishment of advisory boards and advisory committees in government and private sectors of social and economic activity was designed to assist this trend (Oram, 1969: 231). Some considered that the administrative procedures and bureaucratic systems of the post-war State Services were ready for reorganisation. There were those who wanted the introduction of a comprehensive Department of Social Welfare, as recommended in Britain,¹³ which would combine the welfare responsibilities of Probation, Child Welfare, Maori Affairs, etc. Others simply wanted to merge Child Welfare and Social Security (Oram, 1969). In 1970, the National Government picked up the proposal made by the Social and Cultural Committee of the National Development Conference, 1969, (under the previous Labour Government) for a reorganisation of the social service delivery system. The proposal was for one Government department which would be responsible for all aspects of social welfare (Department of Statistics, 1971: 173).

The history of this proposal went back a long way. Its relevance here lies partly in the fact that people like Minn and Oram were both connected to the School of Social Science and partly because the outcome was so significant for social work, how it was perceived and later taught. A Department of Public Welfare which comprised health, social security, prisons and child welfare, was proposed in 1948 by Leslie Lipson, who had been Professor of Political Science at Victoria University (Oram, 1969: 234). Later, in 1954, the Institute of Public Administration held a study group whose report Social Services in New Zealand recommended that a co-ordinated approach to social service delivery would improve efficiency and reduce administrative confusion. Cabinet responded with the appointment

¹³ The Seebohm Report, 1968.

of Professor Minn to chair an interdepartmental committee which would among other things look at how better co-ordination of social services could be implemented (Robb, in Trlin, 1977: 34). The committee was in favour of the introduction of one department with responsibility for statutory welfare services.

Robb has characterised the post-war period as consisting of "decades of inertia" (Robb, in Trlin, 1977: 29). The length of time it took for the recommendation to combine social service provision in one recognisable department which would have a primary interest in social service supports his argument. Steps to introduce legislation that would rationalise the delivery of statutory social services were only taken after the National Government was elected in 1969. In Social Policy and Social Administration in New Zealand, Oram, who was deputy Chairman of the Social Security Commission and lectured on the social policy and social administration course at Victoria University of Wellington, favoured the form of amalgamation which was eventually implemented. He argued that social security and child welfare officers would, if their departments were merged, learn from each other, given that financial difficulties often signalled other problems in their clients and it was crucial that social workers be well-informed about the functions of income maintenance (Oram, 1969: 237).¹⁴

Reorganisation of the Social Services Campaign

The reorganisation of the social services led the NZASW and its members to consider carefully where it stood in regard to the delivery of social services. Position papers and debates have been preserved in the NZASW archives. These provide pointers as to how people were thinking as this first historical period drew to a close. A good example, which offers some insights into this matter, is the NZASW seminar at which the Central Districts and the Wellington branches combined to discuss the reorganisation of the social services. (The documentation for this is in the Dept. of Social Policy and Social Work and the pages on which it is written are not numbered).

Merv Hancock, Central Districts President, chaired the meeting, which was reported as "alive and purposeful and all present worked hard and fast to ensure that it would be successful" (Ketko, 1970: []). The Chairman, finding

¹⁴ The merger between Child Welfare and Income Security is referred to again in the following chapter in relation to the NZASW.

two schools of thought at the meeting, decided that they were probably representative of divisions throughout the Association. He separated the groups and set each to produce a statement on what policy the Association should adopt in relation to the forthcoming changes. Opinion was evenly divided and "the two groups were tagged by one member as the idealists and pragmatists" (Ketko, 1970: []).

The idealists were opposed to the amalgamation of Child Welfare and Social Security, considered that it was proposed for political, economic and administrative reasons which did not consider client interests. They did, however, approve of the idea of a Department of Social Welfare that would unify the provision of statutory social services in a one door policy along the lines recommended in the Seebohm Report for England and Wales.¹⁵ They were opposed to the administrative combination of social service with income maintenance.

The pragmatists, while not disagreeing with these points, believed that changes were inevitable and that it was preferable to co-operate and have some input into developments that would protect the rights of the client. They recommended, therefore, that the Association make a case for time to be taken over the necessary deliberations that should precede the implementation of the amalgamation. They wanted the Association to ask that a White Paper on the Government's amalgamation proposal be published before legislation and that the Royal Commission on Social Security should also report before further action was taken (Ketko, 1970 []).

It could be argued that these positions are typical manifestations of the deep divide in social work between the idealists and pragmatists in every age. The Association eventually opted for co-operation with the amalgamation. A month later, there was a heated debate at the NZASW National Council meeting of November 1970 over how the Association should act in relation

¹⁵ On the international scene, two publications relating to restructuring social service delivery systems, the Kilbrandon Report (1964) in Scotland and the Seebohm Report (1968) in England and Wales, had advocated amalgamating statutory social service provision into one all-purpose department, where generic social workers would assist clients. The Seebohm Report included an extensive discussion on social work education and many issues it raised were similar concerns to this country. Members of the NZASW were familiar with the Kilbrandon and Seebohm recommendations and the Seebohm Report was familiar to members of the NZSWTC. A comparison between the Seebohm Report and Social Welfare at the Crossroads suggests that the former document had some influence on the latter, which contained proposals for wide-ranging organisational changes, based on a philosophy of prevention, rather than first-aid (NZASW, 1971).

For example, they both argued for a comprehensive well-resourced institution to which all statutory workers would belong, and all of whom would be qualified. They looked for the provision of services organised in such a way as to involve local communities and users of services. To this end the publications presented an analysis of contemporary welfare systems and put forward a detailed and sustainable blueprint for an alternative to government policy.

to the proposed amalgamation of the Child Welfare Division and Social Security. A serious and expensive campaign was mounted in order that the principles which inform social work should be taken into account in the amalgamation process.

To assist with the campaign, the Association, at that National Council meeting in November 1970, formed a sub-committee on re-organisation of the social services¹⁶ and engaged a public relations consultant, Dai Hayward and Partners. One strategy employed was the publication in June 1971 of Social Welfare at the Crossroads, a blueprint which not only argued against the amalgamation of the Child Welfare Division and the Income Support Service, but also put forward a comprehensive alternative which paid meticulous attention to the practicalities of implementation and which called for increased resources for the education and training of social workers.

Members of the Association were bitterly disappointed with the Prime Minister's response to this publication. He categorically turned down the request for a full public enquiry or a Royal Commission into the social services. He said that the new Department of Social Welfare would be responsible for developing training for both statutory and voluntary social workers (Holyoake, pers. comm. 6/7/71). Basically, his letter was most discouraging and the Association replied with a forceful letter urging him to take more time to give the country the opportunity for debate on the matter. The Wellington branch reacted with a resolution which expressed their "amazement and deep concern" at the "indecent haste" with which the Government was rushing this legislation through. They went on

We believe that the Government's purported aim of achieving complete amalgamation by 1 April 1972 points clearly to their lack of interest or regard for what the public and social workers think about social welfare (NZASW Wellington Branch, undated, circa September 1971).

I am reminded of some words of wisdom put to the NZASW Standards and Salaries Committee by M.J. Lyons:

¹⁶ Members of the sub-committee were: Messrs. Ketko, Capper, Darracott and Bagnall; Miss Avery Jack, the three past presidents (as corresponding members) the National President and Secretary and Mrs Kaarup (NZASW, National Council Minutes, 13-14/11/70: 7).

If we think that we are ever going to acquire some of this battle equipment in our attempts to improve salaries we are sadly mistaken. If you take in our area of work a social worker employed in say Paparua Prison, one would expect that many of his clients would wish him a drop in salary, and if they thought otherwise they would not be listened to carefully by those who have the money to pay (NZASW Christchurch Branch, to NZASW Standards and Salaries Committee, undated, circa 1969).

Although the campaign was unsuccessful in preventing the proposed legislation, it showed that the NZASW, after seven years in existence, could be a determined, intelligent and well-organised body prepared to make a stand over social welfare principles. Despite the arguments of the NZASW against the merger as proposed by Government, the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department and the Income Support Service were merged and, in 1972, the Department of Social Welfare was established.

Of the amalgamation, the Director-General's first report commended the "goodwill and loyalty" of staff for the successful merger and acknowledged that "old loyalties die hard and the amalgamation itself with its resultant uncertainty and unsettlement brought problems enough" (I.J.D. McKay, 1973). The new Department became the dominant statutory welfare agency and the new legislation established social work as a new occupational category within the state services. It also gave the new Department of Social Welfare a statutory responsibility according to which it must

provide for the training of such persons as the Minister may direct (whether employed in the service of Her Majesty or by any agencies of the Crown or by any other organisations) to undertake social welfare activities (Department of Social Welfare Act 1971, Section 4:2: C).

This legislation paved the way for the introduction of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council and the second historical period for this study (King, 1974: 2266). The next chapter will consider the influence on social work education, of employers, the NZASW and of social work educators.



3370 Massey University - Sociology Dept.

File Print : Minn, W G.

Creator : Photographer Unknown

Description : Caption from the "New Zealand Free Lance":
"Professor William Gayford Minn (1907?-1983) pictured
with his wife and six year old son Brian, has been appointed
to the chair of Social Science at Victoria College
(University), Wellington."
Professor Minn also lived in London, Italy and Germany and
was at one stage an adviser for the United Nations.

Physical
Description :

Date : 1954

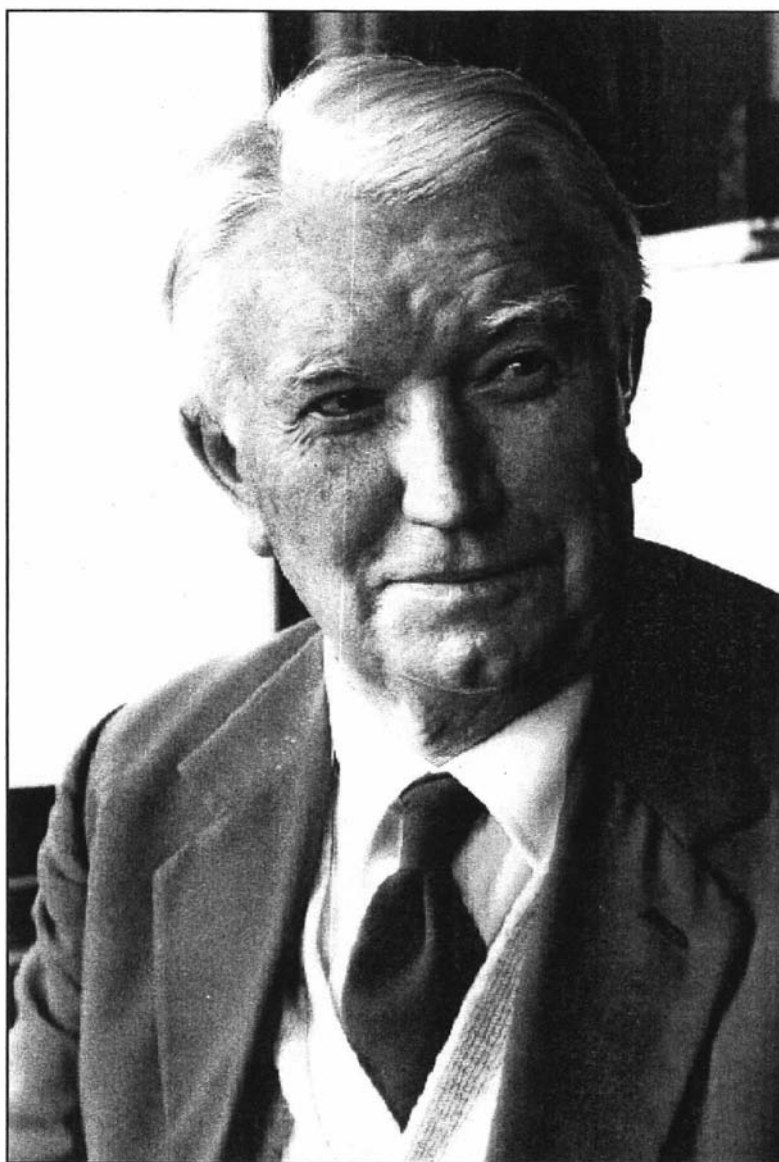
This photograph must be acknowledged to the
New Zealand Free Lance Collection

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Reference Number: C- 23069--

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Professor John McCreary, respondent.

Photo supplied by Victoria University Wellington Photographic Section.



Principals - Girls' Homes. November, 1967

Mr D.J. McDonald
Christchurch

Mr D. Reilly
Head Office

Mr T. Ryan
Wellington

Mr W. Buxton
Head Office

Mr H.H. Garn
Hamilton

Mr M.G. Millar
Dunedin

Mr M.H. Kayes
Palmerston Nth

Mr I. Mareroa
Auckland



Course in Casework Supervision, Tiromoana, 1967. The photo depicts two respondents: Brian Manchester, Inspector, Child Welfare Head Office (back row, 5th from the right) and Mr Tom Austin, Director of Tiromoana (back row, first from the right).

Photo supplied by Brian Manchester, respondent.



Major Noel Manson, 4th NZASW President, 1971,
New Zealand Social Worker, 1971, 7. (1). 43.



Social welfare *Dominion* 22/12/72 their responsibility

The Minister of Social Welfare, Mr N. J. King, with the newly appointed Chief Education and Training Officer in the Department of Social Welfare, Mr Brian M. Manchester.

Mr Manchester was assistant director of social work in the Department's Wellington office.

Before joining Child Welfare Division in 1954, Mr Manchester was a primary school teacher for four years and he has a B.A. degree as well as a diploma in Social Science.

One of his first tasks will be to establish a training centre for social workers from both Government and outside agencies.

Brian Manchester, Chief Education and Training Officer
and the Minister of Social Welfare,

Dominion, 22/12/72. Cutting supplied by Brian Manchester.

Chapter Eight: 1949-1972, Recognition of Social Work Identity

The previous chapter has presented the general context in which professional social work education first developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was argued that political, social, cultural and other circumstances have all influenced social work and the way people were prepared for practice. The State Services Commission (SSC), and the Social Science Advisory Committee (SSAC) which represented the interests of public service employers, were discussed in the previous chapter, together with respondents' opinions about the extent to which agencies influenced the early curriculum were also looked at.

This chapter is organised chronologically and focuses first on the School of Social Science at Victoria University College of Wellington, then the sole tertiary institution with courses leading to a professional qualification in social work. Models of education and training are considered and form an introduction to the second focus for the chapter, the professional association of social workers known as the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, established in 1964.¹

These two organisations, it is argued, exerted considerable influence on the direction and provision of social work education. It is argued that the NZASW gave public expression to the understanding that social work has a recognisable professional identity which social workers wanted to define for themselves. Their determination to gain an identity of their own was promoted by their efforts to increase the opportunities for education and training for all social workers, not just those employed as public servants.

This chapter uses oral data collected for this study. This has provided rich and immediate accounts of key aspects of this study. Several oral histories collected for this study tell about the development of the original social work curriculum for the Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University College. The story of the curriculum and how it developed is intertwined with the stories of some of the respondents, and is presented in the style of

¹ Prior to the NZASW, there was the Child Welfare Officers' Association, an organisation which was exclusive to child welfare officers.

conversations and commentaries. In the same way, the respondents who were students during the early years of the Dip. Soc. Sci. at Victoria University of Wellington have brought that curriculum and pedagogy alive and it has been recorded here in their own words.

Professors Robb and McCreary remembered how, together with Marjorie Van Den Berg, they were able to design the curriculum with Professor Minn. Merv Hancock's description of the curriculum has already been given in Chapter Five. Under the particular influence of Professor Marsh, the curriculum began with an emphasis on social administration and economic welfare analysis. Later, under Professor Minn, there was a stronger emphasis on the psycho dynamic approach. Graduates of the first years of the Diploma course, recognising the important contribution of Jean Robertson, insisted that theirs was a well-balanced curriculum.²

In this first period the major social work educators were those at the School of Social Science, tutors on Certificate courses at University Extension Departments and the staff at Tiromoana. Others included staff on the YMCA course in youth and community work in Wellington and members of the NZASW, people like Merv Hancock, who offered seminars and short courses around the country.

The history of social work education in its beginning is embodied in the stories of some of the older respondents. Their lives provide examples of the ways in which people obtained an introduction to the theory and practice of social work before schools of social work became available. At the same time, they help to explain some of the influences coming to bear on the curriculum as it developed and its eventual shape.

Conversations and commentaries: The School of Social Science

This section begins with an account of the origins of the core curriculum for social work education before 1949. When, in 1974, the NZSWTC established the first basic minimum standards for the accreditation of professional courses in social work, the standards bore a close resemblance to the courses taught at Victoria University, which were the only professional social work

² That graduates of the Victoria social work programme developed skill in political analysis and policy development can be inferred from the publication: Social Welfare at the Crossroads, produced by the NZASW's National Sub-Committee on Reorganisation of the Social Services in 1971, many of whom were graduates of the School of Social Science.

courses in the country. In seeking who and what has influenced social work education, it makes sense, therefore, to ascertain how that original curriculum came into existence and what it was like.

In New Zealand, after the Second World War, social work was established as an academic and applied subject at Victoria College, Wellington. Little is written about this early history and the origins of the first professional curriculum. In 1927, Mr John Beck, the Superintendent of the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department, presented his report on his travels in USA and Canada in 1925. On the front cover, one reads that the report is about the

care of the destitute, neglected, delinquent, and afflicted children, and treatment of juvenile offenders - procedure in children's courts (Report of a Visit of the Superintendent, Child Welfare Division, Education Department, New Zealand, 1927).³

Mr Beck observed that both in the USA and Canada, not only "leading universities" but also some of the "private social welfare organisations" offered two year diploma courses for the "all-round training of social workers". The curriculum covered both society and the individual and "the principles of social work". Students went out on placement, they studied agencies and their organisation. Provision was made for part-time study. The courses were as follows:

First Year: Social economics; psychology; social ethics; hygiene and public health; community organisation; social casework; case-work methods; the community and the child; field-work conference.

Second Year: Social evolution; social psychology; social economics; social ethics; case-work seminar; psychiatry; industrial legislation; field-work conferences (Beck, 1927: 19).

³ A copy of this report is held in the Department of Social Welfare archives, and has a sticker attached to it which states that: This account of Mr John Beck's overseas trip is the basis for many points in the New Zealand Child Welfare Act 1925 (Historical papers, DSW, Hist/2).

Students could choose two electives from a range of fields of practice but these had to be connected to their fieldwork. Mr Beck recommended that social workers in New Zealand should be trained and that the models he described in his report should, if possible, be implemented.

Mary Lambie (1956), former Director of the Division of Nursing in the Department of Health and founding member of the Advisory Council for the School of Social Science, continued the history of efforts to establish training programmes for social workers. She recorded her concern, between the two world wars, that New Zealand lagged behind other western countries in setting up formal courses for social workers. There was no generic training, though many in the Child Welfare Division had been nurses. There was a growing acknowledgment that social work, like the other professions, had a body of knowledge and skills that needed to be taught and therefore the National Council of Women and the Federation of University Women made representations to Victoria College for a social work course to be introduced.

The Depression put a temporary halt to discussions which were renewed in 1937 with an application to the Carnegie Foundation for funding to pay for someone to assist in the establishment of a course (Lambie, 1956: 168-70). In 1942, a report entitled The institutional care of dependent children in New Zealand, published in that year by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research drew attention to the lack of training for social workers involved with such children. In 1943, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, with funds from The Carnegie Foundation, held what it termed an "informal conference" on the subject. This conference was written up and circulated to the eighteen people who attended it, so that they, being influential in their fields, might work through their associations to bring about training for social workers (Lambie, 1956: 4). Sir Thomas Hunter chaired the two-day conference. As Merv Hancock emphasised, his involvement was crucial at this point

Well I think that undoubtedly Victoria University played a significant role without any doubt whatsoever. That Sir Thomas Hunter and the Victoria University group saw there was a major need for Social work education and worked hard

for it to be placed at the university (M. Hancock. pers. comm. 26/9/95).⁴

In 1947, the Government agreed to make a grant for social work education to the Victoria University College Council. In 1949, as Principal of Victoria University College, Sir Thomas Hunter set up the School of Social Science at Victoria University College of the University of New Zealand.

The First Core Curriculum

The conversations in this section describe how some of the key players in developing social work education in New Zealand became involved in social work education through their own educational experiences. These experiences brought them into contact with one another, and paved the way for them to work together on the Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University. Professors Robb and McCreary each offered accounts which included autobiographical material concerning their own personal introduction to social work training. Mr Tom Austin⁵ talked about his efforts to improve the provision of education and training, first at Tiromoana, then in Probation and subsequently the health services. They each contributed information about the early days, as did Merv Hancock and Ephra Garrett. Their words will be used to describe the development of the core curriculum and their opinions about their courses of study.

Professor Robb's interview was particularly comprehensive for he traced many of the theoretical links between his teachers, their eminent work and the core curriculum that he and his colleagues introduced. Professor Robb lectured in Sociology and joined the staff under the second Head of the School of Social Science, Professor William Minn.⁶

I was never a student of social work in the sense of being enrolled in a recognised course. On the other hand I went through a very carefully organised apprenticeship with a lot of training involved. I think probably I need to talk about that

⁴ Crockett, (1979), was also of this opinion.

⁵ See Chapter Five

⁶ His papers are held in the Beaglehole Room at VUW library and bear witness to the extent of his contribution to social work education. They contain many letters from practitioners requesting reading resources, requests to carry out research, chair working parties and to teach short social work courses in agencies around the country.

anyway. I worked in London. We were in London for just under 7 years (1947-54).

I'm a New Zealander and I studied at Victoria. My main area was social psychology. I went over to London to do a PhD. in social psychology which I had to do in the Sociology Department and then when I finished my formal enrolment -2 years- my bursary ran out. I had to get a job and just at that time my wife noticed an advertisement in The Times saying that they wanted people for an experimental marriage guidance unit that was being set up by the Family Welfare Association ... the descendent of the old Charity Organisation Society, so in the absence of anything else that looked promising, I put in an application for that and was eventually given the job.

They took on about four of us and that turned out to be a really quite fascinating kind of thing. What had happened was that at the end of the war the Family Welfare Association in its casework which was fairly traditional family casework, found that a large number of the difficulties they were getting involved in were connected with marriage problems arising mostly out of the absence of men in the forces - and the complaint among their staff that they'd had no training or experience to deal with this. So they were setting up this experimental unit ... they got money from the Nuffield Foundation to back it, they had also backing from the Tavistock Institute. When they arranged for a psycho-analyst in London to join in on the programme - the person heading it was Enid Eicholz who was a long-time staff member of the Family Welfare Association - experienced, and so they set up this sort of training course cum apprenticeship kind of thing which was run by Enid and the psychoanalyst, Michael Balint, and they became quite well known for running groups of this kind.

So we used to meet in Michael's consulting room, a whole afternoon every Tuesday. He ran a kind of tutorial/teaching session/therapy group and we reported on the cases we were seeing and in between times we were supervised by Enid Eicholz and by the other senior member of the group, a woman

called Lily Pincus. There were a couple of things published about that and I can give you the references.

This simple account of the era when social work underwent a paradigm shift, such that, informed by sociological and psychological research, it took on its modern, recognisable, form links the curriculum of the Dip. Soc. Sci. directly to the LSE and the Tavistock Clinic in London, through Professor Robb. The people he mentioned in this and the following passage, wrote some of the leading social work texts still in use when I was a student. Professor Robb continued with reference to his involvement in Elizabeth Bott's research.

I was involved in that for about 18 months or so, and then one of the conclusions we came to was that we needed to know more about the ways in which "normal" "ordinary" families operated by comparison with the "problem" ones that we were seeing, and so the Tavistock Institute got another grant from the Nuffield Foundation to set up this research project and I then moved over from casework to the research group. Apart from the three permanent full-time members of the Tavistock Institute who supervised this, the two members of the research group who actually did the work were Elizabeth Bott and myself - and the report on that is Elizabeth Bott's book on the family: The Family and Social Networks. So that was my background. I worked on that until the actual fieldwork on the project was finished and ... we decided for various reasons to come back to New Zealand ... and fortunately just as we arrived one of the senior members of staff at the Department [at Victoria] went off to a job in Singapore and I was able to walk into her job.

I should also say while we were working on the casework project, [we had a lot of contact with] the Probation Service at the Home Office, ... the Probation Service in Britain was much more specifically a marriage guidance service than it ever was here in New Zealand - so we had a lot of contact with the Home Office people and the man in charge of all this for the Home Office was Bill Minn - who had moved out to the chair in

Wellington just before we came back, though I already knew him reasonably well before I joined the Department.

So that explains how I came to be here. I'd known John McCreary a bit when we were students, not well, but I had known him. It also meant that both John and I in terms of our New Zealand training and Bill and I in terms of our connections in Britain had a lot of ideas and experiences in common. So we were able to work together very easily and so the way the School of Social Science ran for the next few years was very much a matter of how Bill and John and I put our ideas together and the kind of casework that the Family Discussion Bureau was doing fitted in very well with the kind of approach Bill Minn had been trying to build up in the Probation Service in Britain. And so on the whole its the background from that kind of thing that was mainly applied to the Social Work practice and supervision and so on at Victoria. So if you're looking for the background philosophy you'll find it in the stuff of the Family Discussion Bureau.

I When Minn came to Vic, he brought in a rather different approach?

Yes, my impression, I must say I never met David Marsh, both in Britain before I left and then coming to New Zealand I narrowly missed him. The impression I got is that he was much more concerned with what would now be called social policy than with social casework and I think the casework side of it was run mainly by two English women who were on the staff. Apart from John the entire staff were English. One was Jean Robertson who went off to found the School of Social Work in Singapore ... and her background I think, was largely in traditional Family Welfare Association, LSE sort of social science kind of casework, and the other one was Brenda Stubbs, who was an English-trained psychiatric social worker. Her approach, I think, would have been nearer to the kind of thing that we got later, but I think Marsh himself was more of a social administration /social policy person.

I What were the pressures exerted by others with an interest in social work education? You have depicted yourself, McCreary and Minn as

coming from a particular approach, which made sense to you and guided the curriculum. Were there other pressures as well?

The social work apprentices in New Zealand particularly the government ones, the people who were sending us students had ideas as to what they wanted done with these people. So that was one quite explicit, conscious and open kind of pressure, the relationship with the social work agencies was very important, especially with Child Welfare which as you no doubt know in those days was a branch of the Department of Education. They supplied us with students. It was always clearly understood ... I think it was pretty happily accepted that the Department put up as many students as they could find who were willing to come ... and we chose from those the ones that we were willing to take, and they couldn't override our decisions (J.H. Robb, pers. comm. 27/4/95).

Here Professor Robb is describing the interconnections between the staff at the School of Social Sciences and his own progression of learning in preparation for his career in teaching and research. The account provides, as it were, a genealogical history of the curriculum which is supported and enriched by the rather different conversation with Professor McCreary. His opinion about whether government agencies exerted pressure on the curriculum at the School of Social Science differs a little from that of Professor McCreary, who, as the passage below indicates, felt he had had a virtually free hand.

Professor McCreary was a lively and well-known member of Victoria University of Wellington. As a student he was a leading light both in drama and politics. He gained an MA in Psychology and began lecturing in 1948. He joined the School of Social Science in 1953. He was, among other things, a member of the Workers Education Association and later in the piece was a leading member of the NZSWTC and Executive Officer of the South Pacific Commission, 1966-67.

I You were at Vic before Minn and Robb, weren't you? Would you like to tell me about those days?

Yes, I began my university career by getting a job as a junior lecturer in psychology in 1948, my first year. At that stage I taught the social work students their psychology, that was when Professor Marsh was the Head of the School. He was an ebullient Welshman. During the war I was a conscientious objector and this meant that I knew a good deal about prisons. I'd been in prison and detention camp for 3 years during the war and Marsh was then [later] Professor of Social Work and was invited to run a course for prison officers. He asked me if I'd participate so I did and got congratulated by the prison officers on how much I knew about the system and Marsh too, I think, was reasonably satisfied with the way the lecture went and then he and I developed a friendship from that point on.

He reached a stage when he ... had staff vacancies and he wanted a social worker ... and he asked me if I'd like to join the School as a lecturer, that was largely because I'd done about 4 years in psychology, it was 1952 by this time and there were no jobs coming up in psychology.... so I joined the School just at the time that Marsh got invited to go to Nottingham and he left the School went to Nottingham. ... When Marsh left, Minn replaced him and Jim Robb joined the staff. The three of us were there for a long time. The three of us really ran the department for about ten years but we did have Marjorie Van Den Berg a psychologist who joined the staff.

When asked about how the curriculum developed and who or what influenced it, Professor McCreary responded:

I would say that Marsh was a social administrator and he wasn't very concerned with psychology and this sort of nonsense. But I taught psychology and the students were mainly concerned with what to do with people. So really we were teaching a sort of psychotherapy, psychology which got a bigger impulse when Minn arrived because he had been analytically trained, had a 5 year analysis and so during his administration the social administration side faded away it became much less.

Professor McCreary considered that he was able to design the curriculum with Professors Minn and Robb and with Marjorie Van Den Berg. Both he and Professor Robb were keen to acknowledge the contributions of the women staff members.

Another question raised the issue of demand for qualified social workers.

I When you were talking to the inaugural conference of the NZASW you talked about the development of an awareness of social work that had grown up, that hadn't been around in the 1950's but came into being in the 1960's. Do you think that was partly to do with the influence of the Vic. Diploma?

Could be, or it could be that I was made more sentient to it by the fact that I was involved with it. There was no great renaissance rush or anything but just the awareness became greater I think. One thing that they didn't do, it wasn't until the 1980's that they said they would only appoint trained people.

I And that was mainly the statutory agencies in the 1980's

Yes, the voluntary agencies on the whole tried to get trained people but the statutory agencies right up to the very end - I had my last row with social welfare from the advisory committee on social work training. They set up a Social Work Training Council and I had my last row with social work because they had appointed an untrained man to represent their Department in the new School that was set up in Auckland, and they sent up someone without training although there were people with training available and the guy in social welfare who was the director said he appointed the best person. Now, to me it didn't matter ... I think you've got to appoint people with training whether they're the best person or not, and then gradually the trainees take over ... they took very little notice of whether someone was trained or not. It was almost as if all we had done was nothing (J. R. McCreary, pers. comm. 29/5/95).

Professor McCreary's account is largely in agreement with that of his colleague, Professor Robb, differing only over the extent to which government agencies exerted pressure. The intellectual links between the lecturers are drawn out and it is clear that they were the ones seen as providing the foundation for the curriculum. Professor McCreary here mentions the change in emphasis in the curriculum between the early years of the Diploma in Social Science under Professor Marsh. Two of the students who studied the Diploma in its first years were concerned to show that their course of studies was more balanced than Professor McCreary had depicted it in his history of the curriculum in 1971 (McCreary, 1971 a & b). The extent to which Professor Minn's students were versed in social administration was perhaps more to the point than whether Professor Marsh's students were good caseworkers.

Throughout the interview, Professor McCreary stressed the ongoing difficulty faced by social work educators to get agency support for resourcing staff with a formal social work education. This was perhaps the most pressing point he wanted to make during our conversation, together with his belief that social workers need to gain a deeper understanding of the individual.

Two students, Merv Hancock and Ephra Garrett, studied under Professor Marsh and have both had significant careers in social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand, described the curriculum under Professor Marsh.⁷ They depict a balance between the micro (casework) and macro (community development work) aspects of social work during the first years under Professor Marsh. This counteracts the impression that may have been given by Professor McCreary's history of the programme (McCreary, 1971a), that the course concentrated largely on policy and administration. The course content indicates a broad interpretation of the social work task. It clearly aimed to give social workers (mostly public servants in the Child Welfare Division, health services and probation at that time) as broad an education as possible.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the contribution Ephra Garrett has made to the social work community.⁸ Her comments regarding the Diploma give

⁷ Merv Hancock's description is in Chapter Five.

⁸ Ephra gained her Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University of Wellington in 1952. She became a Maori Welfare Officer and later worked as an educational psychologist and a lecturer first in the Education Department and then in the Social Work Unit at Massey University. She was responsible for the introduction of the sociology paper, *Women in New Zealand Society*, at Massey University.

something of the flavour of those early days in the School of Social Science and she begins with an account of the battle to get the School established.

But of course anyone that you have interviewed would have told you that at that particular time, when the first training courses were set up there had been a terrible fight to get them, because the Labour Government felt that if you provided the correct social policies there was no need for social work. And I mean there was logic in that argument but it doesn't work that way. And so there was a big argument and discussion. It was no accident that our first professor was a welfare economist ... Marsh, he definitely was a welfare economist. He could talk turkey to these government administrators or to MPs because he did understand welfare economics. And so he could meet them where they were at, and pull them on a bit. Whereas if he'd been like the next one they had, Minn, there would be no meeting point whatsoever. Because he was very much into personalities ... So in fact you know you can see how the school progressed. Well we got a totally different education to, well we had a welfare economist, and we had a woman who took social work practice was a blue stockinged Scots woman.

I Jean Robertson?

Yes, she was a marvellous woman, and she'd been on Royal Commissions in England and she was a product of a very rigorous Scots education. You know ... extremely demanding. Even the men students, adult men were frightened of her, were cautious about Jeanie Robertson, they used to make jokes to sort of cover this up.... Jeanie Robertson really put some backbone into you.... Jean Robertson had a breadth of education ... she had sat on Royal Commissions and she wasn't married ... And when she left us she went to Singapore.... We had Brenda [Stubbs]. Now Brenda came from a psychiatric social work background. So you can see it balanced off a bit. My year there were only 7 of us. Expensive that was.... Pioneers are lucky because the things aren't too focused and you had to make a lot of the connections yourself. And we had all the professors. Imagine having 2 hours at week with Professor RD Campbell,

one of the marvellous Law Professors, and just taking our coffee and sitting having a lecture in his office. Two hours a week, it was marvellous ... We were so privileged (E. Garrett, pers. comm. 25/10/95).

Here, Ephra Garrett agrees with Merv Hancock's view of this early curriculum, stressing the sense of balance between social policy, social administration and psychological and individual elements in the core curriculum for social work at Victoria University. Both Ephra Garrett and Merv Hancock have, in practice, held the tension between these two elements. They have each moved between counselling, family work and community development.

The core curriculum of the Diploma in Social Science has significance because it led the field, being the only formal, professional qualification in social work for twenty years. When the NZSWTC developed the basic minimum standards, the Diploma in Social Science and the Masters in Social Science were the only New Zealand based models in practice. When the NZSWTC drew up the basic minimum standards, some members of the Council were graduates of the School of Social Science and it is argued that the model chosen shows a distinct resemblance to the Victoria University of Wellington programmes.

The four main social work curricula available during this first period are described below. They were not all at university level, but Tiromoana is included as it provided the most comprehensive non-university course available at the time. This is followed by an account of the formation and early years of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers.

Social Work Curricula

Four main curricula stand out during this period. Two were at tertiary level while two were run through the SSC, mainly for public servants. The tertiary level courses were the Diploma in Social Science, at Victoria University of Wellington and the Certificate Courses accredited by the NZASW, run through Extension Departments at various universities. The SSC was responsible for the Residential Social Work Block Course at Tiromoana and the Certificate courses for supervisors at Tiromoana. Each of these courses is briefly described in the following pages.

The Diploma in Social Science, at Victoria University, Wellington.

Professor McCreary has described the earliest curriculum, as originally developed by Professor Marsh.

Year One	Theory and Practice of Social Work
	Psychology
	Principles and Organisation of the Social Services
	Social Biology
	Social History and Economics
	Contemporary Social Problems I
Year Two	Elements of Law
	Statistics and Methods of Social Research
	Central and Local Government
	Comparative Social Administration
	Contemporary Social Problems II
	One advanced methods paper
	An advanced psychology paper

and short courses in:

Office Routine and Business Administration
 Elements of Social Medicine
 Introduction to Psychiatric Problems
 and a short thesis.

(McCreary, 1971b: 43).

Under Professor Minn, there were changes in the curriculum which, according to Professor McCreary, merely rationalised an overburdened curriculum while allowing an added depth of study in papers in which elements of the curriculum previously taught separately had in fact been combined. The principle of generic training was upheld. Professor McCreary noted that the principle was an important one, but that there were those in the community who would have preferred to see specialist training made available (McCreary, 1971b: 43). Generic training or education tends to be broadly conceived, and less instrumental than a specialist course of study. As such, it fits more comfortably into university culture, but at the same

time becomes less easily accessible to those for whom university education is, for whatever reason, out of reach.

Professor McCreary, when he discussed the social work curriculum in relation to its cultural stance, regretted that he had not done more during his time to adapt the curriculum to meet the needs of Maori students. In fact, respondents told me that he did a great deal to assist the Maori students who took the Diploma course and his friendship with John Rangihau is testimony to this. Mr Rangihau stayed with his family for some of his time at Victoria University and Professor McCreary regularly stayed with Mr Rangihau and his whanau. Story has it that they would compete in oratorical prowess, Mr Rangihau speaking on Tuhoe history while Professor McCreary would quote at length the great speeches from Shakespeare (anecdotal).

The approach to Maori studies in the social work curriculum as described in this account and Mr Tom Austin's below, shows an informal system of education in which there were few if any given topics. It would be many years before the official, formal standards for the accreditation of social work courses included an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, cultural sensitivity, knowledge of tikanga Maori and bi-cultural skills. It could be argued that these elements were incorporated into the Basic Minimum Standards for Social Work courses as a direct result of the recommendations of the Ministerial Advisory Committee Report, Puao-te-ata-tu, in 1986.

Certificate in Theory of Social Work and Certificate in Theory and Practice of Social Work - Interim Board of Studies of NZASW

The Certificate courses accredited by the NZASW were never intended to be considered professional qualifications. They were described as tertiary level courses and the Certificate in the Theory and Practice of Social Work was deemed a semi-professional social work qualification (Education and Training Committee of the NZASW, 1971: 51).

These courses were available at the Universities of Canterbury (which alone offered both Certificates), Auckland and Wellington. The Certificate in Theory and Practice in Social Work was available spread over two years and was part-time. It comprised a combination of university papers selected in conjunction with the NZASW Education and Training Committee, together

with a minimum of 40 hours of supervision which was expected to cover a range of practice methods. The curriculum covered human growth and behaviour, individual and group; social administration and social policy with reference to New Zealand; abnormal psychology and deviance; and principles and methods of social work practice, casework, group work and community organisation (Education and Training Committee of the NZASW, 1972: 53). The Certificate in Theory of Social Work did not include the 40 hours of supervised practice.⁹

The Residential Social Work Block Course at Tiromoana.

The programme consisted of two four week residential block course periods separated by at least six weeks back in the student's agency where the student experienced a lighter caseload and good supervision. Manchester described how he designed the curriculum for the programme together with Professor Minn from the School of Social Science and Dr. Geoffrey Blake-Palmer, Director of Mental Health (B. M. Manchester, 14/11/95).

Respondents' opinions regarding the social work curriculum content on tangata whenua issues show how in the early days there was goodwill but few who could teach from a Maori point of view. In relation to the course at Tiromoana, Mr Tom Austin made the following observations

At Tiromoana, we aimed at having three Maori Welfare officers on each course. I don't remember if we achieved that, but I never wanted less than two. I became quite close friends with Bill Herewini who was in the 60s, Director of Maori Welfare and his assistant Brownie Puriri. So this was a very close sort of relation ... and apart from leading sessions on Maori Welfare they would often call in for an evening of informal discussions with students. I think I'm very very fortunate there in having opportunities which enabled me to have closer relationships there with such leaders in their own field. I saw this partly as filling blanks in my own background.

⁹ There was some debate in the New Zealand Social Worker over the standard of the Certificate in Theory and Practice in Social Work compared with the Diploma in Social Science. The correspondence pages of The New Zealand Social Worker reveal considerable indignation and strong feelings on the matter, some particularly good examples of which are in the 1971 April issue of The New Zealand Social Worker. 7 (2). 43-53.

I Were you aware that maybe there needed to be more training of Maori in terms of Maori tikanga, or perhaps there was training?

Are you thinking of Tiromoana? One of the reasons these things happened was because both Bill and Brownie were residents of Porirua. We tried to run this very much as a family sort of thing. Margaret Gray, whom I mentioned as my scrabble companion, she and her husband Tommy would, (it developed slowly of course), virtually open their home in Elsdon at weekends for Tiro course members who could not get back to their own homes - as Director I was delighted with such grouping together.... She would go into her work on a Saturday morning and realise that there were men just hanging around wondering what to do over the weekend. And she would say well come out to our place, so they'd bring their cans of beers and have a very good evening. This really helped to make the Tiromoana experience for some of those people. So that the other thing was with Brownie and Bill resident ... they'd come up in the evenings. Each or one of them would come and give the formal session on Maori welfare within the social service area of the course, but they would also come up in the evening and in a very informal way, they would be sort of chatting around the fire. I can't remember details of this, but if I knew they were coming up I would try to sleep in that night, and share their discussions. I wanted to be there. I enjoyed it and also learnt from it. And they would put forward very much a Maori point of view. One of the things that I was conscious of was that although there never seemed to be a lack of Maori welfare officers putting their hands up to attend Tiromoana, (this is going back to the 60s of course), it was very much a Pakeha oriented programme. Hazel Ross the tutor in Human Development and Behaviour would bring in, deliberately some Maori aspects into her teaching. It was, look quite frankly very much a Pakeha course (T.H.J. Austin, pers. comm. 19/6/95).

Certificate course for supervisors at Tiromoana.

This two week course introduced the social work practitioner to the social work concept of supervision and the role of the supervisor. It went over the objects of supervision and styles of supervision. Students underwent an individual interview, or supervisory interview based on a process recording made by the supervised student. It included sessions on supervision and case recording, supervisor's personality and responses and there was a reading list, which included Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work, Bertha Reynolds, 1942 and The Learning in Education in the Profession, Charlotte Towle, 1956. These courses ran between 1965 and 1972, after which alternative arrangements were made through the Department of Social Welfare. In his "Farewell Message" to the NZASW, Professor Minn said he held this scheme "in high regard" but it was under resourced. He challenged his audience to do all it could to ensure that Tiromoana's facilities were expanded, arguing that

Most New Zealanders under the care of the State Services are captives, they can't opt out of the relationship with their appointed workers, hence it is both a moral and in my view an economic necessity to ensure that the best we can give is provided (Minn, 1971: 5).

This must be one of the best arguments in favour of social work education that can be made. The other means by which social workers had access to training was through the numerous short course run by the NZASW, private practitioners and agencies as already mentioned. A reading of the files of the NZASW supports the impression that social workers wanted to improve their practice through developing their social work skills and knowledge. They also wanted to be seen as a united and professional body and to be treated accordingly by Government and employers. Thus, in 1971, when members of the NZASW challenged the Government over plans for reorganising the social services, they felt they had professionally come of age. The need for education and training in social work had been one of the pressing concerns which influenced the formation of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW). From the beginning, though, there were divisions of opinion regarding the most appropriate ways to educate and train social workers.

Models of Education and Training

The perennial question of what models of education and training should be used centres on the competing merits of professional, academic and accredited courses taught at tertiary level, versus vocational, apprenticeship training on the job and in the agency. The costs of education and training were also significant in this context. Ngahinaturae Te Uira wrote about the expense involved in educating social workers with specific reference to the public service social work trainee scheme, introduced in the 1960s

In devising such a scheme (for social work education) one must however remember that training costs money and that there is no way of knowing whether a social worker, once trained, will become an investment or a liability (Te Uira, 1969: 23).

This argument still carries weight and was a significant concern for those designing the Bachelor of Social Work degree. They deliberately put in place a course of study from which students, during their first two years, could, without loss of credits, switch into other programmes.

Other questions were about what levels of education and training were required, whether education should become more accessible and/or more professional, and what were the respective merits of providing an apprenticeship model as opposed to an academic one. It is not surprising to find that the journal reflects these interests by giving considerable space to the topic of social work education and training. The Association was a strong advocate for the provision of additional courses in social work education in this country. Its second issue contained an article which encapsulates perennial themes. Training (or the lack of it) is described as

the most important problem the Association is confronted with. It is also a unifying theme in the Association (Wadsworth, 1965: 45).

The author argued that the provision of a basic training course for social workers was hampered for several reasons: employers had not identified the component parts of the job, nor the qualities that practitioners should bring to it; the existence of the Victoria University Diploma had been seen

as sufficient and anything less than university level training was regarded as second best; there were drawbacks to having only one tertiary level course in the country and it was suggested that a Bachelor of Social Work Degree should be introduced in Auckland. He cautioned the reader that:

some thought would have to be given to ways of preventing students becoming sophisticated theorists instead of practical workers. This is a matter of concern in the minds of many (Wadsworth, 1965: 47).

In addition to university education, the author saw a place for professional full time courses to be available through polytechnics and called for co-operation between employers and the New Zealand Association of Social Workers to effect these changes. These same themes would exercise the members of the NZSWTC in later years. It could be argued that they have never been resolved. As Lyons put it so vividly

The argument is by no means settled as to what is optimum academic training for any particular one form of social work. Other professions strike this difficulty too, but social work presents a unique problem. Mainly this is due to the variety of fields of application - groups of authoritative and non-authoritative activity, employers' policies, cultural subdivision, and the need on the one hand of a casework service; and on the other hand the community needs that to be recognised with administrative efficiency. These last two concepts are far from reconciled. It may be a conservative observation, but this is a field of work where the customer is not yet king, but rather the employer is still emperor (NZASW Christchurch Branch, to NZASW Standards and Salaries Committee, undated, circa 1969).

This rather long quotation elegantly encapsulates common difficulties endemic in social work. It offered no solutions. The crucial position of the employer as an arbiter of the social work task is recognised. The customer, or client, still has to find ways of influencing social work approaches and the professional position remains to be staked out. In this endeavour, the work of the NZASW was paramount.

The New Zealand Association of Social Workers

In his keynote address at the inaugural conference of the National Association of Social Workers, Professor McCreary remembered that first conference organised by the School of Social Science in 1950, (also referred to below by Lorna Hodder) saying that his strongest impression of the conference was that the generic term "social worker" meant little to those present. Instead they were

people who were distinct in their own particular agency, each of whom defined social work within their own framework and within the framework of their own legislation (McCreary, 1964:3).

He further commented that changes had occurred so that now the generic term was widely understood and judging from the programme for the conference he was addressing, there was now "a recognised body of practice and theory which constitutes the profession of social work". He then suggested that the keynote of the conference was its aim to "increase the self-conscious awareness of [social workers] as professional people and as members of a profession" (ibid: 3).

One of the main goals of the NZASW was to set up branches throughout the country. These were to provide a public forum for discussion. A primary aim of the Association was to see education and training made widely available to practitioners. The State Services Commission and the Social Sciences Advisory Committee were instrumental in providing support, guidance, funding and other resources necessary for the education and training of social workers.

Reference has already been made to the early years of the NZASW. This is a significant piece of history in relation to influences on social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, because there has been a two-way relationship between professional social workers and social work educators which can be seen in the history of the NZASW. The identification of social service practitioners as "social workers", a process that began in the early 1950s, was fostered by the School of Social Science. Social work practitioners, who called themselves social workers, over time formed a series of local

associations and eventually transformed these isolated associations into a national association (McCreary, 1971a; M. Hancock, pers. comm. 26/9/95). The Child Welfare Officers' Association was formed in 1949 and continued until 1954. It signalled the beginning of a movement to offer practitioners a public forum in which to air their concerns.

This gathered momentum and in her recollections from 1940, Hodder, who became an Inspector, Head Office, Child Welfare Division, recalled the first conference of social workers, which was held at Victoria University in 1950. She explained how Professor Marsh, when appointed to the School of Social Science, had familiarised himself with the social services and hosted the conference at Victoria College. There were social service workers from statutory and voluntary organisations and she wrote

It is safe to say that we of the State Services had long regarded ourselves as the only pebbles on the beach and we knew little or nothing of the good work being carried out by the Salvation Army and the other Churches and civic agencies, excepting when we needed clothing and financial assistance from the Smith Family and others. David Marsh was provocative and merciless. He made us give a faithful account of what we were doing and what we weren't and almost literally made us rub noses with every other agency. At the end of it all we were sadder and wiser men, much humbled by the knowledge of what all the other agencies were doing, and with a great respect for the voluntary agencies in particular (Hodder, 1969:29).

Between 1957 and 1960 regional groups of social workers began to emerge. The Otago Branch began in 1957/8, through the energies of Merv Hancock, who was working in Dunedin at the time, while the Central Districts started a group in 1961, also due to the organising abilities of Merv Hancock. In 1962, the Otago Social Workers' Association hosted the Social Workers' Study Conference in Dunedin. It was attended by 56 people, many of whom were Reverends, Religious Sisters, Members of the Salvation Army, Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic Social Services. The theme of the conference was, aptly, the definition of social work. The definition chosen was

Social work is the process of helping people with the aid of appropriate social services, to resolve or mitigate a wide range of personal social problems which they are unable to meet successfully without such help. This process calls for both knowledge and skills (Otago Social Workers' Association, 1962: 1).

The conference was addressed by keynote speakers among whom were Ephra Garrett, Merv Hancock, Professor Robb and Professor Minn (Otago Social Workers Association, 1962). In the conference papers, the editor explained

At this first study conference of social workers, while we were aware of our present lack of a definitive framework in which social workers could operate as a profession, we were nevertheless surprised that such a medley of social workers had such a uniformity of common ground (Otago Social Workers Association, 1962: 1).

At this stage, social work was practised from a diversity of agencies but practitioners were only beginning to identify with one another as social workers. That this was still seen to be the case as late as 1969 is evident in the submission of the Christchurch Branch, NZASW to the Salaries and Standards Committee (NZASW Christchurch Branch, 1969: 1). The definition of social work above is based on working with the individual on a personal level. The critical analysis and macro end of the spectrum was not explored. Perhaps this lack was partially recognised when Ephra Garrett voiced the feelings of the conference suggesting there was a need for a code of ethics which

could and should be a charter of client's rights, give the social worker professional standing and bind social workers together (Garrett, 1962: 1).

The formation of the NZASW was marked by an inaugural conference in Auckland in February 1964, when Merv Hancock thanked the Association for honouring him by electing him as its first President. He referred to the recognition of social work as a unified profession despite its many fields of practice: "I am sure that I say this for you all, that social work is a whole and

our unity far transcends our differences" (Hancock, Social Workers' Conference, 1964: [10]). Late in 1964, the Association was formally admitted to the International Federation of Social Workers, at the Federation conference in Athens.¹¹

NZASW efforts to provide education and training for members.

The NZASW was particularly active between 1964 and 1972. Two sets of NZASW archives have been available for this research. One set of papers belonged to Merv Hancock, the first President of the Association.¹² The volume of paper, correspondence, draft constitutions, conference and short course arrangements indicates how dedicated the social workers who established the NZASW were. While particular attention will be paid to the work of the Standing Committee on Education and Training, there were other examples of the Association's work in relation to the development of social work education. Most accessible is The New Zealand Social Worker,¹³ first published in August, 1965, the voice of the recently formed New Zealand Association of Social Workers. It contains a wealth of material relating to social work education and training, together with useful accounts of the local history of social work.¹⁴

The work of the Association has been continuously recorded in its quarterly journals and more frequent newsletters and includes running National and Branch seminars, usually with the assistance of university extension departments.¹⁵ Biennial conferences were introduced, beginning with one on Welfare and Social Work at Massey University in 1965. A report of the NZASW Secretary's visits to Branches in 1965, demonstrates a commitment

¹⁰ Written on scrap of paper in manuscript collection, Dept of Social Policy and Social Work.

¹¹ Professor McCreary represented the Association on that occasion and members were delighted to have become part of the international scene. He sent a euphoric report to the 1964 conference, copies of which are scattered through the various uncatalogued boxes of Association papers examined.

¹² Mr. Hancock's papers are kept in the Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University. The other set belongs to the NZASW and consists of Executive and Council Minutes and Manawatu branch Minutes. The author is currently housing it.

¹³ The NZASW quarterly journal has had several titles: *The New Zealand Social Worker*, 1965-75, *New Zealand Social Work*, 1977-81, *New Zealand Social Work Journal*, 1981-88 and *Social Work Review*, 1988-.

¹⁴ The journal presented members of the Association with articles covering aspects of social work theory and practice, news of Association activities, statements and policies, including the biennial conferences and the president's report. There was regular coverage of the international scene with a brief for human rights issues as well as social work more narrowly defined. News from the branches, the secretary's page, together with correspondence from readers, served to provide a picture of what was happening in the developing field of social work in New Zealand.

¹⁵ Sample programmes are included in the appendices to illustrate content and co-operation between the NZASW, universities and other organisations.

to good communications and to networking. Other examples are the establishment of the Standards and Salaries Committee and the National Certificate in 1966. Also in 1966, the NZASW (favourably) reviewed the Diploma in Social Science. The work of the Education and Training Committee co-ordinated the Association's efforts to improve social work education.

The Education and Training Committee

The Education and Training Committee, one of the first committees to be set up by the NZASW, was formed in 1964. Major Thelma Smith, in Auckland, was its first chairperson. It became a key standing committee of the Association and, as a pressure group, it advocated for social work education. In 1968, it began working towards the establishment of a generic training course for social workers and the establishment of an organisation that would be independent of agency and government interests and which would develop, co-ordinate and advise on social work education and training (Education and Training Committee, 1968: 27). Attention was drawn to the need for advanced professional study as well as a co-ordinated approach to social work education. The committee recognised the connection between educational issues in social work and the social service delivery systems, when it argued that

...the problems in relation to training are inextricably linked with problems facing social work in other areas. In particular the whole standing of the private sector in social work vis a vis the public sector may well need re-thinking. It also seems that the speed of development may be related to the extent of public demand for change. This raises the question, which was mooted in a preliminary way at Massey, of an official enquiry of some sort which might necessarily extend well beyond the scope of training as such to encompass the whole structure and function of the institutions of social work (Education and Training Committee, 1968: 27).

In April 1969, the Education and Training Committee of the NZASW was asked by the Association to provide it with an analysis of components of the job of social work, to provide information on the need for social work education and current

provision in social work education. In addition, it was asked to organise a meeting of those with a stake in social work education in which they might consider the need for a national council for social work training. Finally, they were commissioned to act as an interim board of studies in order to confer the Certificate of Social Work Theory and Practice on members who had completed certain specified courses (Education and Training Committee, 1969: 65).

This Committee reported to National Council of the NZASW and pointed out the disjointed and ad hoc nature of provision for social work education throughout the country. It argued the need for a national body which could co-ordinate education for all social workers, regardless of their agency affiliation. It suggested that such a body could set and maintain educational standards and referred to the English Council for Training in Social Work, a statutory body, as a possible model (Education and Training Committee, 1969: 67).

The Education and Training Committee of the NZASW convened a conference on social work training following on the publication of Social Work Training in New Zealand. This conference was attended by people of seniority and influence with an interest in social work education.¹⁶ Their attendance emphasises the importance given to the consideration of social work education at the time. In terms of understanding how people were thinking at the time, always a useful indication of what was influencing the decisions being made, the conference papers provided a valuable overview of the current situation. Key themes were the crisis in university education,¹⁷ the relationship between state and social work and its implication for social work education.

¹⁶ They included Professor Crowther, Pro-Vice Chancellor, Canterbury University; Mr Peter Darracott, President of the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations and Assistant National Secretary, National Council YMCA; Professor Dixon, Professor of Social and Preventative Medicine, Otago University; Mr E.G. Heggie, Deputy Director-General, Department of Health; Professor Minn; Mr Levett, Senior lecturer, VUW; Miss Mason, lecturer, VUW; Mr Morrison, Director of University Extension Department at Auckland University; Mr Te Punga, Chief Probation Officer, Justice Department; and Mr Daniels, Convenor of the Education and Training Standing Committee.

¹⁷ Too few graduates in proportion to the number of practitioners, too few graduates in non-governmental organisations and too few social work staff at the university, were seen as key factors (Levett, 1970: 23) This was covered in Chapter Six.

Government Policy, Planning and Education for Social Work

The relationship between the state and social work was already recognised and the answer to who might eventually control social work was hinted at in a particularly thoughtful article in which Hamilton-Smith (Vice-President of the Australian Association of Social Workers), related welfare policy to social service delivery and argued the need to educate, not train, people who can contribute to social work as professionals with a good analysis. He thought Aotearoa/New Zealand's welfare state was expanding to become an institutional rather than a residual welfare system and believed "professional education must rapidly develop at both basic and advanced levels, and must diversify its character" (Hamilton-Smith, 1970: 35).

Hamilton-Smith pointed out that social workers have a "professional task in building a good society" which "is surely more complex and difficult than that of building a bridge". In other words, social workers should claim their right to be recognised as knowledgeable and having expertise. He quoted Simon on the challenges to the profession with reference to the difficulty of planning in a market economy for a field which does not respond in the normal way to market mechanisms

Mechanisms which operate decision-making about welfare policies may operate in isolation from those which operate decision-making about higher education, and this complicates the planning of welfare education immensely (Simon, 1967: 37).

This proved to be a major difficulty encountered by the New Zealand Social Work Training Council. Hamilton-Smith recommended introducing

special planning mechanisms for social welfare education (to address the) need for integration between general social welfare policy and planning on the one hand and social welfare education on the other (including) integration of educational planning with all other aspects of the social welfare manpower system (Hamilton-Smith, 1970: 37).

The need to co-ordinate planning between government ministries was recognised by the Minister for Social Welfare, Anne Hercus, who wanted to make the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services jointly responsible to the Departments of Education and Social Welfare.

Implications of a Changing Service Delivery System for Social Work Education

When the NZASW Standing Committee for Education and Training held a conference on the subject of social work education in January, 1970, the Association was already alarmed at the prospect of the amalgamation of the Child Welfare Division and the Department of Social Security which they considered unsuitable partners.¹⁸ Members were very clear that a new system of welfare would entail new training needs for social workers. Debates informed by the conference continued and Ketko, through the NZASW journal, noted that when the National Party proposed the reorganisation of the social services it mentioned "expanded re-training activity" (Ketko, 1970: 9). The then Minister for Health, Social Security and Child Welfare, the Hon. Mr McKay, had set up a working party to study the implications of the proposed re-organisation. The working party considered the move would result in social workers and social security workers having to

accept a new identity (which would necessitate) a need for a crash programme of reorientation and training for the carrying out of the combined social work function (ibid, 1970: 9).

In the same issue the editorial focused on the need to define what a social worker is in relation to provision of education and training, and the pending reorganisation of social service delivery. Here is an example of the recognition among the various fields of practice workers of a common base for social work. It was suggested that the reasons for this recognition included the influence of the School of Social Science, Tiromoana and NZASW. The editorial looked at the broader field of social work and public recognition of the term "Social Worker" and referred to Merv Hancock's point that the public, as consumers of social work practice, must be

¹⁸ The NZASW wanted a more visionary and broader-based amalgamation of social service provision, in order to bring about a streamlined and coherent system.

consulted as to what they want by way of social work. In this way, policy and practice were inextricably linked.

Social services are an integral part of the New Zealand economic structure. Social Services and welfare programmes are social utilities like roads and water services (Hancock, 1970: 29).

Hancock made the point that without more resources clients would not receive an improved service:

one of the grave issues in New Zealand social policy at the present time [is that] the providers of the social service in New Zealand are just not available or are not being produced by the universities and other institutions to undertake the professional tasks (Hancock, 1970: 29).

He supported this by pointing out that only

12% of social workers in government social welfare programmes have any full professional or adequate training.... One thing is certain about the proposal for the establishment of the new ministry it is this. Social workers will now be shaken out of their traditional casework-clinical-therapeutic roles into the area of social policy and social planning. This will help clients (Hancock, 1970: 29).

Hancock was alluding to the link between the change in social service delivery, the political analysis that lay behind it, and the consequent need to re-train and train more social service practitioners for the new systems. How social workers should be educated had been debated by those initially advocating for formal social work education and the debate was raised again as this first period drew to a close.¹⁹

¹⁹ There are similarities between the situation in which social workers found themselves in 1972 and, later, in 1989. In 1972, the social service sector was confronted with new ways in which their work was to be conducted, under the legislation for the Department of Social Welfare. In 1989, the same sector faced a steep learning curve with the introduction of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989 and arguably, insufficient training in preparation for the changes. Both occasions highlight the close and changing relationship between social work practice, education and the role of the State in social work.

Given this context of legislative and organisational change in which it was held, it is not surprising that at its conclusion, the 1970 NZASW Biennial Conference set up another working party²⁰ whose terms of reference were that it prepare a research strategy for investigating the present status and future development of education and training for social work, and report back to the NZASW. It was also asked to prepare a policy document for setting up a social work training council, which it was hoped would take over responsibility for accreditation and the award of qualifications (NZASW Biennial Conference, 1970).

The work of the Education and Training Committee during the final years of this first period covered a variety of projects, of which research and policy formation was but one. Some examples of its work will show the range and level of commitment to the development of the profession exercised by this committee. In 1971, the Education and Training Committee met with Professor McCreary, recently appointed to the Chair of Social Administration at VUW, to discuss matters of mutual interest. Professor McCreary encouraged dialogue but made it clear that no professional association could dictate to a university (Daniels, 1971: 23). He encouraged the NZASW to meet with the SSAC and advocate for the establishment of student units. Ongoing talks took place between the NZASW and the Universities of Otago, Auckland and Massey about provision of social work courses and concern was expressed that the SSC had discontinued the Social Work Traineeship Scheme.

In 1972, the Education and Training Committee convened an Education and Training Conference to discuss its Statement on Standards of Education and Training (Part I - III), which were adopted by National Council in November. This contained a useful summary of social work education and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the work of the Interim Board of Studies, which for a short time issued and endorsed Certificates in Social Work from University Extension Departments, where these included a substantial amount of supervised practice (Education and Training Committee, 1972: 53-59).²¹

²⁰ Membership of the working party included Professor McCreary and Dr H. B. Turbott, and Messrs T.H.J. Austin, W.S. Buxton, J.C. Dakin, Ken Daniels, P.M. Darracott, E.B. Dickinson, E.G. Heggie and A. Levett. Many of these people were closely involved in social work education and some later served on the NZSWTC.

²¹ Further examples of the work of the Education and Training Committee are to be found in the historical timelines in the appendices.

Membership of committees, working parties and conference members has been regularly signalled in footnotes because the same names come up repeatedly. This demonstrates the connections and continuities between people in this history. The significance of these connections and their continuity lies in the fact that Aotearoa/New Zealand is a small and close-knit community, in which people involved at one level, or in one aspect of social work, were also involved in others and as a result often wielded a wide-ranging influence. For example, Professor McCreary and Messrs Daniels, Austin and Darracott were all, at times, practitioners, educators, trainers and managers. This chapter therefore concludes by noting the major influences, alliances, people, sense of identity, vision and choices made which affected social work education during the period examined. Examples have been provided of the sense of purpose held by some key people during this historical period, people whose vision was effective in shaping social work education.

Influences

In this first historical period of social work education, the influences shaping it were largely benign, united and conservative. The concerted efforts of the Federation of University Women, the Nursing Association and the NZCER helped to bring into being a working alliance between the University (in the shape of Victoria University College, Wellington, as it then was) and Government Organisations (in particular the SSC, Child Welfare Division and Health), which resulted in the establishment of the Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University of Wellington. The curriculum was developed in a gentlemanly fashion between like minded people who had connections with each other through their experience in the British social work scene. The credentials of those involved in establishing the curriculum for the School of Social Science were unarguably of high international standing.

Alliances

One can discern a commonality of interest in this period between the major players with responsibilities towards the preparation and support of social workers. The accounts by Professors Robb and McCreary indicate the same recognition that social workers needed to be well-prepared for the work they do. The finer details as to the nature and content of social work courses was

left cheerfully to the University. There appears to have been an easy and relaxed alliance between the University, the State Services Commission and the profession. Those making policies about social work education were often the people who would put the decisions into practice. Students from the Victoria University social work courses were regularly promoted into positions of responsibility in the public service. The establishment of the NZASW was very much, though not exclusively, the work of graduates from School of Social Science. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this community of interest in the first period of social work education was expressed in a practical alliance that was shared by all parties concerned.

As the teaching staff at Victoria University travelled the length of New Zealand on placement visits, they forged links with practitioners and employers (some of whom were graduates of their programme) in a whole variety of social work settings and this promoted the recognition of a common social work identity. Eventually the isolated regional social work associations formed around different fields of practice were gathered together into one, national association of social workers. This professional body was conscious of the importance for the profession of education and training. It put much time and energy into persuading Government to put more resources into this area.

People

As key players (or stakeholders) emerged during this early period, the economy changed and with it the social climate. The period ends as New Zealand moved into an era of social conflict. Scarce resources emphasise conflicts of interest and social work education was sensitive to the competition for resources within the state sector. Leadership in the early years had been held by academic social work staff and graduates, either from within the university or through the NZASW, and the commonality of interest forged through the alumni system. In the second period to be studied, this relaxed model of leadership would be challenged.

This chapter has focussed on people, institutions and events that have made visible contributions to social work education. Many of the people involved have spent much of their lives in this field and their visions for social work have been noted. There were many others who quietly invested much of their life in social and community work. The NZASW secretaries, once

referred to by Archie Eliffe as a fellowship of secretaries,²² were very important in implementing the work of the NZASW. Of the women, some, like Jean Robertson, Beryl Mason and Avery Jack have contributed to social work learning and, as academics, they have conducted research and joined in contemporary intellectual debates. Many others, like Bertha Zurcher, Medical Social Worker and one time secretary of the Central Districts Branch of the NZASW, or Major Thelma Smith, who was the first chairperson of the Education and Training Standing Committee, led from behind. They have, therefore, less visibility in this broad-based chapter than one would wish. This is not to deny their existence or the value of their contributions, which will be surely reward future research.²³

Sense of Identity

I have argued that social work gained a sense of itself as an identifiable occupation during this post-war period. Practitioners in a variety of fields of practice were beginning to gather in regional professional associations. In 1961, a circular was sent to Social Workers Associations in Aotearoa/New Zealand, after graduates of the School of Social Science from 1950-54 attended a refresher course held at Victoria University of Wellington. They had had an animated discussion on the final day of the course about the formation of a national association and sought to encourage support for this idea (unauthored, undated manuscript, Social Policy, Social Work archives, Massey University). During the twenty years in which Victoria University of Wellington dominated professional social work education, much was achieved by way of forging links between educators, practitioners and employers. Training and education programmes, including the one at the School of Social Science, helped social work to develop its professional standards and sense of identity.

Visions

The State Services Commission held a pragmatic, public service type of vision for social work education which matched its understanding of the social work task. Mr Tom Austin was determined to raise the level of qualifications among statutory and non-statutory social workers and his contribution was that of administrative vision. He provided manpower

²² Letter held in Social Policy and Social Work Department archives.

²³ Women's influence in social work education needs further research in which it is the main focus of interest.

statistics over many years in order to facilitate planning and provision for social work education and training. He hoped to raise the standards of service delivery, amongst other things, through leadership and good supervision, coupled with a sound introduction to social work for all.

Merv Hancock's panoramic view of the requirements for social work education is evident in this period as recorded in this and previous chapters. His far-reaching vision for an integrated approach to the practice of social work and the preparation of social workers, combined the practical and personal with the political. His choices have been consistent in promoting this vision, which he relates to his determination to work for social justice.

The social justice ingredient in social work has always been embedded in the social work tradition. It is related to elements of altruism in social work and, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, developed strongly in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Maori hopes for self-determination and strategies about how to achieve this contributed another important facet to this aspect of the social work vision and gained prominence later. Many of the men and women mentioned in this chapter were members of religious institutions or strongly influenced by their Christian or humanist beliefs. Their determination to see standards in social work practice raised through the provision of appropriate courses is noteworthy.

One of the most contested visions for social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand is professionalism. It was contested partly because of a strongly egalitarian and inclusive strand of thinking within the NZASW. The debates surrounding professionalism in social work were extensive. Broadly speaking, they ranged across a spectrum from positive to negative clusters of meaning focusing on professionalism representing knowledge and sound practice on the one hand and status, elitism and gate-keeping on the other. In an early issue of The New Zealand Social Worker, Professor J. Ritchie discussed what it is to be a professional:

To have a body of knowledge and to possess skills and attitudes and ethical standards which one can profess, not for personal, but for social good (Ritchie, 1967: 5).

His argument raised points which were discussed in Chapter Four concerning the place of social work in the academy:

when a professional body approaches an institution such as the university for assistance with its training programme, it is in effect, asking the university to take part in directing the process of adult socialisation towards specific ends, to assist in the unlearning-relearning-reward sequences. Universities are traditionally suspicious of other people's purposes, and this apprehension is proper but often overgreat (Ritchie, 1967: 5).

He challenged the NZASW to set minimum standards for entry to an undergraduate degree, and for academic courses to be augmented by the Association's own specialist professional courses (Ritchie, 1967: 13). The Association has had a continuous involvement in setting curriculum and standards, or encouraging other appropriate bodies to do this. It has never had the legal power to set and police national minimum educational standards.

NZASW members held mixed feelings about professionalism, as can be seen in the following two positions recorded in the Association's journal. In 1968, the then President of the NZASW asked whether there was time for professionalism. He juxtaposed the concerns of the professional: keeping up to date with the literature, contributing to it, going to conferences and supporting the Association, with the concerns of the employee: working conditions and dependence on agency hierarchy rather than professional knowledge, (Wadsworth, 1968: 7). A year later, Professor Minn suggested that the present level of knowledge in the social sciences did not warrant an insistence on professional training for membership of the Association (Minn, 1969: 3). In the context of this study, it is worth recording the following cautionary note concerning the difficulty of choosing criteria with which to assess the quality of a programme of studies as put to the NZASW Conference:

a specific programme may be quoted as a great success because it has (a) greatly increased the supply of social workers and (b) these social workers do their job efficiently. It is easy to forget that neither of these criteria means a thing. One can only judge a programme of professional education in terms of the impact of graduates upon the development of better social planning and the long-term effectiveness of their treatment procedures.

As an analogy, a medical school only does its job adequately if its graduates not only alleviate the symptoms of illness, but also make a contribution to the elimination of illness (Hamilton-Smith, 1970: 33).

When the NZASW decided on its criteria for membership, it opted for an egalitarian and inclusive approach which admitted people into the Association not only if they had a professional qualification but also if they were working in an agency that the Association recognised as employing social workers. This was quite different from the Australian system in which a professional qualification was essential before membership. This was a pragmatic measure, because the Association could never have sustained itself with only the small numbers of qualified social workers in the country. It also showed acceptance of the capabilities of practitioners with qualifications other than degrees or post-graduate courses. With this significant decision the social justice vision was embedded in social work and members have been confronted with the tension between social and community work, social control and social action ever since.

Choices

Choices made in this period have, therefore, directly influenced the course of social work education. In the first instance, a choice was made to introduce a university level course rather than rely on the apprenticeship model. This showed acceptance of the value of learning at tertiary level for this particular new occupation of social work. The decision to engage a British Professor to head up the new School of Social Science was another important choice. It placed social work education in the British, as opposed to the American, tradition. Another choice was the amalgamation of the loosely connected, regional associations of social workers into one, National Association of Social Workers. This was important, because the Association, as a pressure group, was determined to increase the educational and training resources for social work education. Here, the personal vision of Merv Hancock and the public world of social work were united, for Merv Hancock was instrumental in setting up the NZASW.

The years 1972-3 ushered in a new era for social work with the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare and the New Zealand Council for Social Work Training. Maori initiatives in self-determination

began to gain ground and it was widely hoped that soon a plurality of institutions offering social work courses would usher in new opportunities and collegial debate. Many years before, Merv Hancock had told the Wellington Branch of the NZASW, quoting from Professor Titmuss:

We cannot achieve a better balance between the needs of today and the resources of today by living out of the destinies of tradition. Without knowledge of wind and current, without some sense of purpose, men and societies do not keep afloat for long either morally or economically by merely baling out water (Titmuss, 1958, cited by Hancock, *The education of a social worker in New Zealand*, unpublished talk, Wellington Branch, NZASW, 1967: 8).

These sentiments hold true for the second period of social work education. As will be shown, future directions were strongly contested, for those with a stake in social work education began to develop different aims and priorities. The harmonious mood of the early years of social work education gave way to a phase characterised by robust, sometimes bitter, debate and controversial decision-making. This change in mood was heralded by the NZASW campaign against the minimalist government policy on the reorganisation of the social services.

The next two chapters address the second of the three periods into which this case study has been organised. Chapter Nine considers the political, economic, social, and cultural background to the development of social work education. This in turn sets the scene for Chapter Ten, which examines the history of social work education during the years of the NZSWTC and discusses the major influences which affected it.

Chapter Nine: 1973-1986, Introducing the Second Period

The previous chapter considered the formation and progress of the NZASW, and the implications of social workers defining themselves. The efforts of the NZASW to persuade the state to take more responsibility for ensuring that social workers were adequately prepared for their work were discussed and it was argued that, when legislation gave expression to social work as an occupational category in the Department of Social Welfare (1972), this was a significant move, accompanied as it was by an acknowledgment of the need for training and education for social workers. Recognition of social workers was further cemented when the DSW established the New Zealand Social Work Training Council as part of its legal responsibility towards social work education.

The second major phase of development for social work education and training identified in this thesis is the period between 1973-1986 when the New Zealand Social Work Training Council was in existence. As with the two previous chapters, this one and the next go together in that the first contextualises the second. This first chapter portrays a society facing difficult social and economic decisions and increasing societal conflict between different groups, for example, Maori / Pakeha, rugby supporters and the anti-apartheid movement.

There is a parallel here with social work. Within the NZASW members debated what social work should be about and although during this second period, conventional schools of social work thought continued to draw on social casework methods and the social administration tradition in the curriculum,¹ social work practice styles were evolving. Those looking for social action approaches or methods indigenous to, or home-grown in Aotearoa/New Zealand were challenging the status quo in social work methods. I argue that this was a period of consolidation for social work and social work education, but at the same time, tensions and contradictions, as seen in the emergence of pressure groups and the changing pattern of alliances between key players, occurred. These tensions and contradictions, it will be argued, were symptomatic of the difficulties faced by an occupation like social work in which

¹ In fact, it was suggested that this explains the lack of enthusiasm among statutory authorities for alternative schools of social work (Crockett, 1979: 97).

the question of professionalism dominated much of this period, and caused bitterness and divided loyalties. The nature of the society hosting social work had altered significantly by the end of this period and the implications for social work education will be drawn out.

This chapter, then, looks at external factors which, through their impact on social work generally, affected the work of the NZSWTC, beginning with political leadership and changing political, economic, cultural and social circumstances. The organisation of social work services and the role of social work employers (particularly the DSW and the health sector) in promoting the need for a qualified workforce is examined. Societal attitudes towards social work are also considered.

During this period, the NZASW, the community work association and Maori development movements struggled for resources with which to educate and train their workers. Their relationships with one another and within each group had significant implications for social work education and these are discussed. Finally, the contribution of social work educators in tertiary institutions and others outside the establishment, in particular community work educators, is recorded and critiqued. The distribution of resources for the social services and the priorities of those working in the social service sector were also significant and during this period Maori issues were articulated and have become an increasingly central part of the story, gathering strength as this second period unfolded and arguably dominating the third period of this history.

Political leadership and changing economic, cultural and social background

To understand the workings of the Council and the influences on social work education, an understanding of the political, economic, cultural and social climate of the years during which it functioned is useful. The NZSWTC was heavily dependent for funding and support from government and, regardless of whichever political party was in power, the Minister of Social Welfare strongly influenced the Council (Brook, 1988: 53). When the Labour Government took power in 1972, Aotearoa/New Zealand had experienced two decades of economic stability under National governments. Chapman characterised the next two decades as replacing a period of stability with one of

economic fluctuations, rising unemployment and declining trade (Chapman, 1992: 385).

A National Government replaced Labour in 1975. Inflation had by this time grown at an alarming rate and campaigns in this period addressed law and order issues, street gangs in Auckland, the overstayer problem² and rising unemployment. During its nine year period in office (1975-84), the National Government faced an economic downturn brought about by the bottom falling out of the wool market in 1968, the oil crisis and the entry of Britain into the European Common Market, all of which presaged uncertainty and the need to find new economic partners.

A Labour Government was elected in 1984, with Ann Hercus as the Minister of Social Welfare. This Government was midwife to a new approach to social policy, encouraged by Treasury, which heralded the reorganisation of the Welfare State. The Labour Government, on reaching power, was presented by Treasury officials with a financial crisis and a plan for dealing with it in which Treasury recommended a radical review of the welfare approach to social policy. Through Roger Douglas, Minister of Finance in 1984, an economic analysis that was crucially different from and more developed than that of the Prime Minister, David Lange, was introduced. The new ideological approach which places responsibility for welfare squarely back with the family and the local community, was fuelled by the state's need to respond to economic difficulties. The economic imperative to cut government costs through devolution and decentralisation was aligned with the grass roots determination to gain more autonomy. The resulting new right approach to welfare is the context for the third period of this study and has been described in general terms in Chapter Four.

Legislative changes during these years,³ were consistent with post-war welfare philosophy. They signalled state responsibility for the welfare of its citizens and it was predictable that they would give an impetus to social work as an occupation. For social work education, as will be shown, the period was one of initial enthusiasm, as the government met its obligations to recognise the value of social work education (NZSWTC, 1974: preface), followed by stagnation as far as increasing access to, and resourcing of, social and community courses

² This refers to people staying beyond the limits of their visitor's permits. Samoan and Tongan citizens were targetted by officials.

³ For example, the Accident Compensation Act (1972), The Children and Young Persons Act (1974), The Disabled Persons Welfare Act (1975), The Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) and the Area Health Boards Act (1983).

was concerned. In addition, as the economic downturn worsened, there was less chance of resources being allocated to social work education, despite the fact that social and cultural issues were becoming tense.

In this middle phase, the country's complacent attitude towards the relationship between the Treaty partners gradually changed. When I migrated to New Zealand from Britain in 1978, the official public relations information told us New Zealand was a prosperous and classless society with no racial tensions. Yet, in 1975, Maori Land grievances were expressed through the 29-day Land March from Te Hapua to Parliament and, in 1978, the Bastion Point evictions brought home to non-Maori the genuine concerns and serious intentions of Maori. The 1981 Springbok Tour polarised public opinion regarding racism and drew attention to the fact that, in New Zealand, Maori faced racism and the effects of colonisation. Racism, prejudice against solo mothers, rising unemployment and housing worries had alerted social workers to take a radical position if they were not to be mere agents of the state.

The situation, as it affected social work, is summarised in the words of the Ministerial Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council:

Along with the recession came increased conflict between the various groups in society, substantial attitudinal changes, and an increased number of people in the community under financial and personal pressure. These factors, the result of the structural alterations within society as a whole, had important effects in the social services field (Ministerial Review, 1985: 9).

The social work industry

At the beginning of this period, the social services continued to be organised along the statutory/voluntary divide. The statutory agencies comprised the new Department of Social Welfare (DSW)⁴ responsible for administering the Children and Young Persons Act (1974).⁵ Merv Hancock, in his submission,

⁴ Among other duties, its responsibilities included preventative and social work services for children and young persons, distribution of income support, benefits and war pensions, rehabilitation services, provision of training for social workers.

⁵ The 1974 Act was criticised later as monocultural, giving power to the experts and paramountcy to the child rather than the family, but at the time many regarded it as a step forward in safeguarding children and raising standards.

pointed out that, without more resources, clients would not receive an improved service and stated that:

one of the grave issues in New Zealand social policy at the present time [is that] the providers of the 'social' service in New Zealand are just not available or are not being produced by the universities and other institutions to undertake the professional tasks. [Only] 12% of social workers in government social welfare programmes have any full professional or adequate training [and he added] in my experience Government Departments often behave in the social welfare field in a contradictory manner. Often they have taken the position that their view was the only relevant one, whilst on the other hand they have urged their staff to use the voluntary agencies to help clients (Hancock, 1970: 31).

That this way of relating to voluntary agencies would change was becoming clearer as this period drew to an end. Barretta-Herman (1994) has documented early changes in direction which occurred as the state has begun to minimise the sphere of its responsibility for social service delivery. Barretta-Herman's research into organisational change covered the social and economic situation of New Zealand in the 1980s with special reference to the Department of Social Welfare. She produced a meticulous and illuminating analysis of contemporary literature, reports and discussion papers to support her argument that, in the late 1980s, the Department of Social Welfare underwent profound organisational change in accordance with a new set of welfare principles.

The focus of her research concentrated on these organisational changes in the country's largest bureaucratic social service agency and brought alive the confusion about the changes being introduced in such rapid succession and the hopes for the community to have more say and be supported in its work.⁶

These were years when the paradigm shift in social attitudes of citizens towards their social responsibility for one another was gestating. Shannon (1979) in a perceptive discussion on professionalism, explored the social work dilemma in relation to its divided loyalties to employers and clients. He argued that there is an inherent difficulty in combining professionalisation with the social work

⁶ Barretta-Herman recorded Richard Hadley's visit to New Zealand in 1980 by invitation of the DSW. He was a British advocate for the mixed economy of welfare, a system of welfare pluralism in which the State supports voluntary and private social services through purchasing from them only those services it requires, thus maintaining a residual role in the provision of statutory work.

principle of client self-determination. In this thesis, I argue that the difficulty was less obvious in this middle period than it would become later.

Other statutory social work was provided through the Departments of Health, Education, Justice, Maori Affairs, Recreation and Sport, and Labour. Voluntary agencies were secular, or had a religious base as in the earlier period. Some were very informal, self-help affairs, while others were (and still are) national associations with well-developed bureaucracies. Norman King was also responsible, just before losing office in 1973, for forming the New Zealand Council of Social Services, which was to encourage co-operation and co-ordination among the multiplicity of welfare services and improve planning for welfare.

In 1974, the majority of social workers were employed by the DSW (405). The Hospital Boards employed 186 staff, the Department of Justice employed 167 staff and the Department of Maori Affairs employed 99. Only 17% of the combined staff had a recognised qualification in social work (NZSWTC, 1974:3). It is hardly surprising therefore, that submissions to the Social Services Commission concerning the Children and Young Persons Bill made the point that for it to be effective, more social workers would need to be employed by the Department of Social Welfare (King, AJHR, Oct. 1974: 5416). Earlier, in June 1974, Parliament was debating the Children and Young Persons Bill, Norman King declared:

We could have expected that during its many years in office, the previous Government would have laid the foundations for a broadly based social welfare programme to combat crime and delinquency, but it did just the reverse. It ran down the Department of Social Welfare (...) The workload for each social worker became greater and greater until little preventive work could be done. No adequate steps were taken to provide a social work training programme (...) If more money and effort were put into social welfare, less will need to be spent on prisons. That is what the people want (...) In our first year as the Government we have authorised the greatest staff increase in the history of social services and the Department of Social Welfare. We have established a social work training council, and this body is fully representative of Government, educational, and non-statutory voluntary organisations concerned with recruitment, training and

career development of social workers and the provision of social work services (...) In the short period of eighteen months the Government has approved pre-entry social work training courses, to be held at Auckland, Christchurch and Massey Universities. Under the National Government only one university had a school of social work, whereas now there will be four (King, AJHR , June 1974: 2266).

Given such sentiments, the NZSWTC, in its early years, received a great deal of support from many quarters including the Government. People recognised the need for a planned approach not only to social work but also to the preparation of social workers. The introduction of new social work courses gave impetus to the search for different and indigenous models for practice, both in social work and related fields.

A different, indigenous model was presented to the Public Service in 1977 when the State Services Commission organised a meeting at Huntly at which most public service departments were represented at senior level. It has been described as the beginning of the move to address the low percentage of Maori in the public service workforce (**M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95**). It was on this occasion that Mr Puketapu introduced his hopes and plans for the Department of Maori Affairs and explained the Kokiri and Tu Tangata approaches. Four years later, in his paper: Reform from Within, Mr Puketapu reflected on how this cultural approach had brought new vitality to the Department of Maori Affairs and given it greater credibility in the Maori community. He explained the Tu Tangata philosophy as representing "the stance of the people" in which they intended to advance (Kokiri) their future prospects. He argued that

some might see Kokiri as another way of achieving greater decentralisation or devolution of democratic power. [This may be so, but was not the point. The point was] to move the very spirit and soul of the client community in a way never before perceived (Puketapu, 1982: 4).

He went on to advocate that public service managers could be "more effective if they adopt a 'Wairua way'" . He explained that by "Wairua", he referred to the creative energy within a person, their soul, or spirit, "the spark of life itself" and he called on managers to recognise the human need to express their humanity in tune with the dictates of their spirit while at work. In order to facilitate this

style of management into the public service, the Department of Maori Affairs had regionalised into Kokiri units and made efforts to involve the tangata whenua in "more constructive dialogue" about how to use the Department's resources (Puketapu, 1982: 14).

This is the changing agency context in which the NZSWTC carried out its tasks. Barretta-Herman's work documented a process of structural change which has continued with a series of re-organisations to transform the face of the New Zealand Public Service. Structural changes were characterised by new managerial philosophies (described in Chapter Three) which resulted in decentralisation and the contracting out of statutory functions to agencies in the community from which the state could purchase certain targeted and highly specified services. It was argued at the time, and still is, that this could be an effective way in which to enable Tangata Whenua to tender for social service funding with which they could address their own needs in their own culturally appropriate ways. Contemporary publications, in the form of government sponsored reports, record the changing approach to cultural and women's issues and made recommendations about what should be included in social work training.

For example, towards the end of this period, as the active life of the NZSWTC drew to a close, the DSW was confronted with a series of reports which, in challenging its service delivery systems and programmes on grounds of racism and sexism, illustrate the critical social attitudes that had developed in some quarters. An early example is the Report of the Human Rights Commission on representations by the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD, 1982). This report was produced at the instigation of ACORD, Nga Tamatoa and Arohanui Incorporated. These groups alleged that practices at certain homes violated the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. ACORD was concerned at what it regarded as the Department of Social Welfare's failure to work sensitively with "the racial, ethnic and cultural identity of children and young people who were placed in the Homes" (Report of the Human Rights Commission, 1982: 41). The report made public its investigation of practices in Department of Social Welfare Children's Homes in the Auckland region.

It acknowledged that the homes were not recognising children's cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It accepted that practices which clearly contravened human rights had been in place but were now removed. It drew attention to

the need for cultural heritage to be nurtured and for welfare homes to co-operate with families and called on the introduction of policies with a more open approach to working with local Maori and Polynesian community groups (Report of the Human Rights Commission, 1982: 124). The report recommended compulsory staff training programmes in which multi-cultural studies would be incorporated (ibid: 133). It also recommended that every effort be made to keep children within their families before resorting to placement in a children's home (ibid: 126).

This gave momentum to the Maatua Whangai programme, introduced in 1983. It has been described as a programme that grew out of the annual national Maori Leadership Conferences and Kaumatua hui of 1981-2 (Bradley, 1994: 186). The programme corresponded well with the recommendations in the Report of the Human Rights Commission, 1980. It was intended to provide for Maori children to be fostered by Maori parents. Bradley argued that it failed because it was not based on a Maori kaupapa (direction), it was under-resourced and the Maatua Whangai workers were largely untrained (in western academic terms) and not supervised by Maori (Bradley, 1994: 189).

In the mid 1980s, there was a perceptible reduction in the demands of the Department of Social Welfare for graduates from tertiary level social work courses in favour of those who by virtue of their cultural knowledge and experience, could relate to Maori clients.⁷ This change in recruitment practice was influenced in part by the Report of the Women Against Racism Action Group (WARAG) which was produced by nine feminist women in the Department of Social Welfare who "shared concern about racism in Aotearoa and in our Department" (WARAG, 1985: 1). The Report uncovered racism and sexism in the Department of Social Welfare and contained several recommendations deemed radical at the time, though subsequently its ideas gained widespread support. In summarised form, they recommended that the DSW introduce an employment policy designed to bring in more Maori staff over the next 4 years and that Maori staff be allowed to work using their own protocols. They advised that ethnic composition of the agency reflect that of the community it served and staff should be trained in Maori language and customs and Maori skills should be recognised. Pakeha staff, they advised, should attend anti-racism courses (WARAG 1985: 33-34).

⁷ I remember in the mid-1980s hearing Bachelor of Social Work students being warned by Senior staff from the Department of Social Welfare that they would very likely be a second best option when applying for positions if they were competing with experienced Maori candidates.

While this report was being prepared, another, on the position of women in the social services was also underway in the Department of Social Welfare.⁸ It was part of an affirmative action programme for women employed in statutory agencies inspired by the Minister of Women's Affairs and of Social Welfare, Ms Ann Hercus. Their review was initiated by the Director-General, Mr Grant, and a discussion paper was circulated to offices of the Department of Social Welfare. Sexist attitudes, both in hiring practices and men's attitudes to women, and a strong demand for education and training for women and assertiveness training were particularly mentioned in the responses. Respondents called for two areas of research: the first was an evaluation of departmental residential programmes and their effect on women. The second was a comparative study of the career patterns of women and men in the Department of Social Welfare (Women's Advisory Group, Department of Social Welfare, 1986: Appendix 11, 1-2). These two critical studies of welfare practices were conducted at the same time that the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare was consulting widely with Maori communities.

The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, Puao-te-ata-tu (1986), was equally unambiguous in its recommendations regarding the preparation of staff for work within the Department of Social Welfare. It recommended that the knowledge and expertise of Maori people without paper qualifications for working with the Department's Maori clients should not be underestimated (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986: 38), that the Department should provide extra training programmes to give its employees the necessary cultural skills, noted the numbers of DSW staff and clients who

questioned the relevance to the needs of the Maori of much of the university-based training of social workers (ibid : 39).

and argued that casework, in so far as it worked with individuals, worked in a way that is "contrary to Maori values" (ibid: 39).

Mr John Rangihau chaired the committee which presented this Report to the Right Honourable Ann Hercus in 1985. She publicly accepted his report when she, together with the Director-General of Social Welfare, attended the national hui at Waiwhetu Marae where the Advisory Committee made known its

⁸ The seven women responsible for this work were known as the Women's Advisory Group.

findings prior to their publication (ibid: 45). Its findings were consonant with the findings of the Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC concerning cultural matters. The Minister's actions in respect to the Council indicated her determination to address the need for more culturally appropriate processes and staff within the Department of Social Welfare. There was inevitably a tension between accepting the calls from Maori for social service workers to have culturally appropriate knowledge and skills and insistence on a conventional, professionally qualified workforce. The presence of reports such as these does not in itself show that they were effective in changing attitudes and service delivery. However, it is widely accepted that Puao-te-ata-tu represented a major breakthrough. It is still a much quoted publication in policy documents.

Four stages are discernible in the general Public Service response to the call for EEO in relation to Maori (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95). At first, the strategy was simply to increase, through affirmative action programmes, the number of Maori employees. Difficulties quickly emerged when the new employees wanted to work using Maori kaupapa (protocols) and there was inadequate support, financial, cultural, or physical, for Maori ways of working such as holding powhiri, hui, and large gatherings generally. The introduction of large numbers of Maori social service workers into statutory agencies meant that, while many were able to establish excellent working relationships with their clients, they were unversed in the ways of bureaucracy. This recruitment policy caused many difficult situations.⁹

The push for affirmative action for Maori was one of the reasons why the NZSWTC had been so ambivalent about establishing a minimum qualification for social work (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95). The second stage was therefore to attempt to modify the workforce to suit Maori ways of working. In the third phase, questions as to whether the services offered should be offered by the state at all was raised. The fourth, and current phase, is the introduction of policies which contract services out to the Iwi. Some Iwi, however, have indicated their preference to concentrate their efforts on economic development rather than social services (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95, J. Bradley, pers. comm. 1997). For many Iwi, the constraints on what social services they can contract with the Community Funding Agency meant that, in 1997, the plans for government to contract out many of the services for Maori were delayed.

⁹ The stance taken by the Auckland Hospital Board, which, in 1984 refused to hire social workers without professional qualifications, is one example. This policy effectively excluded graduates with social work qualifications from the Auckland College of Education, because at that time, the qualification was not seen to be meeting the competency standards sought by the Chief Social Workers Association.

Employer concerns about the employability of new graduates had already been raised in September 1982, by the then Chief Social Worker for the Palmerston North Hospital Board, Neville Bird. He and Judith MacKenzie were members of the Chief Social Workers' Association. He reflected on the

apparent lack of 'fit' between the professional training received by recent entrants and the requirements of the job. [He argued that new graduates had] a good grasp of the forces at work in New Zealand society, changes in family structures, problems facing minority groups, the nature of bureaucratic institutions and models of social work intervention (Bird, 1982: 22).

He considered that new graduates paid attention to macro issues at the expense of care issues which diminished their value to employers. By July 1983, Judith MacKenzie, the Chief Social Worker for the Auckland Hospital Board, had told the new Auckland College of Education course that she would not be employing their graduates. She explained that this decision was based on the

apparent anti-institution approach and a focus on changing the way the organisation worked, rather than on the needs of individuals and their families (Cranna, 1989: 52).

Judith MacKenzie herself has stressed that it was her priority to appoint staff who were professional enough to hold their own in a multi-disciplinary setting and she needed to be certain that new staff held viable qualifications (J. MacKenzie, *pers. comm.* 1/12/95). Senior staff in the Department of Social Welfare also had doubts about the desirability of appointing graduates from the Auckland course because they were politicised (Cranna, 1989: 52).

This was the time when the dearth of Auckland-based courses had been causing much frustration to the Auckland Regional Council of Social and Community Work Training, as well as to the NZSWTC. The Auckland University MA in Sociology (Social Welfare and Development), offered for the first time in 1975, closed in 1980, leaving a training vacuum in Auckland which coincided with public anxiety at increasing visibility of gangs of unemployed Maori youth and fears of racial tension. The Government, facing an election year, finally consented to the introduction of a School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education, to begin in 1982 (Cranna, 1989: 18). It was

hoped that this would provide an alternative to university-based social and community work education and training, but when major employers turned away its graduates, this was a serious matter.

Attitudes to social work

Societal attitudes towards social work had changed by the end of this period, in keeping with the ascendancy of economic, over social policy and the introduction of a minimalist approach to state involvement in social welfare. Barretta-Herman contrasted the traditional social work position held by Professor Titmuss (that the state should accept a primary responsibility for social service provision as a sign of the collective community seeking to implement socially just policies) with the new policies taking shape in the late 1980s in which altruism and social justice take second place to individual responsibility and carefully targeted forms of minimal state assistance (Barretta-Herman, 1994: 10).

Barretta-Herman's argument that the Department of Social Welfare made a paradigm shift in its approach to welfare takes its place alongside a number of other New Zealand social policy thinkers, such as Culpitt (1992) analysing new theories of social obligation, Randerson (1992) costing out the human price of the market economy, Shannon (1991) arguing that those on the receiving end of social policy should have choices as to what these policies may be, Shirley exposing the implications for the powerless of new social and economic policy approaches (1992), and Briar (1993, 1997) examining the effects of new policies on women in relation to the workforce. That society was facing hardships was recognised as can be seen from Mary Gray's annual report, as President of the NZASW, when she drew attention to

the continual attacks on, and constant undermining of the Welfare State. Cuts in social services have been made in widely varying areas ranging from the "sinking lid" policy over all Government departments including Social Welfare, Justice and Maori Affairs to one percent cuts in Hospital Board budgets and the removal of mortgage priority for families with children.... The Welfare State in New Zealand is at a critical stage.... People are closing into self-interest lobbies intent on protecting their own interests at the

expense of those least able to fight in the political arena... (Gray, 1979: 1).¹⁰

The 1980s were characterised by strong tensions, both within and outside of the NZASW, between the calls for social justice, social action and conventional case work methods in social work. Shannon (1979) and Barretta-Herman (1984) wrote about professionalism in social work. Shannon's argument was based on the premise that it is intrinsic to professions that they internalise the values of the ruling class, act as an instrument of hegemony and, in the case of social work, would offer assistance from a white middle class perspective. He argued that for social workers to embrace this kind of professionalism would be to renege on the values on which social work is based. His paper was part of the NZASW debate over registration and unionism for social work. By 1979, professional social workers were graduating from four universities and the lack of educational resources for community workers and volunteers was causing friction both within the NZASW and between it and community organisations. Barretta-Herman (1994), on the other hand, argued that professionalism in social work, while open to the criticism of elitism, offered accountability through adherence to its codes of ethics which were based on altruistic principles.¹¹

Professionalisation of social work encouraged by new legislation¹² assisted its consolidation and signalled clearer lines of demarcation between groups in society working for the welfare of people. It is not surprising that at the same time, partnerships and alliances broke up and were replaced by new alliances. Speakers at the 1982 NZASW Biennial Conference, whose theme was "social justice a social work concern for the 80's", acknowledged the changes that were taking place in the governance of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Right Honourable Ann Hercus, Minister of Social Welfare, in her keynote speech, said she believed that social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand were

concerned in the name of social justice, with both individual and community well-being and that [they understood] the complex interaction between the two" (Hercus, 1982: 3),

¹⁰ A copy of this President's Annual Report can be found in Brook, 1988, Appendix XI: 127.

¹¹ Her account of events serves as a useful benchmark for contemporary thinking which, as one looks back, indicates the speed with which changes in attitude have taken place.

¹² For example, The Department of Social Welfare Act, 1972 and the Children and Young Person's Act, 1974.

but she doubted whether members of parliament showed the same understanding. Her reasons were concerned with the emphasis in their speeches on individualism and private property ownership and enterprise. She stressed the importance of maintaining a balance between the rights of the individual and the community and advocated a mixed economy that was market-based in order to avoid falling into "monolithic state control which would destroy our pluralistic democracy" and she advocated strongly for social justice (ibid.: 10).

At the same conference, Ranginui Walker (following a similar train of thought as Shannon's) told the assembly that

...no doubt they would all, as individuals, follow your own predilections in performing the balancing act demanded of you by society and your profession [in pursuit of social justice] (Walker, 1982: 25).

He urged social workers to resist the "Orwellian implications" of the "superstate" that Aotearoa/New Zealand was becoming, and to do so by supporting community groups to develop as a counterbalancing power.

The state has since succeeded in lessening its direct hold on local social service delivery through decentralisation and devolution but maintained control over policy and finance. In the process, social justice, as a respected part of social policy, has been demoted in favour of market justice. This conference exemplified the radical direction in which some members of the NZASW were headed, which was a factor in persuading pressure groups and interested parties to form new alliances in the sphere of social and community work.

For example, the Department of Social Welfare was, as already described, the host organisation for the NZSWTC.¹³ Careful reading of manuscripts and archival material, coupled with interviews and secondary material on this period, provide evidence of the lengthy and perhaps inevitable struggle between the Department of Social Welfare, the NZSWTC and the NZASW, in respect of who would define the social work task and whose interests would eventually dominate in the provision of social work education.

¹³ The Department was barely in existence before the NZSWTC was formed and the two organisations had a close relationship throughout their existence. The DSW provided the NZSWTC with a part-time executive officer and secretary.

The NZASW, in its submission to the University Grants Committee Review Committee on Social Work Education in Universities, presented a definition of social work which was idealistic rather than industry-orientated:

As a tradition social work has been associated with liberal and radical insights: respect for persons, the dignity of the individual, a vision of justice, and the recognition of the importance of the material basis of existence. It has also developed three major aspects of practice: casework, group work and community work. These are not viewed in the tradition as entirely separate spheres of activity but as integral parts of generic social work (University Grants Committee Review Committee, 1981: 1.9) .

Another, even more idealistic definition¹⁴ was critiqued by social workers within the Department of Social Welfare (Agenda paper of the Basic Professional Committee 30/4/82) revealing a deep-seated difference of opinion between the Department of Social Welfare social workers (the identity of this group of social workers is not stated, they simply describe themselves as from the Department of Social Welfare) and those who approach social work with a social action or community development perspective.

The question of where the authority to define New Zealand social work lies has a long history and signals the struggles for ownership of social work. An example of this occurred when this unidentified group of DSW social workers distanced themselves from the idea that social work is about social justice. Instead, they saw it very much as a problem solving exercise, to do which one had to be resourceful, well instructed in matters of law and good at arguing. The following quotation illustrates the feeling and content in their commentary on Professor Shirley's paper.

Social work within New Zealand did not arise from a crusade against poverty, but from statutory regulations aimed at protecting and controlling citizens.

It is not an inherent part of the social work task to take part in a crusade, with an accepted shared ideology concerning social justice and 'altering the shape of the pyramid', and there is little

¹⁴ In Professor Shirley's paper, The Nature of Social Work, presented to the NZSWTC Basic Professional Committee and referred to in Chapter 3.

evidence that social workers in their tasks are concerned with this...This section suggests that social workers know and agree on what is best for society, and should put the fight for social justice ahead of the task they are employed to perform (Agenda paper of the Basic Professional Committee, NZSWTC, 30/4/82).

Social and community work professional associations

This section looks first at the New Zealand Association of Social Workers and then at the community work movement during the 1970s and up to 1986. The relationship between the NZASW and the NZSWTC as seen through the reports of the Education and Training Committee and NZASW conferences helps to paint the backcloth against which the NZSWTC was working. A complete history of the NZASW has yet to be written, although aspects of its work are on record (Beddoe and Randal, 1994).

There is always a danger, of course, that contemporary publications will be given more weight by readers of another era than is their due. The purpose in this section on the social and community work professions is to include material which indicates the thinking that provided a context within which the NZSWTC functioned. The records depict a kind of dance or dialogue between the NZASW, the Education and Training Standing Committee and the NZSWTC over some of the most significant issues of the period which influenced the development of social work education.

The NZASW publication, News and Views, reported the debates which took place at this time and came out as regularly as possible.¹⁵ The Association has published reports and statements throughout its existence and these, together with Branch records and those of the National Executive and National Council, preserve the key debates and positions taken by the Association, its committees and its members. They show not only the energy and commitment of NZASW members over the years, but also their frustrations and internal divisions and the relationship between the NZASW and the NZSWTC.

¹⁵ At times, its format changes and, as the quality of the paper used diminishes, or the number of pages dropped to two sides of one page, one can appreciate the struggle of the NZASW to survive. This fragile little publication documented the business and debates of the day and, where accessible to students, contains excellent material on these topics of contemporary interest.

The New Zealand Association of Social Workers

As this period began, the NZASW was comparatively quiet and stable. At the end of the first period, the NZASW had consciously been

aiming at promoting wellbeing in society and preventing social breakdown and distress rather than merely curing symptoms (NZASW, 1971: i).

The proposals put forward by the NZASW in Social Welfare at the Crossroads, failed to deflect the government from its path. The effort involved in advocating for professional social work education and practice was difficult for an under-resourced voluntary organisation to sustain. It could be argued that the NZASW, having put up a strong fight, was subsequently weakened, partly because the personal efforts of individual members left the Association temporarily exhausted, and partly because its challenges had been troublesome to the Government. However, in 1972, once the legislation for the amalgamation of the Child Welfare Division and the Income Support Service was enacted, the NZASW agreed to support the new social service delivery arrangements. In September, that year, the Minister of Social Welfare announced his proposal to establish the NZSWTC and hopes were raised that resources would be put into social work education.

As the period wore on, issues arose within the NZASW, which caused much soul-searching and bitterness. At the end of this period, in 1986, the NZASW faced a remit at its Annual General Meeting, to disestablish itself through lack of numbers and the difficulty of working with a diversity of value positions. The concerns and arguments of the Association which developed during these years included the registration and membership questions which gained in importance, until, in 1986, they were temporarily dropped while members debated their stance on biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi. The following paragraphs give examples of this progression of arguments as some members of the Association gradually became more vociferous in favour of biculturalism and a community work orientation.

In December 1972, the Education and Training Committee, on behalf of the NZASW, sent a submission to the Director-General, Social Welfare, accepting in principle the establishment of the NZSWTC, hoping the Council would have a measure of independence and autonomy, together with broad educational

representation despite having an employer focus. The New Zealand Social Work Training Council built on the work of the NZASW Education and Training Committee.¹⁶ By 1974, despite the initial expressions of goodwill, the Education and Training Committee was frustrated at its loss of a leadership role over the development of social work education. Members felt they had

largely been placed in the position of responding to the initiatives of others, rather than keeping ahead of the activity to be a think-tank for the Association in the continuing development of policy (Education and Training Committee, 23/8/74, Report to National Council meeting).

In 1975, the Education and Training Committee approached the NZSWTC and asked it to take over the task of certificating university social work courses. The NZSWTC refused to take on this responsibility, which was then left to the universities. The Education and Training Committee's final action in 1975 was to issue a statement endorsing the universities as a more appropriate site for professional social work education than either technical institutes or teachers colleges.

By 1976, the National Education and Training Committee of the NZASW again reported that it continued to feel superseded by the work of the Council and wished to play a more active role in determining directions and initiatives (Report of the National Education and Training Committee of the NZASW, 1986). Members of the NZASW had by now recognised that the social work profession was in danger of marginalisation in terms of providing leadership for the education of its members (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 7/11/95). Here were early warning signals of drift between the social work profession and employers, easy to detect in hindsight. Another division was emerging at this time between two social service professional associations.

I felt there were some bitter disputes between the NZASW and the Community Workers' Association, and I mean good on them. That's what drove the change in some ways (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

It is argued here that, where there was conflict, there was change. Unlike the first twenty years of the School of Social Science, when there was considerable harmony between the university, the NZASW and statutory agencies, the

¹⁶ As already mentioned, the two groups had members in common.

period in which the NZSWTC functioned was one of rifts and divisions between groups within the NZASW and others with an interest in social work. Struggles occurred between employers, professionals and radicals/community workers for control of and access to the education and training of social work. In addition, the NZASW was also divided over professionalisation, the desire to prevent the social work/welfare split that had become established in Australia and the twin issues of criteria for membership of the Association and the introduction of a system of registration.

The NZASW made a number of representations to the NZSWTC on behalf of community service workers. Though received politely, little came of them. In 1975, the Council turned down a request by the NZASW that it give some form of recognition to students completing university extension courses, many of whom would have been community workers.

In December 1976, members of the NZASW were discussing issues around registration. News and Views set out the advantages and disadvantages of registration. The advantages included protection for clients and employers, professional development, training, skills development and protection for social workers. The disadvantages were that there were so few professionally qualified social workers eligible for registration that the scheme might undermine

the unqualified in a situation where they are the back-bone of the service (News and Views, Issue 12, December 1976, 1).

Also significant in this context, was the well-thought out proposal for the training of in-post staff and volunteers submitted to Council first by Merv Hancock and then by the NZASW. This made the point that the distinctions between the two groups

are practical in nature and do not imply exclusive categories. Education and training programmes should be seen as a whole - a mosaic or pattern where a person can move from one level to another as is appropriate (Hancock to the NZSWTC agenda paper to the 37th meeting of the Council 9/6/78).

Merv Hancock asked the NZSWTC to refer his proposal to the Minister of Social Welfare for consideration and to carry out a feasibility study. He chose

the title for the qualification deliberately to follow the model of the certificates offered by the NZ Technicians Certifications Authority.

He pursued this proposal and in the same year, proposed three remits which were carried at the NZASW biennial conference. These challenged the direction in which the NZSWTC was headed. These remits were:

1. That the NZASW renew its commitment to a non-university qualification in social work.
2. That the Education and Training Committee urgently investigate the possibility of a New Zealand Certificate of Social Work for in-post social workers involving the Technical Correspondence Institute, Central Institute of Technology, community colleges and polytechnics.
3. That the NZASW indicate to the NZSWTC, to the Ministers of Social Welfare, Education and to the political parties that it is opposed to courses leading to the social work qualifications being offered at teachers colleges. (Minutes of 39th meeting of NZSWTC, 31/8/78).

Ruth Swatland, the NZASW nominee, presented the NZSWTC with these remits and thereby re-affirmed the NZASW's commitment to a non-university qualification in social work. The Association also told the Council it wanted it to advocate for more in-service courses of which it considered the country had a particular need (Minutes of 39th meeting of NZSWTC 31/8/78). The way in which the NZSWTC responded to this challenge is discussed below, in the section covering the location debate.

This Certificate proposal, if adopted, could have resolved many of the difficulties and divisions which later beset the NZSWTC. It was flexible, being composed of many papers, some of which could be picked up in many regions. It offered choices for specialisation and cross-credits. It was to be another ten years before anything at all comparable became available. It is similar, in some respects, to the current notion of the unit standards on the national framework, being modular, portable and outwith the universities. The proposal was referred to the Standards Working Party of the NZSWTC (Hancock, NZSWTC agenda paper to the 37th meeting of the Council 9/6/78). It is possible that had the certificate proposal been acted on, the debates over registration would have been less fraught, provided the certificate had been a sufficient qualification for

registration. This would have been more readily accessible for practitioners and less of a hurdle than the university qualifications.

As it was, the 1978 NZASW Conference passed a resolution that the National Executive would establish a register of qualified social workers and set criteria for admission to it. This was the same conference at which Ivan Illich was the guest speaker. Clearly, there was a broad spectrum of opinion in an organisation that could, on the same occasion, decide in favour of introducing a system of registration while hosting Ivan Illich, who had been invited to the conference by members, many of whom were lecturers at the Social Work Unit, Massey University. Illich's talk was felt to have been particularly influential in encouraging the social justice emphasis during the years that followed (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 26/9/95; M. O'Brien, pers. comm. 23/9/95).

Parallel to this development was the related debate over accreditation, suspended by the NZSWTC in 1977 for two years in order to assess the effect of accreditation on social workers from non-accredited courses. This is discussed in detail later, but is mentioned here to establish the connection between debates taking place within and between the NZASW and the NZSWTC.

The NZASW continued to be divided over the question of registration and in June 1979, the editorial for *News and Views* observed that some social workers were considering forming a splinter group which would introduce a system of registration (*News and Views*, Issue 51, June, 1979. 1-2). One of the most heated issues at the NZASW Conference in 1980 was the question of whether professional qualifications should be a membership criterion for NZASW social workers. That year, the National Executive, based in Christchurch, put forward a motion that membership of the NZASW should be for those with professional qualifications. After discussion, the motion was defeated by 141 votes to 45. So angry were those who lost, that they later proposed another motion to the effect that membership of the NZASW should be completely open. This, too, was defeated (*News and Views*, December, 1980: 9).

The more radical element in the NZASW was evident in presidential statements such as that of Mr Hannifin, when he issued an anti-Springbok Tour statement on behalf of the NZASW and called on the government "to reaffirm its moral opposition to Apartheid and the current Springbok Tour" (*News Supplement*, *News and Views*, August, 1981). The following year, just before the biennial

conference on social justice, the NZASW had formally adopted the International Federation of Social Workers' definition of social work stating that:

Social work is a profession whose purpose is to bring about social changes in society in general and in its individual forms of development (NZASW Position Statement, 6/9/82).

In tune with this position, the NZASW nominee on the NZSWTC, Murray Short, delivered a resounding and much publicised speech by way of his final report to the NZASW concerning his experience as the Association's nominee on the Standing Committee on Basic Professional Education. His critical speech struck a cord and his message made headlines in several daily papers. "Get rid of your middle-class image" (Evening Standard, 28/8/82), "Control becoming harsher as the cash gap widens" (The Gisborne Herald, 28/8/82), "Social workers urged to define public's real needs" (Auckland Star, 28/8/82) and "More flexible social work training needed" (Times-Age, 28/8/82). His report and the newspaper articles were included for discussion in the agenda (Item 5d) of that Committee on 15 Oct 1982, with the question "Do we wish to pursue an alternative model of training?". He put it to the Council that its approach to the provision of education for social work was elitist and left community workers out in the cold.

The radical direction taken by the NZASW continued and in November 1982, the President's message explained that the new Executive was based in Auckland and had taken an office in Trades Hall, on the same floor as the PSA. This symbolised the intention of the NZASW to be allied with groups who aimed to protect their members and felt strongly about the New Zealand way of life. The President was by now Gaye Tozer, a senior social worker at Epsom Day Hospital, Auckland. Hectic and controversial are two words used to describe the work of the NZASW Executive, whose stated goals were

1. To be an effective political pressure group, speaking out on social and political issues with a particular concern for disadvantaged groups in society and with changing oppressive social structures.
2. To work towards greater participation by members in all aspects of NZASW.

3. To broaden the membership base of NZASW by attracting social workers who have not previously seen the Association as representing their interests.
4. To aim for recognised standards of practice to enhance professional accountability and protection for clients.
5. To increase the number of certificated social workers in practice by: improving access to training opportunities supporting the development of a range of basic, specialist and advanced courses, both part-time and fulltime, encouraging employers to recognise professional social work qualifications, (NZASW News and Views in Social Work, November, 1982: 1).

Other statements from the 1982 Auckland Biennial Conference which captured the mood of the Association include Mr Alf Kirk, Federation of Labour economist, who said: "social justice is about options. The poor lack options in the relationship between those with power and those without" (Ibid. 3.); Professor Shirley, who called for social workers to link the private troubles of their clients to the social structures and systems of privileged and power which make them poor and Sr Pauline O'Connor, a staunch and well-known community worker from Christchurch, who gave a practical example of working with the powerless to bring about change. Maori input to the conference was welcomed, along with their observation that in order to understand "what the system is about, you don't need to be an expert - you need to be a participant" (Ibid. 3.). The National Executive were charged with preparing and presenting NZASW members with a report on the issue of registration three months prior to the 1984 biennial conference.

After this conference, the NZASW put increasing pressure on the NZSWTC to open up access to training for social work at many levels and for a wider variety of practitioners. The Education and Training Standing Committee, now based in Wellington, adopted an active as opposed to a reactive stance towards its work. Chaired by Ms Pilalis (later Harré-Hindmarsh), it put forward a position paper for discussion and acceptance as Association policy (NZASW AGM, August 1983). In as inclusive a context for social service work as possible, it stated that:

A crucial element of the education and training process is seen as the passing on of a sense of identity with and commitment to a

set of social work values, ethics and standards. Because agencies tend to limit such a commitment (as set down in the background paper) it is felt that the appropriate setting for education and training is more appropriately outside the agency. It is recognised that training in skills specific to an agency can be taught in that agency (NZASW AGM, Position Statement on Education and Training, 1983: 1).

The NZASW Standing Committee recommended that, given the Association's commitment to social justice, it should take a critical stance towards the models of social work education currently in use (NZASW Position Statement on Education and Training, 1983: 5).¹⁷ The NZASW did not, however, have the monopoly on social justice, which was hardly surprising as several of its members were on the NZSWTC. Already, by 1981, the NZSWTC in its report on its activities had made it clear that it considered social justice to be an inherent part of social work and that it was essential that students be encouraged to have a sense of social justice in their work (NZSWTC, July 1981: 14).

By 1983, as the active life of the NZSWTC was drawing to a close, the NZASW issued new terms of reference for the Education and Training Committee showing a renewed determination to regain some of the initiative that had been lost during previous years. The committee was to review the basic minimum standards set by the NZSWTC and the accreditation process by which they were implemented (Terms of reference, NZASW Education and Training Committee to the NZASW, August, 1983).

The purpose of this part of the chapter has been to show the broad spectrum of opinions regarding education and training for social work that existed within both the NZASW and the NZSWTC and to point out that active social workers were members of both organisations. Murray Short, for instance, was a Council Member from 1976-86 and was the NZASW representative as well as a Student Unit Supervisor and Probation Officer. His analysis of the period was telling.

I think the predominant thing about that era is that there were two separate currents going on. One was the drive for professionalism, and the other was the community dimension, the

¹⁷ The committee had only received one response to the proposed position statement by October 1983 (News and Views, October 1983: 11).

community orientation, and they were linked..(M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

Here he accounts for the contradictions and tensions experienced by members of the NZASW and the NZSWTC in which new communities of interest were appearing. Two further items from the NZASW News and Views help to illustrate the range of views and separate currents within the Association. The first explains the controversial recruitment policy for social work staff at Auckland Hospital Board¹⁸ pointing out that "While many saw it as an advance in the protection of standards, others considered it as racist and elitist" (St. Johanser, 1983: 5).

The other, put out by the Education and Training Standing Committee (1984), is a report: Positive Discrimination and Social Work. This was the result of a survey into current practices in positive discrimination among employing or training social workers. The Committee concluded that positive discrimination was occurring in some areas and was one of a number of strategies to be used in the fight against institutional discrimination (Education and Training Standing Committee, 1984: 5-7). These emotive issues left the NZASW once again, strained to accommodate people on either side of this ideological divide.

The NZASW continued to wrestle with its diverse membership and questions of professionalisation. The 1986 Biennial Conference was held at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, in August. Its theme was Social Work in a changing world. The opening speaker was Mr Hirsh, the Race Relations Conciliator. The first remit, that the Association be wound up, was opposed, with Merv Hancock strongly encouraging its defeat. The future structure of the Association was then discussed and a proposal that there be a Maori and Pakeha (later, Manuhiri) Caucus was eventually carried. Sarah Fraser became President of the Pakeha Caucus, and Rahera Ohia was to become President of the Maori Caucus. Both were graduates of the BSW programme at Massey University and knew each other well, which was almost certainly a stabilising factor. This dramatic and volatile situation for the NZASW reflected the turmoil over race relations in the country in general and Maori challenges to the Department of Social Welfare and its social work staff in particular.

¹⁸ Already referred to above in relation to the refusal of the Chief Social Workers to hire staff who were, in their view, inadequately qualified.

The Community Work Movement

Once generic and professional characteristics forming the social work identity had gained recognition during the early 1970s, social workers began to reappraise their aspirations and their commitment to social work with its international and indigenous identities and some redefined themselves as community workers. Community workers, many of whom were Maori and women, had begun to take stock of the social work rhetoric and ask who was going to "walk the talk". This short section notes that the community work movement had a critical influence on social work education in this period.¹⁹ As such, it provides yet another context within which the NZSWTC functioned and needs to be recognised. It was a pressure group with a developing sense of purpose in relation to the rights of community workers for training.

Social workers have tended to regard community work as a social work method, while many community workers see themselves as generically different. Thus:

The collective opinion of the Working Party is that community work is allied to but not part of social work. The working party's assessment of current courses indicates that they are casework orientated and provide a community orientation to social work rather than a training course for those engaged full-time in community work. (Discussion paper, Development of Training Opportunities for Those Working in Community Work. Community Workers Association, circa 1983).

During the life of the NZSWTC, many terms denoted social and community workers, including welfare workers, social service workers, community service workers, volunteer workers. For this reason, the NZASW Education and Training Committee recommended that "professional" community workers should have similar opportunities to social workers for "full professional development" (NZASW Education and Training Committee, 1976: 8).

The confusion continued and in 1979, The NZASW News and Views ran an editorial "Community Work - Community What?" in which the increase in community work occupational appointments was noted, with a call for

¹⁹ A brief history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association is to be found in Chapter Eleven. Although the history of community work associations in Aotearoa/New Zealand began in the 1970s, in the interests of continuity, it appears, as an integrated whole, in one chapter.

clarification of the different forms in which community work and community development were manifested (Routledge, 1979: 1). Community workers were not overly keen to become professional, because many of them equated professionalism with elitism and considered that, if courses for community workers were situated in universities, or became full-time, they would very likely be out of the reach of many community workers.

However, they did appreciate the value of education, but wanted access to educational resources on their own terms. There was much friction between social and community workers who were now competing for resources through the NZSWTC. In this context one respondent reflected that:

The Council was disbanded largely and I've got a biased view, because of the other thread I was talking about, the community orientation thread. It was perceived to be captured entirely by the state casework agencies. Now it is my personal view that that was a biased view. I spent quite a lot of my time and energy on the Council trying to ensure that the community orientation was reflected and bear in mind that professionally I was working right through that period on developing and introducing a community-oriented approach in probation.... So I was actually very determined as an individual and as the nominee of the NZASW to actually push social work education to incorporate a much broader view of social work. Arguably we weren't very successful.... I think the government turned down the NZSWTC pleas for a course, or courses, and the community workers felt they [the Council] weren't doing their jobs properly (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

Murray Short's comments illustrate the tensions within the NZASW and between the NZASW, the community workers and the NZSWTC.²⁰

The influence of the market on the education and training of social service workers is another factor that has been referred to already, particularly by Professor McCreary. Murray Short went on to point out its relevance for community work both during and after the period in which the NZSWTC was functioning.

²⁰ Another example here from the NZCETSS correspondence file which contains a letter, from hospital social workers, arguing that it was neglecting social work.

The problem with the provision of community work training is the market issue which is another undercurrent a great deal of the time, about central planning and provision as distinct from the creation of a market. Quite clearly the universities and other educational institutions are moving to a more market-oriented approach. They would respond to signals and the state employers finally tumbled to that and towards the early 90's began to get really serious about that. Now that would leave community workers at a disadvantage again because they're largely employed by smaller agencies that don't carry that sort of economic clout. And so you've got again that problem of the market not being particularly even handed. Well, that's an understatement (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95)

This explanation of the structural disadvantages under which community workers campaigned for a better share of education and training resources is still valid for the current environment in the Nineties.

Social and community work educators.

During this second period, the need to increase the number of tertiary level social work courses was a major pre-occupation for all with a close interest in social work. Proposals by tertiary institutions for social work courses were not necessarily supported by the Council, if it was feared they could be cheap alternatives to a professional standard and might become established as permanent and sufficient. There was also a degree of honesty within the Public Service concerning the difficulties being faced by statutory employers of social workers, who wanted well-qualified staff, but were prepared to acknowledge that if they could not afford to pay for their education and training, then they at least ought to ensure they had a basic introduction to social work training. They were not prepared to fudge the issue, though, by pretending that such courses would, in fact, lead to professional qualifications.

For example, in 1974, Otago University was prepared to offer a medical social work course. There was concern among members of the NZASW who felt this proposal would not do justice to generic social work and Professor McCreary, then Acting Head of the Department of Social Administration, Victoria University, Wellington, advised Council that, despite

the urgent need to develop more university-based education in social work and the shortage of social workers in medical settings, I consider it would be most unfortunate to establish a course which would not provide adequate training and fail to achieve professional recognition. The Dunedin proposal in my view, runs the danger of suffering both these fates and hence this objection has been lodged (McCreary, Minutes of 8th meeting of NZSWTC, 1/4/1974).

His concern was to avoid cheap, short courses becoming established. James Ritchie, Waikato University, made the same point in response to the Standing Committee On Research Into Tertiary Education Report (SCORITE), arguing that "half-baked training is a career-trap" adding that the model of graduate social work training was a far sounder proposal

but its extension either at Victoria or elsewhere has never been properly supported, especially financially (University of Waikato comments on SCORITE Report, 12/9/1977, in Minutes of 35th meeting of NZSWTC, 10/2/78).

By the 1980s, there was a spate of reviews into many aspects of social organisation. In view of the changes in society that had taken place over the twenty years since universities had become autonomous bodies in New Zealand, the University Grants Committee (UGC) reviewed several new subject areas being taught at universities, including social work education.²¹ (Other subjects included engineering, computing studies, library studies etc.) The UGC position was that the universities were there to serve the interests of the wider community and to promote high standards of research as well as assist in preparing professionals for the public good. It acknowledged that the public had to decide what it wanted its universities for and could then fund them accordingly. Whether these new subject areas were appropriately sited in the university was to be decided democratically.

It was noted in the foreword to the social work education report (known as the Brownlie Report) that among the significant changes which had occurred since the School of Social Science at VUW was established were the recent rapid increase of student numbers, the change in university organisation, the

²¹ Members of the Brownlie Committee were Prof. A.D. Brownlie, Vice Chancellor of Canterbury University (Chair); Mr J.C. Fair, University Grants Committee and Director of several New Zealand companies and Mr J.H. Ingram, Member of Auckland University Council and Managing Director of NZ Steel Ltd.

economic downturn and hopes for industrial development (The University Grants Committee Review Committee (Brownlie Report), 1981: [i]).

The Committee set up a working party consisting of Professor Graeme Fraser,²² Mervyn Hancock, Professor McCreary and Dugald McDonald.²³ The Brownlie Report took a traditional definition of social work in line with that of the State Services Commission (1966) and the earlier definition from the 1962 Dunedin conference. It reflected social work as practised. The authors chose this tone deliberately in order to be heard (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 30/8/95). Their definition is paraphrased here. They looked at the functions of social work as a professional occupation which enabled citizens to gain access to community resources; as work which helped "individuals, households, families, small groups and small communities"; and fostered the involvement of all concerned in care and protection interventions. Social work was also described as being concerned with planning for change, encouraging self-reliance and "controlling, on behalf of society, dependent and/or deviant clients" (Brownlie, 1981: 5).

This descriptive definition gained general acceptance and put up no barriers. In 1981, that was no mean achievement. The Brownlie Report came out in favour of social work courses in university settings, though some universities were more willing to host programmes for the education of social workers than others. Auckland University was particularly lacking in enthusiasm. There is a whole file in the NZSWTC archives on the issue of lack of provision for social work training in Auckland and the behaviour of Auckland University in relation to this. It reads like a game of cat and mouse, with the University forever holding out a faint indication of interest, but regularly pulling back at the last moment. This added to the difficulties encountered by the NZSWTC when planning and advising strategies for social work education in the Auckland area. Auckland University is an extreme example of the general attitude to be found in universities towards social work education. The universities in New Zealand were generally

reluctant to acknowledge that social work is an area of academic study at a university level...there was not an appreciation that here you were dealing with areas that required scientific

²² Massey University, Sociology Department.

²³ University of Canterbury, Social Work Department.

foundation and scientific tools of analysis and techniques for the delivery of those services (I. F. Shirley, pers. comm. 13/10/95).

Similar points were made by others interviewed for this history. Social work was regarded as an applied subject and, as such, there has been a feeling that it should not be taught in a university, but rather in a polytechnic. After the Auckland University MA in Welfare and Development closed, the Community Health Department of the School of Medicine at Auckland University showed an interest in offering a small post-graduate medical social work course. Judith MacKenzie and Ken Daniels from the NZSWTC were keen to see this develop but the Auckland branch of the NZASW was vehemently opposed to it, considering it to be elitist. Not wanting a political row, the University disassociated itself from the project, and this put an end to it (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95). Auckland University still offers no qualifying courses in social work.

Discussions about increasing resources for social work education took place at Ministerial level and at Treasury, but the NZSWTC frequently had its requests for more courses and resources put on hold or refused. For example, in 1980, the Hon G.F. Gair, Minister of Social Welfare, was quite blunt about the financial constraints under which his Ministry operated. While he recognised the Council had difficulties and agreed (à propos of Auckland University) that it was "not acceptable that a University serving a large urban area did not pull its weight", he spelt out the funding dilemma - all new ventures had to be fiscally neutral, adding that "the distance between the field and the fence could be two generations". When he then asked the Council to decide its priorities, members chose "the plight of community service workers", but were later informed that none of their priorities had been accepted (Minutes of 48th meeting of NZSWTC, 25/3/80).

It was recognised that negotiations between Treasury and the Minister of Social Welfare indicated a lack of understanding about the nature of social work and serious marginalisation of social work, such that extra resources for education and training for social workers were not readily forthcoming. A letter to Council from the Chairman of the Officials Committee on Family and Social Policy, explaining "what was happening within government machinery" (Minutes of 50th meeting of NZSWTC, 1/8/80), was delivered to Council, but does not appear to be in the archives. It is quoted in Cranna's history of the School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education. Treasury

recommended that only one teachers college course should be run, with a reduced student intake and limited payments allowance for the students. At the same time, it specified that the course must be able to meet the basic minimum standard set by the Council (Cranna, 1989: 15). The level of consternation and disappointment this caused is referred to in the section on the work of the Council.

In its first few years, the new programme at the Auckland College of Education lived out the conflicts and tensions around identity, professionalism and racism that had been growing between social workers, community workers, youth workers and employers (Cranna 1989).²⁴ Cranna documented the first eight tempestuous years at the School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education. In terms of a struggle for a settlement over the education and training for social, youth and community workers which includes the Maori and Pacific Island points of view, his short history is a paradigm case study. As he pointed out, the major employing agencies could (and did) make their opinions felt as to what they regarded as appropriate course content for social workers when they chose not to appoint graduates who did not have the knowledge and attitudes they were seeking (Cranna, 1989: 52).

Similar issues which faced the Auckland course, had earlier been aired by two students taking the Bachelor of Social Work degree at Massey University, Wendy Craig and Margaret Gruys, though cultural concerns were a stronger and immediate focus for Auckland students. They challenged staff on their course about the conservative style of social work education, and published an article in *The New Zealand Social Worker* making the same kind of points as those made in Auckland (Craig and Gruys, 1982).

University social work education is carried out in the context of wider New Zealand society. This in turn fundamentally influences the nature of social work education and the practice of social work. There is then a dialectical relationship between each of these (Craig & Gruys, 1983: 7).

²⁴ In 1994, I talked to Mrs. Hessey, the first director of the School of Social Work. She showed me a video-tape of her farewell celebration, an emotional occasion in which Maori speakers expressed their gratitude to her for consulting with and involving them in the social work programme. This decision proved a particularly painful episode in the relationship between employers in the health sector and the NZASW (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95; L. Beddoe, pers. comm. 22/9/95). It polarised opinions on the question of what qualifications and qualities a professional social worker should have. Two respondents who mentioned this matter and were directly involved in it still felt keenly the distress it caused them and those they worked with.

They called for changes to the education provided which would allow for more student input, for an action-reflection type of model and a generally more radical and challenging approach that acknowledged the conflictual nature of our society. Their recommendations fitted well into the contemporary scene. However, the call for more courses was by now falling on hard economic ground.

The Council's own proposals for tertiary level courses, when sent to the Minister of Social Welfare were regularly put on hold and then declined or reduced, for economic reasons. After the 1984 election, Ann Hercus proved a particularly effective Minister of Social Welfare for the NZSWTC, which, by then, had become demoralised. It was she who called for the Council to be reviewed and invited it to review itself.²⁵ She attended the Council's last meeting which took place on 30/4/86. The institution remained in legal existence until replaced by the NZCETSS, partly so that the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW) could continue to be awarded to graduates of accredited programmes.

To conclude, public opinion in the late eighties had become polarised. Economic and political leaders were eyeing the public service as a millstone round the neck of a Government now far less affluent than that which had introduced popular welfare benefits. Those for whom social welfare and social justice were of paramount importance were faced with the prospect of economic procedures being put in place which would, at the expense of increased numbers of unemployed people, provide the middle classes with increased prosperity. Against this background a new initiative for social work education was established, the NZSWTC. Its work and the vicissitudes of its twelve year lifespan will be covered and critiqued in relation to influences on social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

²⁵ The reviews are discussed introduced and discussed in the next chapter.



Merv and Alison Hancock, farewell function,
Social Work Unit, Massey University, 1982.

Original held in the School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University.



Ephra Garrett (respondent) and Professor Graeme Fraser,
Massey University, 1977.

Original held in the Department of Policy Studies and Social Work Archives,
Massey University.



Judith MacKenzie (respondent)

Photo supplied by Judith MacKenzie.

Chapter Ten: 1973-1986, Consolidation

University social work education is carried out in the context of wider New Zealand society. This in turn fundamentally influences the nature of social work education and the practice of social work. There is then a dialectical relationship between each of these (Craig, W. & Gruys, M. 1983: 7).

In this chapter the work of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council (sometimes referred to here as simply "the Council") is examined in recognition of its role in the development of social and community work education. Whether one considers the Council to have been a significantly influential body or not, in its capacity as advisor to the Minister of Social Welfare it became the target of pressure groups and a site of struggle for all with an interest in social work education. The Council's official advisory position with regard to resourcing social work education meant that key events and concerns of the day relating to social and community work education affected it and in some ways the Council acted as a filter through which information and events were processed. It is suggested here that it was an organisation affected on the one hand by the requirements of the government and employers (the hosts to social and community work) and on the other hand by the professional organisations and practitioners in the social services.

This chapter first introduces the Council, its terms of reference, *modus operandi* and membership. The Council's powers and duties affected what could be expected of it and what it could achieve in promoting social work education. The chapter moves on to look at events and debates relating to social and community work education that took place during the years that the Council was in operation and at the role the Council played. The Council, a busy organisation, handled many issues connected to social work education. Rather than document each and every one, research has been conducted on a selection of issues and debates.

These issues are chosen because of their relationship to the question of what has influenced the development of social work education in this country. The issues, well-documented in the archives, are as relevant today as they

were during the life of the NZSWTC.¹ Of the topics covered, the work of the Council in developing basic minimum standards and implementing a system of accreditation was in itself a significant influence on the development of social work education during this period and has been given attention here. The relationship between community workers and the Council forms another theme as does the debate over where social work courses should be located. There is a discussion about the conflictual positions of those who were idealists and realists and, finally, there is a section on the de-construction of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council.

Material for this chapter comes from the agendas and minutes of the full Council and its standing committees; through parliamentary records, other research, submissions, reviews and through interviews with people involved with the Council at the time. This extensive database made it possible to follow discussions and debates of the times, the division of opinion, and the decisions made (or unmade) with implications for the future.

The New Zealand Social Work Training Council: Establishment, Constitution, Terms of Reference and Membership.

Establishment and Constitution

The New Zealand Social Work Training Council was established in June 1973, appointed under a Labour Government by the Minister of Social Welfare as an Advisory Council under Section 13 of the Department of Social Welfare Act 1971 (SWTC, 1981). The Act gave responsibility to the Department of Social Welfare for ensuring the availability of appropriate training facilities for social workers, including those in non-government organisations.

Brian Manchester² explained that consideration was given to making the Council a statutory body with an empowering statute defining its functions and providing for an independent budget and staffing. There was a risk that this would take too long and, with the change of government in November

¹ Though the details of how courses have been funded would merit a separate study, they have not been given a central place in this study.

² He had earlier that year been appointed Chief Education and Training Officer to the new Department of Social Welfare.

1972, it seemed that the incoming administration had a real interest in making further resources available for social work training in order to improve practice and keep faith with its support for the intentions of the Department of Social Welfare Act. In order to bring the NZSWTC into being quickly, it was established under the provision of the Department of Social Welfare Act, which provided for the appointment of such Boards, Councils and Committees as were necessary for carrying out its objectives. It was appreciated that in following this course the Council, without independent statutory authority, would have less bargaining clout in negotiating with tertiary institutions for the establishment of courses and their accreditation. History proved this concern to be correct (B. M. Manchester, pers. comm. 14/11/95).

Terms of Reference and Modus Operandi

The terms of reference for the NZSWTC were that it should, in relation to social work, encourage co-operation and co-ordination among those involved in social work training and generate information about the training needs of both Government and non-Government agencies. It was to find out what training would best suit the different kinds of social worker and advise on basic minimum standards, curriculum and accreditation. It was also to assist in the establishment of courses in appropriate institutions (NZSWTC, 1973).

The Council began with a number of standing committees (eg. Basic Professional, Minimum Standards, etc), each of which could co-opt outside people with expertise to assist. These people were by and large experienced and qualified social workers. Sometimes their opinions diverged widely from those of the full Council, which resulted in difficulties, delays and inaction. Until 1982, the Council met regularly every two months and sometimes more often. In 1983, it adopted a slightly different structure in which there were two main committees, generic and specific, and a policy group supported by a small executive group. The reason for this change was not specified in the minutes, but could have been a response to the need to rationalise the heavy workload.

Council Membership

Membership of the NZSWTC is significant. Council members were either representatives of government welfare agencies or nominees of welfare bodies and associations. There was a small secretariat based with the DSW.³ Membership changed from time to time. Council members brought their knowledge, their personal values and agency interests with them and no doubt their respective predispositions influenced their view of the issues Council had to work through. Previous chapters have mentioned people who were members of the NZASW, its Education and Training Committee and the working party for preparing Social Welfare at the Crossroads. Many names reappear throughout this history and show how deeply involved some key people were.

The Council's first Chairperson was Dr J. L. Robson, former Secretary for Justice and Director of the Institute of Criminology in the Law Faculty of Victoria University of Wellington. He was widely respected and I found universal agreement that he was an excellent foundation chairman for the NZSWTC. One respondent recalled:

It was one of the highlights I think of my whole life just to work with a person who, not a social worker, he was a lawyer ... understood what the social work profession needed ... and he ... had a very powerful effect in the early 1970's on social work training because of the skills as a chairperson. His direction to council members was quite simply 'if you haven't done your homework don't talk'. And we would get reams ... of documentation each month and if you wanted to speak you had to know, and he would actually stop people contributing if it became obvious that they hadn't done their homework. (N. Manson, pers. comm. 19/10/95).

Dr Robson's personal connections with the University Grants Council and Treasury were said to have been instrumental in securing the seeding

³ Council had an independent Chairman and one representative each from five government departments (Social Welfare, Justice, Health, Education, Maori Affairs). The NZASW originally had one nominee, but later this was increased to two nominees, one of whom was to represent student interests, while the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee, the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, the Hospital Boards' Association of New Zealand and the Municipal Association of New Zealand each nominated one member for appointment by the Minister to the Council (NZSWTC position paper, 1. 1/2/78).

money for the Auckland and Canterbury programmes, (B.M. Manchester, pers. comm. 14/11/97, D. J. McDonald, pers. comm. 20/9/95).

In addition to Dr Robson, Professor McCreary was another dominant figure on the Council from its inception until he retired in November 1982. He was committed to the promotion of university level social work education and put much energy into the Council. It was important to him that, a high standard having been set for social work education, there be no going back, no second best masquerading as a professional qualification. At the same time, he frequently spoke up in favour of community workers gaining access to professional education. At times, he faced contradictions in these two driving concerns.

The following example illustrates the point. While acting as interim chair of the NZSWTC in 1978, Professor McCreary was also Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, VUW. This does not necessarily mean that his stance on the Council was in any way compromised, but indicates the potential for a conflict of interests. When asked for his opinion as to the most appropriate location for full-time social and community work courses,⁴ he replied that the Council saw an "urgent need for the expansion of social work training in New Zealand" (because) "training is required to ensure an adequate standard of service."⁵

He added that the Council's priority was pre-entry training.⁶ He also denied any need for regional co-ordinating committees, and turned down the suggestion that Council should convene a meeting of interested groups on training needs believing that this was not the right time for such a gathering (Minutes of 37th meeting of NZSWTC, 9/6/78).

He explained this position, pointing out that Council members would be visible at other conferences, but did acknowledge that there was pressure from the wider community that the Council be seen to consult. In hindsight, as shown by the Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC, this proved to be an unfortunate point of view and the decision was unhelpful in so far

⁴ Mr J.A. Ross, Director-General of Education, had circulated for discussion a report of a subcommittee of the Standing Committee on Relationships in Tertiary Education (SCORITE) on this matter.

⁵ This link between training and improved standards of work is one that had to be emphasised over and over again.

⁶ This priority on pre-entry training was associated in the minds of many practitioners with the Council's elitism, as it was felt that it neglected the needs of those practitioners already in the field who could not leave work for full-time, lengthy courses.

as it kept the Council at a distance from part of its constituency. Networking and consultation with the field were felt to be extremely important by community and social workers.⁷ A member of the original Council commented on the mixed nature of the Council:

... they had the token local authority representative, and they had those who were in positions of importance and prominence but not necessarily with a mainstream thrust for social work education. But in New Zealand you do have and have had a willingness for voluntary organisations to become involved to some degree (N. Manson, pers. comm. 19/10/95).

A later member of the Council, the NZSAW nominee, portrayed it as bureaucratic, with undue power in the hands of other professions such as the medical profession (Short, 1985: 3, submission to Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC). Murray Short considered membership should consist predominantly of "consumers of social work training" with a "combination of administrators, educators and practitioners" (Short, 1985: 3, submission to Ministerial Review). His point was that representatives from some government departments did not have detailed knowledge about social work and, unlike Dr Robson, lacked an understanding of what the profession needed.

Professor Pitt commented on the impressive quality of papers presented when he first joined the Council (B. M. Manchester, pers. comm. July, 1997). A considerable level of personal investment was shown by the sheer volume and high academic standards of work evident in the papers produced for Council. The fact that so many tended to fall into oblivion, would alone be enough to account for Council members becoming demoralised, as they eventually did.

There were other players in the field, besides the Council, exerting their influence, expressing their views on what should be available in respect to social work education and, where they had executive power, making decisions. Among these were the Standing Committee on Relationships in Tertiary Education (SCORITE)⁸; the State Services Commission; the New

⁷ Details of respondents who were members of the NZSWTC are in Chapter Two.

⁸ SCORITE was appointed to foster consultation between interested parties about the most suitable location of courses for emerging subjects like social work, computer studies etc (UGC Review Committee, *Final Report*, 1982: 16).

Zealand Planning Council; the Christian Council of Social Services; the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee; the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Workers (NZFVWO); the Auckland Regional Council of Social and Community Work Training and the schools of social work themselves.

This chapter shows how, as time progressed, the Council came under heavy criticism for being elitist and unrepresentative. The Council itself tried unsuccessfully to persuade Ministers to broaden its membership. In 1976, the minutes record Council's recommendation to the Minister of Social Welfare to increase the proportion of people with social work qualifications or who were engaged in social work in its composition. The Council also requested that it have two members of the NZASW (one of whom could represent student interests) as well as representatives from teaching institutions with an interest in social work education (agenda paper for 23rd Meeting of NZSWTC, 23/4/76).

At the social work educators' conference organised by the NZASW in Auckland in January 1977, membership of Council was questioned on the grounds that there was no-one from Auckland, no-one representing residential workers and only a limited number of qualified social workers on Council. In July, Council decided to advise the Minister of Social Welfare once again of its views on Council membership, which were in agreement with those of the wider community, but no changes were made. A year later, the new membership of the Council (listed in the minutes for the 61st meeting), shows many members continuing from the previous Council. New members still represented the sector interests mentioned by the NZSWTC.

In June 1984, Council asked the Minister of Social Welfare, Ann Hercus, if it could develop a new constitution and membership, but by this time it was clear that radical changes were necessary and the Minister asked the Council to review itself and at the same time appointed the Ministerial Review Committee, chaired by Merv Hancock.

The Work of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council

The Council began on the crest of a wave, with Government and Ministerial support and the high hopes of the professional association. When Norman

King, Minister of Social Welfare, attended its first meeting he asked the Council to develop proposals for interim measures which would improve short term provision for social work training, and make recommendations on how good training should be provided for those seeking a career in social work. The Council's initial priorities were thus to increase the number of courses available; to increase the number of qualified staff and to develop basic minimum standards and a system of accreditation in order to ensure a professional work force (Minutes of 1st meeting of the NZSWTC, 7/8/73).

Perhaps the high point for the NZSWTC was when, in March 1974, early in its existence, Norman King, Labour Minister of Social Welfare, advised the Council of Government approval for the establishment of social work courses at Canterbury and Auckland Universities. He accepted the calculation put forward by the NZSWTC (supplied by Brian Manchester in his briefing paper to the Council, 28/8/73) that 200 social workers a year would need to gain qualifications in order to meet the training needs of statutory and voluntary welfare organisations. The new schools were not expected to add more than about 40 graduates per year. Nevertheless, he wrote

This decision by Government will ensure that we have the trained social workers needed to carry out the bold programme we have planned (agenda item for 8th meeting of NZSWTC 1/4/74, N. King. pers. comm. 15/3/1974).

At the same session Council received a letter from Professor Fraser, asking for a meeting regarding proposals for a social work training programme to be established at Massey University (Minutes of 8th meeting of NZSWTC, 1/4/74). This meant that employers could anticipate a large increase of qualified graduates in social work. So, early in 1975, three new university-based social work courses were given the go ahead, just before the National Government took office. A couple of months later, the economic climate had worsened and no further professional courses would be approved before 1981.

The Council, faced with the task of advising the Minister of Social Welfare about the education and training needs of social workers, had difficult decisions to make with regard to what advice should be given. At times, an even more difficult task was coping with ministerial responses to that

advice and information. The deliberations of the NZSWTC on standards, course content and accessibility of courses shed light on some of its decisions. The establishment of more courses, bitterness over access to and control of courses for social, community and youth workers are all part of the story, together with increasing awareness of Maori concerns and pressure on the social work profession to take up a position on social justice issues.

Professor McCreary gave a stark and perhaps discouraging address to the Council, after his retirement in 1983, on the question of what the Council could do. He told the Council that

Theoretically, what they are asked to do and allowed to do by their Minister. Practically, what they can get away with. Advisory committees tend to be without pelf and clout. To have the trust of the field and educational institutions the Council needs a recognised independence i.e. a statutory existence like the Vocational Training Council financed by a separate vote. I believe the focus of power must shift and the main base of power is the possession of economic power. Only when private possession is eliminated will real structural changes occur and this is too political a task for social workers (McCreary, J. Minutes of 62nd meeting of NZSWTC, 7/4/83).

Here, he depicts the Council as a political pawn, lacking teeth. Professor McCreary had put his finger on a perennial dilemma confronting the Council. While some of its members were idealists, promoting what they considered to be the best possible standards for social work education, others were realists, recognising the force of the political and economic restraints of the times. This point had been made before by Ken Daniels⁹ in 1978, when he told the Council that while it may be "highly desirable" to aim so high for social work educational standards, it was also "unrealistic". To the dismay of many, he publicly recommended short, concentrated courses, referred to by some as pressure cooker courses, in place of the Council's preference for two or three year courses (Agenda item, 39th meeting of NZSWTC, 31/8/78). He found the Council resolute in opposing his proposal despite the obvious interest on the part of Treasury.

⁹ At the time he was Senior Lecturer in charge of social work education at the University of Canterbury.

The Council had to forge alliances with other parties interested in social work education if it were to have any power. It could not, on its own, persuade governments to implement its proposals for more professional courses nor could it gain the support of the field for the type of courses proposed and the standards recommended. Moreover, the effects of being without an autonomous funding base together with frustrations of Council members at their ineffectiveness became increasingly obvious in the Council records. Instead of forming the alliances capable of supporting it politically, the Council slowly became more isolated and consequently unpopular. The history of setting and implementing basic minimum standards in social work education illustrates several of these points, particularly the need to be in tune with the social work community and to put forward sustainable and inclusive recommendations.

Basic Minimum Standards and Accreditation

The development of minimum standards for basic professional courses in social work was a substantial part of the Council's early work (Austin, T.H.J. 1976).¹⁰ By August 1974, the Council had approved in principle a system for raising standards in social work training through the introduction of minimum standards, accreditation of courses and the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW).¹¹ It emphasised that the minimum standards were

minimum requirements only and courses are expected to exceed the standards as they apply to particular aspects of course structure. There is ample scope for difference between courses, and variety as regards location, structure, content emphasis and options is seen as an important feature of the overall social work training programme (Agenda item, Accreditation Advisory Panel, Working Party on Standards, NZSWTC, 1975).

The minimum standards laid down a number of conditions for accreditation. Courses were to be provided by a recognised social work unit or department which would be situated in an educational institution. The majority of those teaching should be qualified, especially the head of the

¹⁰ The Framework for Social Work Training, a discussion paper prepared for the Council, agenda item for 23rd meeting of the NZSWTC, 23/4/76: 1).

¹¹ An international standard for professional qualifications in social work.

unit. An academic award should provide for public recognition of the course and the host institution should take responsibility for maintaining standards. A minimum entry standard of Sixth Form Certificate was stipulated and candidates were to be selected for personal suitability. Courses were to be full-time and of at least two years duration.¹² Course objectives covered the acquisition of a body of knowledge, practical experience in the field and personal and professional growth. Curriculum content was outlined, leaving discretion as to its delivery. The curriculum bore a certain resemblance to that of the Victoria University of Wellington social work programmes.¹³

Early in 1975, recognising that the basic professional standards were problematic for in-service staff, the NZSWTC circulated a report on the training needs of social workers in-post to organisations concerned with social work training and asked for comments. The report recommended two year training courses for staff aged up to 45 years and looked at the implications for staffing agencies which released employees for training. This was in contrast to an earlier working party which recommended (June 1974) three year courses with a generic curriculum for between 20 and 30 students in each centre, noting also the need to regionalise social work courses and to be mindful of the resources required for placements.¹⁴

Agencies responded in a variety of ways, ranging from approval (Justice and Education Departments, IHC) to satisfaction with the status quo (Department of Maori Affairs which felt there was ample opportunity provided by the YMCA course and the Victoria University courses) to reservations about the logistics and expense (Department of Social Welfare). The State Services Commission pointed out that the statistics were unconvincing and wanted better evidence to show that there was a shortfall of places on courses.

It was the Hospital Boards Association that sent in the most challenging response. As a group of employers they showed their interest, in that most of them responded, but found the report "unconvincing and a little unrealistic" (Hospital Boards Association, 28/10/1975).¹⁵ Their response

¹² This standard relating to full-time study was modified in 1981. It was the cause of much frustration for those trying to make courses available to staff who were in-post, rural or married women.

¹³ The controversial nature of accreditation is indicated by the fact that the standards were suspended for two years in 1977 and reviewed in 1981 and 1984.

¹⁴ Development of Social Work Courses in Teachers Colleges, 6/6/74, Report of NZSWTC working party, agenda paper to the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC, 26/9/78.

¹⁵ Agenda item for 21st meeting of the NZSWTC, 12/12/1975.

noted an unquestioned assumption that university training is the only acceptable solution and suggested that other alternatives should be assessed, including part-time and extra-mural study. They wanted to know whether the Council could put some order into existing social work qualifications and complained that

There is already a proliferation of social work training with the universities determining what they prefer rather than concern for what employers need. There are currently post-graduate degrees at Auckland, Victoria and Canterbury - all of which are different; the Diploma courses at Victoria and Canterbury are different; a four year undergraduate degree course at Massey University which is again different; and now a suggestion of a three or two year course at Teachers Colleges at Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (Minutes of the 21st meeting of the NZSWTC, 12/12/1975).

They also posed some hard questions about the financial investment that employers were being asked to make, implying that it was unrealistic.¹⁶ That this confrontational response must have caused concern may be deduced from the next Council meeting minutes, which record that Council members Mr Tom Austin¹⁷ and Dr Nicholson had had discussions with the Hospital Boards Association and secured its agreement in principle to the report and its approval of social work training as a general principle.

Having set the basic professional minimum standards, the Council appointed an advisory panel to consider applications for accreditation. Membership of the panel consisted of two each of social work educators, social work practitioners and social work administrators. In 1975, the first applications for accreditation to be considered were the YMCA Diploma in Youth and Community Work and Victoria University's Certificate and Diploma in Social Work. The university courses were accredited, with a few minor recommendations for improvement. The YMCA application was declined, after lengthy and heated discussion between the Accreditation

¹⁶ There are references throughout the Council minutes to difficulties with releasing employees for training. For example, the Council noted that Auckland University had withdrawn its certificate course in 1974 because the State Services Commission refused to grant half-day a week release for staff and other agencies refused a corresponding reduction in case-load (Minutes of 16th meeting of NZSWTC, 21/3/1975). Wellington City Council members complained to the Minister of Social Welfare, Norman King, that they were having problems and urging him to ask the NZSWTC to promote part-time modular courses (Minutes of 18th meeting of NZSWTC, 18/7/1975).

¹⁷ Mr Tom Austin, a respondent, was always a strong ally for social work.

Committee and the full NZSWTC. It provides a useful case study of the issues around standards and the Council's anxiety about lowering the standards.

The YMCA presented a fully documented application. The YMCA Training Handbook contained the history, aims and curriculum of the programme which indicate a broad understanding of the nature of social work, including its multi-focus on the personal and private together with the environmental and public. The course took small numbers (1966: 11, 1970: 6) and much of the curriculum was taught by guest lecturers who were members of the NZASW and lecturers at Victoria University of Wellington.

In July 1975, the NZSWTC Accreditation Advisory Panel recommended the following options for the course: an interim measure (on the grounds that this was a unique programme and there were so few social work courses available) of provisional accreditation till 1977, or provisional accreditation pending the YMCA taking measures to meet the full minimum standards. This would entail employing one qualified methods teacher, offering a compulsory social policy option and achieving a better balance between the academic and fieldwork offerings.

After further consideration by the full Council, the Panel was asked for another, final report in which it cited failure to meet minimum standards included the lack of an educational institutional base, lack of qualified staff, methods of assessment of students (no exams), entry requirements, short duration of the course and the curriculum which was seen to be lacking in social administration as grounds for refusing the application (Report of the Accreditation Advisory Panel to NZSWTC, on the Course for the YMCA Diploma of Youth and Community Work, 4/9/75). Merv Hancock asked for it to be recorded that he disagreed with the Panel's decision not to recommend provisional accreditation and instead to decline the application (ibid: 5). He wanted there to be some form of recognition for those students who had completed the Diploma.

This difficult and controversial decision cost the NZSWTC dearly. Some would argue that a determination not to risk the watering down of standards and thereby selling social work education and training short was the main reason for taking this uncompromising stand.¹⁸ However, when

¹⁸ The Council was consistent in aiming to avoid cheap, short courses being established, which might replace professional courses. The model of graduate social work training was generally regarded as a far

asked about the debates over the YMCA application, Noel Manson, who had chaired the Panel, agreed that it had been bitterly debated.

I think there was partly, jealousy is not quite the right word, competition. I think its the old competitive element that a voluntary organisation just couldn't be expected to match the high standard...yes I do think it was more, in my recall, more the competition between the established university and its power base and a voluntary organisation daring to establish a course which they felt from their perspective was of equal stature. Now a lot of the staff, they only had a small staff, but many of the staff would not have been, to my knowledge, university trained people but more practice trained. Peter Darracott himself I think held a university degree but I think it was just those early days of trying to establish where the power base was going to be (N. Manson, pers. comm. 19/10/95).

Not all the universities supported the Council's uncompromising stance on this matter. Contemporary responses to the accreditation role of the Council by social work educators and their colleagues are interesting. One correspondent¹⁹ to the Council argued that the

unrelenting application of accreditation standards may need careful consideration, especially during the period of adjustment that naturally follows a period of rapid development in social work training. More specifically I believe that the Council should recognise that irreparable harm may be done to some established training programmes if tomorrow's standards are applied to them ... a case in point may well be the YMCA training programme (Professor Fraser, Agenda Item 14, of the NZSWTC, 9/9/77).

The Council responded to this, and other similar submissions, by halting its accreditation programme in order to review its basic minimum standards and the accreditation process in general. In 1982, in a letter to Professor Shirley (then a lecturer in the Social Work Unit, Massey University and

sounder proposal by many inside and outside the Council. These assumptions were challenged more frequently as the 1980's progressed.

¹⁹ Professor Fraser held the Chair in Sociology at Massey University, and the Social Work Unit was part of the Sociology Department.

member of the Basic Professional Committee of the NZSWTC), Dr Shannon quoted the submission he made to Council at that time:

That the University of Otago does not consider accreditation per se to be a matter of priority at the present time. The University believes that it is too early in the development of New Zealand social work training to identify arbitrary criteria against which courses are identified.²⁰

He pointed out that, at that time he had feared that rigid application of accreditation standards would “militate against ongoing flexibility and the intellectual and practical development of the field” (P. Shannon, pers. comm. 1982).

The strength of feeling generated over this issue suggests it is at the heart of the social and community work debate over standards, aims and the question of inclusive or exclusive membership of the social work profession. Judith MacKenzie, involved with the second application by the YMCA for accreditation, agreed that the Council’s refusal to grant it was one of the things which destroyed it (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95). This decision is held by many to have been a turning point in the credibility of the Council, and a decision for which many involved in community social services never forgave it (Brook, 1988: 95, Cranna 1989: 9). Of this decision, the Ministerial Review Committee of the NZSWTC reported:

This trend-setting negative decision led to many serious consequences. The first was to alienate Youth and Community Workers, both in the YMCA itself, and in agencies beyond, in respect of the process of formal accreditation. Secondly, there was a feeling of suspicion that the NZSWTC was either disinterested in Youth and Community Work or was an elitist organisation concerned only with one form of social work (Hancock, 1985: 16).

With this decision and other matters discussed below, the Council gained a reputation of favouring social work over community work and being out of touch. After its heyday, when the new university courses were established at Canterbury, Auckland and Massey, the Council would have had to meet

²⁰ Shannon, pers. comm. to NZSWTC, March, 1979.

and talk with a far greater variety of people, including Maori and community workers in order to develop good regional networks and strong allies in the areas where social service work was heading. The next section looks at the Council and its relations with community work.

Community Work and the Council

This section looks at the Council's understanding of community work in relation to social work and leads into the much debated question of which institutions would be most suitable for new tertiary-level social work courses. Community workers never considered that the Council gave them the support and attention they deserved, though Council papers indicate that behind the scenes, members spent much time debating the question of community work education and training. Agenda items on community work training needs appear regularly in briefing papers and reports from standing committees.²¹

Community workers also considered the Council had an elitist outlook that favoured professionalism and social work education at the expense of education for community workers. The archives of the NZSWTC, however, contain reports on the nature of community work and the needs of community workers for training which indicate that the Council was well-informed and, in many ways, well-intentioned on the subject as it endeavoured to be a successful advocate to Ministers of Social Welfare on behalf of the education and training needs of community workers.

The difficulty was partly to do with who was defining these needs. While the NZSWTC promoted social work courses in the universities and teachers colleges, it supported community work courses in less academic settings, such as the experimental course for welfare and community workers at Wellington Polytechnic (Minutes of the [data unclear] meeting of the NZSWTC, 24/9/1974). There was a measure of realism here, given the different entry requirements between the two types of institutions.

The Council, in considering the training needs for professional and voluntary workers separately (Minutes of 6th meeting of the NZSWTC, 23/1/74) was out of step with the overall philosophy of the NZASW which, despite its internal disputes over the relationship between membership and

²¹ Professor McCreary had introduced the topic of training for local authority workers, calling for "an opportunity for community workers to come together and discuss their problems and benefit by in-service training" (Minutes of the 7th meeting of the NZSWTC, 6/3/74).

qualifications, has maintained an inclusive policy towards membership based on practitioner status rather than academic credentials. It has consistently been NZASW policy to avoid the distinction between social workers and welfare workers, or assistants.

Professor McCreary was deeply involved in all these issues and given his standing in the field of social work can be regarded as an influential figure. He supported community work, but, as already indicated, his support was curbed by his absolute determination that the Council, having once established high standards for a New Zealand professional social work qualification, should avoid at all costs relinquishing them.

By 1977, the Council was favouring technical institute courses for community workers, but at the same time recognised that the technical institutes operated under budgeting constraints (Agenda paper of the 31st meeting of the NZSWTC, 9/9/77). The Council's report to the Minister of Social Welfare in October, 1979,²² stated that the training needs of community service workers were not being met. Their distinction between what community service workers do in comparison with social workers and the implications for training were, to say the least, expressed in most unfortunate terms. Their words are quoted for the insight they offer into the Council's perception of the different functions of social work and community work

(a) Social work involves a constellation of tasks requiring a wide range of personal, social and administrative skills. The trainee needs to make a considerable long-term commitment to an appropriate training programme.

(b) The community service worker's commitment to their personal and community helping task is often a part-time one. This commitment may last for either a short or a long-term period of time. It will usually confine itself to one or two of the helping tasks. It is possible for a community service worker, under skilled supervision, to select tasks appropriate to their skills. The training programme for community service workers can therefore be of substantially shorter duration than for social work training. It can be based on a wide range of

²² Report to the Minister on Training Needs for Community Service Workers, NZSWTC, 1979.

options from which community service workers can select areas of training appropriate to their interest and the needs of their agencies (NZSWTC, 1979).

The NZSWTC presented this rather patronising comparison of the training requirements of social workers and community service workers. It would have annoyed the latter, to be presented as limited part-timers with little commitment to their work. Strong Maori and Womens' movements at this time were supporting the call for a wider distribution of educational resources and less distance between social workers and those they worked with, in terms of class resources and educational attainment, ethnicity and gender. This kind of statement was simply antagonising at a time when antipathy toward the intellectual nature of university education was voiced in a number of settings and militated against future expansion of social work courses at degree level. By 1985, Pakeha graduates were being told by certain groups of employers (particularly from the Department of Social Welfare) that their paper qualifications were no longer favoured above practical experience and affinity to client groups.

In 1983, the Minister for Social Welfare requested that Council again investigate the training needs of youth and community workers. The NZSWTC duly presented its report on the training needs of youth workers, with recommendations for training resources to be made available. Later it sponsored workshops for community workers in 1983 and provided resources which were forthcoming from government for two conferences in 1984. Recommendations coming out of these conferences were put to the Minister, but still no resources for training were forthcoming.

Eventually, those who wanted to see resources for education made available outside the tertiary institutions had an opportunity to gain ground, in that their needs were consistent with the findings of the Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC, which stated that education and training

should reflect an increased awareness of, and sensitivity to, the cultural and socio-economic factors that are a source of conflict and injustice in the community at large and emphasising the need for greater cultural awareness (Ministerial Review Committee, 1985: 13).

Community work presented the NZSWTC with challenges that it never resolved. These affected it on a number of fronts and were extremely significant. Outstanding among them were the Council's understanding about what community work was; the implications of this for prioritising the limited resources for social and community work education and the persistent inability of Council to adopt a process of operating which would promote good communications between it and the social service community. Time and again opportunities were lost when the Council turned down invitations to go to the regions and meet people. Occasions when there was this kind of networking were invariably appreciated by the community of practitioners, but were too infrequent. When, finally, Council wanted to change its style of operating, it was too late.

An example of the gulf between Maori community workers and the Council is a discussion paper that was prepared for the Executive Committee of the NZSWTC by the Department of Maori Affairs in response to the Council's request for information that would help them to promote the wishes of the Department of Maori Affairs. It was discussed by the NZSWTC Executive Committee in early 1984. It set out clearly and without ambiguity the Maori position on social work, community work and training for these activities (Discussion paper for the NZSWTC, 27/3/84: pt 3). The paper pointed out that the Department of Maori Affairs had not recruited from the formal social work courses in recent years because it had not seen a qualification in social work as its "priority". Instead, it argued that the Tu Tangata Programmes, introduced in 1980, laid a new foundation for Maori. These programmes sought to

promote people in such a way that recognises their talents and resources both as individuals and as groups (whakawhaiti). The aim is to do this in a way that will ensure their fullest development for the advancement of Maori communities and the common good of New Zealand (Tou Rourou) (Discussion paper for the NZSWTC, 27/3/84: pt 3).

They wanted to see culture as a catalyst for social development and explained that they were putting their energy into programmes like Te Kohanga Reo (language nests) and Maatua Whangai (fostering within whanau, hapu and iwi). These programmes were operating with Maori principles of Kotahitanga, (to bring people together) and Kokiri, (people

working in the community) and, instead of referring to their workers as social workers, the term community officers was in place (Discussion paper for the NZSWTC, 27/3/84, pt 3: 2).

The point being made was that knowledge of Maoritanga²³ was more important than knowledge of casework, given that these were the programmes in place. The model of training preferred was an apprenticeship style. Recommendations for future social work curricula were offered and included knowledge of Maori language, understanding of Maori ideology and the group orientation of community development methods, knowledge of whanau,²⁴ Maoritanga, land issues and patterns of Maori migration. The paper suggested that in appointing people to teach in these areas the Department of Maori Affairs be approached for assistance. Finally, the need for more resources to go into the training of community workers was called for.

The NZSWTC Executive Committee responded by establishing a project group to consider what training would be appropriate for the Maatua Whangai and related programmes. It also set out to examine racism in its own modus operandi and in its policies and practices (NZSWTC, Executive minutes, 29/8/94). The archives do not contain information as to what developed out of this consultative exercise.

By 1985, the Minister had instigated internal and external reviews of the Council and by the end of that year the NZSWTC was in recess. The debate between social and community work, which had begun in the 1960s, persisted throughout the 70s and 80s and took a new turn with the establishment of NZCETSS. The growing sympathy toward community work at this time was at the expense of professional social work which was linked in many minds to the casework method. It gave community work a dominant, albeit short-lived, position during the establishment of NZCETSS. This can be explained on two counts. In the first place, the community work movement was part of a radical wave that swept over Aotearoa/New Zealand following on from the Vietnam war, the Springbok Tour and Maori demands for a better deal. It was also a movement which shared similar aims to those politicians promoting devolution and decentralisation.

²³ Maori culture and customs.

²⁴ Extended family, for further information, refer to Metge, J. (1996). New Growth From Old. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

During these years, there was an inadequate supply of short-term, local courses available in some, but not all, areas, for those involved in the social services. The problem, as the Council saw it, was how to secure professionally qualifying courses, rather than introductory courses like the national certificate proposed in 1978 by Merv Hancock and the NZASW, mentioned in Chapter 9. The Auckland Teachers College Course was the nearest the Council came to helping establish a programme that community workers considered approached their needs. Before that course was established, a long debate occurred within the NZSWTC, but also in the wider community, as to where social work courses should be located. This will be covered next.

The Location Debate

Between 1974-78, a national debate took place concerning which kind of tertiary institution besides the universities would be the most appropriate location for new social work courses. The location debate is interesting on three counts. Firstly, because of who took part in it, secondly because of its subject matter and thirdly for what it tells us about the division of opinions on this matter among those commissioned to advise government organisations and the groups whom they consulted. In this section, I have sketched in the main details of the debate and concentrated on bringing out the main arguments and principles at stake in order to show how they influenced social work education.²⁵

²⁵ A fuller and chronological account can be constructed from the agenda papers for the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC.

Participants in the location debate

At this time, the procedure by which new social work courses could be funded by Government entailed liaison between the Ministers of Education and Social Welfare. Each Ministry had its own relevant advisory body. The Minister for Social Welfare was advised by the NZSWTC and the Minister for Education by the Standing Committee on Relationships in Tertiary Education (SCORITE).²⁶ After considering their advisers, the Ministers then had to put any case for further resources to Cabinet.

The two advisory bodies had rather different constituencies. The NZSWTC was focussed on groups specifically concerned with social and community work educational and training interests, whereas SCORITE consulted with organisations representing the interests of employers and educators, many of whom had little or no involvement in social work. It provides a good example of the workings of the relationship between social work and its host society. In relation to the question of social work courses, SCORITE set up a subcommittee as early as 1975, representing the interests of educational and vocational organisations, to discuss this matter.²⁷ The Technical Institutes Association and the Association of Teachers College Councils, the universities and other groups took a particular interest in the discussion about where social workers could best be educated and their involvement and arguments can be seen in reports compiled under the auspices of SCORITE.

The Subject Matter

The debate concerning the appropriate institutional location for social and community work training focussed on levels of education and training, basic or professional and the characteristics of the two most likely institutions, teachers colleges or technical institutes, that would suit social workers or social welfare workers.²⁸ The establishment of the School of Social Work at Victoria University of Wellington had given strength to the

²⁶ SCORITE had been appointed to foster consultation between groups with shared interests in the location of training courses for emerging subjects like social work, computer science etc (UGC Review Committee *Final Report* 1982:16).

²⁷ The subcommittee represented the Departments of Education and Social Welfare, the Technical Institutes Association, the Vice Chancellors Committee (Professor McCreary), the Educational Development Council, the Vocational Council, the UGC, the NZ Council for Recreation and Sport.

²⁸ This occupational distinction was made by some members of the Council, but was resisted by the NZASW.

general assumption that professional social work courses belonged in a university setting, but, by the time the NZSWTC was established, there was a growing recognition that the universities could not service all the courses required for this growing industry. Another factor for consideration was the recognition that not all those engaged in social work necessarily needed to attain the same level of qualification.

A variety of social service courses existed throughout the country. They were neither co-ordinated nor standardised and were available in many different settings and modes. Often they were part of university extension programmes. The difficulty facing SCORITE and NZSWTC was to advise about training needs and recognition for qualifications and how these could become available to the newly emerging profession of social workers.

The options were for more social work courses at university, technical institutes, or teachers colleges. Should none of these institutions be able to accommodate the new social work courses, there was even a proposal that, as an interim measure, the Government should establish schools of social work to be administered by the Department of Social Welfare under the professional control of the NZSWTC. There was also a suggestion that graduates be educated at universities, while non-graduates could attend schools of social work at institutes of technology (Briefing paper, Agenda for NZSWTC 2nd meeting, Manchester, 28/8/73).

A number of pragmatic social and economic factors were relevant here. For example, the NZSWTC started out favouring the technical institutes as the alternative institutional setting to universities (an option also favoured by the NZASW) and put to the Council by Mr Nelson, Director of Technical Education at the Education Department. He had emphasised the flexibility and accommodating nature of the technical institutes towards new programmes. Two meetings later, the NZSWTC, after hearing the case put forward by Mr Kings, Superintendent of Teachers Training in the Education Department, revoked their preference for technical institutes in favour of teachers colleges and advised the Minister of Social Welfare to approach the UGC for funding for three more schools providing professional education in social work in universities or teachers colleges (Minutes of the 4th meeting of the NZSWTC, 14/11/73).

The Council responded positively to the information that the teachers colleges were keen to offer some social work training, especially long-term, pre-entry courses. Some Council members wondered whether the teachers colleges might be rather too authoritarian, but it was recognised that they were teaching subjects which, like human development, were already part of the social work curriculum (Minutes of 5th meeting of NZSWTC, 11/12/73). The teachers colleges, at this time, were overstaffed, over equipped and under used and the Department of Education was seeking new roles for them (B. M. Manchester, pers. comm. 14/11/95). This strategic factor could not be ignored and, although not recorded in the NZSWTC minutes was obviously known to members through Brian Manchester who prepared the initial briefing paper.

The details of this on going debate are not as germane to this case study as the main themes and positions taken. The debate was shaped, in part, by discussions sparked by the reports of two consecutive SCORITE subcommittees. The report of the SCORITE subcommittee, Training of Social Workers and Social Service Workers (papers of the NZSWTC, 30th meeting 28/7/77) identified three groups of workers with different training needs. These were social workers requiring a degree or diploma; social service workers who could benefit from modular training; a core course plus additional units of learning; and volunteers, who would only need a basic introduction course. The Report recommended that "short block type courses for social service workers" should become available in "technical institutes, community colleges and the technical divisions or tertiary departments of secondary schools" wherever there was an obvious demand for such courses.²⁹ SCORITE circulated this report³⁰ to interested organisations, including the NZSWTC, which discussed the SCORITE report at its 30th meeting, 28/7/77. It included a report by the Technical Institutes Association reviewing the role of SCORITE in determining the preference for social work education in teachers colleges rather than technical institutes.³¹

²⁹ Background to the SCORITE Report, appendix 11, Report of the working party on community and youth training, Ministry of Recreation and Sport, Papers of the NZSWTC for its 40th meeting, 26/9/78.

³⁰ Background to the SCORITE Report, appendix 11, Report of the working party on community and youth training, Ministry of Recreation and Sport, Papers of the NZSWTC for its 40th meeting, 26/9/78.

³¹ This report is in Appendix 11 of the report on community and youth training of the working party of the Ministry of Recreation and Sport submitted to the Minister in December 1977 and filed with the Minutes for the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC. It indicates that the technical institutes were keen to offer social work courses.

After collating the responses from groups consulted, SCORITE Sub-committee presented its findings to the NZSWTC where they are to be found as agenda items for its 35th meeting, in February 1978. It summarised the opinions of all the key interest groups relating to venues for social work education and supplemented this with reports sent in by the Association of Technical Institutes. The following section draws on this material.

Division of Opinions

The third facet of the location debate shows that it took several years before either the NZSWTC or SCORITE could reach agreement individually or with one another about how to advise their Ministers on social work education. Positions taken by the NZSWTC were subsequently revoked when pragmatic and economic criteria later tipped the balance in favour of teachers colleges. SCORITE, unable to reach a decision on the preferred location for social work courses, set up a sub-committee to consider the matter, but members of the sub-committee (probably concentrating on the delivery of an accessible and basic introductory programme) could also not reach agreement and reported individual views to the Minister of Education. The Minister of Education eventually recommended teachers colleges as the preferred location (21/7/75) but the debate still continued and SCORITE itself, in 1977, finally opted in favour of teachers colleges, but still promoted a role for technical institutes in remote areas.³² These difficulties mirrored the spectrum of opinion in the wider community.

In recognising three different groups of workers, SCORITE had lent support to the community work position as regards location of courses and their format (part-time, modular and local). The NZASW, also in favour of situating social work courses in technical institutes, did not intend this to be a discriminatory stance that would distance practitioners with professional (university) qualifications from others. It was in agreement with the NZSWTC that professional standards must be protected, but believed that courses in technical institutes would be adequate for membership of the NZASW. The SCORITE in effect challenged the Council to relax its position

³² SCORITE held the two-tier conception of the social service sector in which social workers were the professionals and needed a higher qualification than welfare and community workers whose work was deemed to be of a less complicated nature. This was antipathetic to many NZASW members in those years, being seen as divisive and impractical, given the low numbers of qualified social workers in the country. That some members of the NZSWTC also divided the social workers into two groups, experts and assistants, can be inferred from its records.

on accreditation and the types of courses that could be recognised and as such, it was partially supporting the NZASW position.

At the end of 1977, when the SCORITE working party reported on the comments it had received from its broadly based consultations, these were forwarded to the NZSWTC which considered them at its 35th meeting on 10/2/78. The main issues are summarised and included a call for better manpower planning statistics in social work and social service work fields in order to identify training needs which urgently needed definition before location of courses could meaningfully be discussed. There was a call for recognised part-time courses. Submissions from some groups argued that there was insufficient justification for the distinction between the two types of social worker outlined in the subcommittee's report and they therefore queried the proposals for offering qualifications in two different educational systems. There was advice about avoiding the proliferation of courses and consolidating what was already available. Some organisations favoured giving priority to improving the quality of work of social workers already in employment but who lacked training, rather than investing in new, untried social workers. Finally, there was a call for local co-ordinating committees to be established (Minutes of the 35th meeting of the NZSWTC, 10/2/78).

The sub-committee of SCORITE told the NZSWTC that it had received a diverse range of feedback and indicated that some of the criticisms of the NZSWTC were based on a lack of information about the Council's policies and suggested if organisations supplying feedback had had access to the policy paper the Council had just completed, they may have reported on the Council's work in a more positive manner. The SCORITE sub-committee recommended that training programmes be set up as soon as possible and that research should be conducted at the same time. It also reiterated the different training needs of social workers and social service workers and once again recommended the setting up of local co-ordinating bodies. The sub-committee gave its opinion that it was the responsibility of the NZSWTC to identify training needs and where courses should be made available, while the Minister of Education had the responsibility (informed by SCORITE) to choose which institutions should host the courses (J. Ross, Convenor of SCORITE Subcommittee to Dr Robson, Chair of the NZSWTC, 19/12/77).

The comments received by the SCORITE subcommittee show how groups and organisations were positioned. The University of Waikato, for example, endorsed the suggestion that training courses be set up in Auckland and Christchurch, but insisted that these should be in special schools which would be in association with the universities (Comments on SCORITE Paper 7/77, Training of Social and Social Service Workers. 4.1, in minutes of 35th meeting of the NZSWTC, 10/2/78). This was to avoid half-baked training, regarded as a "career-trap" and "cheap palliatives" unable to promote good social work practice. The university also noted that too few resources were being put into university based social work courses (ibid. 4.4.).

Massey University critiqued the SCORITE report for appearing to be based on a series of as yet unsubstantiated assumptions, for example, that there are clear definitions of social work and of social service jobs. The minutes of the NZSWTC's discussion of this material noted that many people in the field favoured technical institutes over teachers colleges as a location for social work courses. Council had not intended that teachers college courses would be pitched at a lower level than university courses. Some members, however, questioned the need for teachers college courses if they were simply to offer more university based undergraduate courses (Minutes of 35th meeting of the NZSWTC, 10/2/78).

The focus of the debate on location of social work courses was now changing. A note of discouragement is apparent in the tenor of Council minutes at this time and much of its work seems to have been referred on or debated without decisions being taken. Two months later, the Council reviewed its policies and the Chairman, Dr Robson, whose term of office was drawing to a close, invited it to

reflect on the position ahead for the rest of this century He predicted that for this period major policies would come under attack more often than not and it followed that the Council's policies would need to show a high degree of sensitivity to this situation. [He considered that] the Council should avoid rigid positions and positions that could seem rigid in the eyes of successors (Minutes of the 31st meeting of the NZSWTC, 9/9/77).

He noted the presence of new critics, young staff and consumers of the social services, and recommended that members of the Council avoid pessimism and defensiveness; he interpreted the resurgence of community activity as a sign that people wanted to get involved and help others; he recommended that Council adopt a narrower focus; he pointed out that full knowledge of what has happened in the past would help people to understand the future; he emphasised how important it was, given what was happening in the community, that Council understand the training needs of community workers, and that it must not be afraid to speak out and would have to decide whether to respond or to lead (Minutes of 33rd meeting of the NZSWTC, 11/11/77).

These were wise words and stemmed from a turbulent year for social workers and the NZSWTC, a year in which both community work and Maori activism demanded recognition. The NZSWTC was already under criticism for its lack of networking as was shown in the Report of the Policy Group, item 6 of the 30th meeting of the NZSWTC, 28/7/77). The divisive implications of accreditation, as mentioned earlier, in relation to the NZASW Education and Training Committee, were also becoming obvious:

While I agree with the principle of accreditation I do not believe that in establishing the process of accreditation we paid sufficient attention to the impact it would have on the New Zealand social work scene in general or on the provision of social work education in particular ... it could be argued then that one outcome of accreditation may be to discourage students from taking courses that are available (J.R. McCreary, Minutes of 31st meeting of the NZSWTC, 9/9/77).

This was the last result anyone would have wanted, given the dire need among social service workers for training, even at an introductory level. The dilemma faced by the NZSWTC is a perennial one - should one keep the high professional standards that measure up to international criteria, but which are too expensive for all social workers to achieve, or too difficult to attain, or should one aim for a basic minimum level of introductory training for all staff? What in the 1970s and 1980s were the implications of this question for choosing between universities, teachers colleges and technical institutes?

The issue is about how one understands the differences between social workers, community workers and social service workers in relation to their education and training needs. The distinctions were significant and while the NZASW has never fully accepted the distinction between social workers and social service workers, playing down the difference between social workers and community workers, community workers argue that they consider themselves a different occupational group and therefore require qualitatively different courses.

The question of where to locate social work courses continued during 1978. At its biennial conference in July 1978, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers renewed its commitment to a non-university qualification in social work. It informed the NZSWTC, the Ministers of Social Welfare, Education and Recreation and Sport and political parties that it was opposed to social work courses being offered in teachers colleges. It asked that the Council revisit its preference for teachers colleges and instructed Ruth Swatland, the NZASW representative on Council, to re-open this question with the Council.

When she did, the agenda papers for the Council meeting comprised the documents which contained the key arguments and their progression over the years, together with decisions taken, on which this account has been based.³³ The issues are as relevant today as ever, despite ongoing changes in New Zealand tertiary institutions. As NZASW representative, Ruth Swatland explained why the Association preferred technical institutes to teachers colleges. Teachers colleges were regarded as set in their ways and rigid. Instead, she argued, technical institutes "have a tradition of experimentation, flexibility and responsiveness to community needs" and were at that time gaining experience in teaching professionals. Because they

³³ To assist the discussion, the following papers were supplied for Council members' information:

- a) NZASW interest group on social work education remits for the 1978 biennial Conference.
- b) Factors involved in social work teaching being undertaken in technical institutes and teachers colleges (NZSWTC secretariat, 1973).
- c) Report of working party on the Council's decision to recommend the establishment of social work courses in teachers colleges (June, 1973).
- d) Social work training in teachers colleges (Mr Gallen, NZSWTC executive officer, 1975).
- e) Technical Institutes and Teachers Colleges. Who should teach what? Mr Renwick, Assistant Director-General, Education, 1976).
- f) The Technical Institutes and Social Work Training (paper presented to SCORITE by Technical Institutes Association, 1977).
- g) The proposal for training courses for social workers in teachers colleges (NZSWTC Secretariat, 1978).
- h) Correspondence from Prof. Fraser, Massey University, 1978.
- i) A summary of the arguments, NZSWTC, 1978.

This list of documents illustrates the drawn out nature of the debate and indicates the stakeholders involved.

were more widely dispersed across the country and had a co-operative interdepartmental approach, together with a more diverse population of students many of whom were working class, it was believed that these conditions could foster a good experience for social work students (Minutes of 40th meeting of the NZSWTC, 26/9/78).

The Technical Institutes Association presented SCORITE with a paper in which they put forward different but persuasive arguments as to why technical institutes were a good option for social work training. The report argued that the social work task involves skills that the technical institutes taught, such as knowledge of administrative structures and concepts, government structures and management, while teacher training was more personalised. A curriculum for a diploma was proposed, with a strong practice base. It was suggested that the potential for block courses and sandwich patterns had been overlooked. Finally, the report suggested that technical institutes would benefit from sharing in the culture of social work training (Agenda paper for the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC, 26/9/78).

At this meeting, Professor McCreary spoke against situating professional social work courses in the technical institutes because he considered them to be "industry and training orientated" (Minutes of the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC, 26/10/78). As such, he believed there was the possibility that they would be too skills oriented and technical and might lack the balance brought by critical theoretical content. Given the philosophical approach which underlies the Industry Training Organisation, Professor McCreary's ideas were far-sighted, in that the standards now being set for social work are coming under the influence of industry at the risk of losing sight of critical, professional standards.

The passage below indicates that Professor McCreary also appreciated the different approach or style whereby the opinions of community groups were consulted and heard. The inability of the NZSWTC to work in a more consultative fashion is hard to reconcile with the knowledge that Professor McCreary was writing on community work and social planning, arguing that:

These errors... (where the needs of people have been ignored or misunderstood).... have emerged because of planners not consulting with the people affected, ignoring local knowledge,

not establishing the facts, not developing organisations for local participation, not recognising the validity of, or presenting, alternative plans etc (McCreary, 1978: 56-57 in D.J. Robinson).

The difference between what the NZSWTC was doing, and the process described above which if implemented could perhaps have successfully facilitated the work of the Council, is stark. Earlier, in 1977, Professor McCreary had voiced his doubts in Council about the introduction of the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work (CQSW). He had proposed a review of standards and a moratorium on the issue of the CQSW (Minutes of 31st meeting of NZSWTC, 9/9/77). He was certainly aware of the complexities and implications of the debates around standards and accessibility of courses. There is an inconsistency between the two approaches which is difficult to explain given the general acceptance that Professor McCreary's work in the field of social work and community work education was so significant. He personally faced the very dilemma that has never been resolved in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Should social workers only be deemed professionally qualified when they have the highest qualifications by international standards, or when they have reached a basic and introductory level of certification? The second option allowed for many more social workers to have access to training, while the former preserved the high standards defended throughout Professor McCreary's career. Perhaps there was a concern that it might weaken the universities' territorial hold over professional social work education?

The NZSWTC re-affirmed its support for the teachers colleges, arguing that both teacher training and social work training are about working with people and involve 2-3 year training programmes. They have academic elements in common and at the same time both kinds of programme entail practical placements involving supervision. Finally, it was suggested that it is useful for teachers and social workers to get to know each other.

The Council informed the Director-General, Department of Social Welfare, of its continued preference for teachers colleges. For once, the minutes record details of the discussion. Professor McCreary countered each of Ruth Swatland's points, but Peter Darracott, (YMCA), Murray Short (Community Corrections) and Ruth Swatland (NZASW representative) are recorded as still favouring the technical institutes for social work training. There were

six votes to three, with one abstention, in favour of the teachers colleges (Minutes of the 40th meeting of the NZSWTC 26/9/78).

The fact that the technical institutes were already offering courses for social service and community workers around the country seems not to have been referred to during the discussion, perhaps because, at this time, the Council was determined to obtain resources for professional standards of education and training rather than for the short and introductory courses they made available. By refusing to reconsider their preference for teachers colleges, the NZSWTC considered it was protecting professional standards and accreditation, the principle of pre-entry training and generic courses. To those in practice, either employers or workers, the need for basic training that would be easily available seemed the more pressing need. They were less concerned at the thought of the career trap referred to by Waikato University or the prospect of lowering national standards. Here was another critical turning point in which professionalism was linked to the highest level and least accessible qualifications and was therefore considered by many as elitist and therefore undesirable. In the end, the Government refused to fund three year pre-entry courses but, on 31 July 1981, Council was informed that Government had approved the establishment of a professional training course for social workers, community workers and youth workers in Auckland.

The record of the arguments between Cabinet, the Minister of Social Welfare and his Department indicate the difficulties facing the NZSWTC. Cabinet had to be persuaded that there was a need for social work training, while Treasury was prepared to fund one two-year, rather than three, three-year training courses. Treasury was interested in one year courses such as had been suggested by Ken Daniels in 1978. The NZSWTC appeared elitist and unrealistic as far as social and community work practitioners were concerned. Its persistent refusal to take the advice so often given, that it go to the regions and explain its thinking and consult, was most unfortunate. It lost the support it had in its early days and, by 1980 it had become, in the eyes of many, an irrelevant anachronism (Cranna, 1989: 12).

Idealists and Realists

The decisions of the NZSWTC, together with its priorities over time, suggest that it was a body composed of both realists and idealists. People who had a sense of the practicable and achievable or who held onto a vision of high standards at all costs. At times, members were torn between these two positions and it was not easy for them to choose between broad-based, low-priced training and degree-level, professional, qualifying courses for a smaller proportion of the social service workforce. It is hardly surprising that the Council met with criticism.

The Council was frequently criticised for putting forward developmental proposals based on insufficient evidence, yet research funding was hard to come by. This was not a new problem for the social services. In 1970, the NZASW failed to get funding for a research project costed at \$17,000 which would have provided useful information on the workforce and a year later, the NZFVWO was unable to mail out its questionnaire surveying training needs, also for lack of money. Brian Manchester prepared an early research proposal to identify social welfare training needs in New Zealand. This was costed at \$25,000 and was met with the request by the Department of Social Welfare for a more detailed proposal and the comment that there was no lack of awareness of the need for education and training courses, but rather, of financial and teaching resources (Minutes of [?10th] meeting of NZSWTC, 17/10/74).

The Council later acquired funding for its survey of the social services workforce in 1975. Perhaps this was a consolation prize in face of the delay in introducing the three-year teachers college courses during the financial year 1975/6. Some honest confusion and disappointment had been expressed by members when the government turned down the Council's proposal for three year training courses in the teachers colleges. Members wondered whether their proposal was in some way poor or inadequate, whether they should have recommended universities or technical institutes instead of teachers colleges or whether economic reasons were dictating the decision (Minutes of 31st meeting of the NZSWTC 9/9/77).

Given the general lack of emotion conveyed through the minutes of the NZSWTC, this was significant and indicates the discomfort felt by some members of the NZSWTC over the slow pace of development. The Council

was regularly criticised for lack of progress, yet, given the economic and political circumstances, this was hardly surprising and not wholly justified.

By 1982, the Council had been involved (but not necessarily responsible for) a considerable amount of progressive change in the provision of new courses for social work training. In 1975, the Government had agreed to establish three new, university based social work courses. The Auckland University programme (a two-year MA Course in Sociology - Social Welfare and Development) started in 1975. The Canterbury and Massey University programmes took their first students in 1976. These social work courses were lucky to be introduced given the changing economic outlook, but it was the Government's hope that better qualified social workers would help to maintain social equilibrium. The Auckland University course had been discontinued in 1980, the unaccredited YMCA course was still functioning, though it was in danger of losing funding to the Auckland Teachers College Diploma course which began in 1982.

The rate of production of qualifying social workers had been increased from 30 to 100 per annum by 1976. It was, however, still difficult to make an impression on the percentage of qualified social work staff across the board. By mid-1981, the NZSWTC reported that:

For seven years the Council's proposals for non-University professional courses located in Teachers' Colleges did not meet with approval.... The Council was feeling concerned and frustrated that in spite of the increasing number of graduates, the proportion of New Zealand social workers with a professional training was still much the same as it was in 1974 - about 15% (NZSWTC 1981: 2).

The Council experienced difficulties and frustrations for much of its working life once the three new university programmes had been established. Eventually it had to acknowledge its problems and try to work through them. Council members were already showing signs of stress in August 1979, when the workload was such that members wanted to contract people in to provide expert input. The Council was at this time divided in its thinking and this can be seen clearly in some of the sessions as, for example, the discussion about whether to suspend accreditation for a while and what priorities to set for the forthcoming year (Minutes of 45th meeting

of NZSWTC, 30/8/79). The minutes for this meeting also contain several motions which were put forward and carried, but which did not necessarily support each other. In March 1980, the Minister of Social Welfare, Mr Gair, made a statement while visiting the Council to the effect that any new ventures would have to be fiscally neutral (Minutes of the 48th meeting of the NZSWTC, 25/3/80). This was one of the many sessions when Professor McCreary put forward the difficulties experienced by community workers in accessing training as a priority for the Council. Non-attendance at Council meetings was also becoming a problem at this stage, a sign that members were demoralised (Minutes of 49th meeting of the NZSWTC, 30/5/1980). In August, the Council received a letter from the Chairman of the Officials Committee on Family and Social Policy, which was presented as being in committee. It is not in the archives. The Chairman had been prevailed upon to explain what was happening within government machinery and light was shed on some of the difficulties in negotiating for the teachers college courses with Treasury. The minutes report that, although the Minister of Social Welfare was

very much in sympathy with our (Council's) concerns, little understanding of the nature of social work and why it required training had been shown While this was the position progress would be slow, and at the level of direct contact with clients was very serious.

Entrenched attitudes to social work could be the result of the status of social work as a 'marginal profession'. Although situations arose where the services of social workers were required by statute, the means of training were not provided to meet these heavy demands.

A long discussion took place on whether the Council should be prepared to accept a compromise and offer something more attainable as a policy proposal (e.g. a one year course for graduates) but it was generally agreed that to accept any form of compromise would be a retrograde step (Minutes of the 50th meeting of the NZSWTC, 1/8/80).

This lengthy quote sheds light on the difficulties faced by Council, and its decision to hold its position on professional standards. Council members believed they had a cast iron case in favour of professional training and

could not see what else to do but continue to put it forward, hoping that eventually reason would prevail over the government's ideological and economic priorities.

In October, the Council Chairman and executive officer met with Mr Gair to discuss the need for alternative three year training courses. They made it clear that

the Council was disappointed at the way advice on social work training from the NZSWTC seemed to carry less weight than that from Treasury (Minutes of the 50th meeting of the NZSWTC, 28/11/80).

The Minister advised them to produce evidence on the cost-effectiveness of professionally trained social workers. The Council received this news with dismay. There was even some suggestion of demonstrating the harm done by untrained social workers.

The same minutes contain a report on a meeting between Manakau Technical Institute, employers in the Auckland region and members of the NZSWTC, at which the Institute explained that it had a good part-time three-year programme planned, an impressive group of tutors lined up, but no funds. It requested assistance in the form of advocacy and support from the Council. The Council representatives told them that under current regulations they would not accredit part-time courses, though this was a standard they were re-examining. It was this kind of response that earned them a reputation for being rigid and out of date. They received little sympathy from the NZASW or employers for upholding professional standards. Instead, they were interpreted as holding back on progress.

In March the next year, they met for two days with a facilitator from the State Services Commission to air their hopes and fears and consider the future of the Council. They talked about the lack of co-ordination between the NZSWTC and its related committees, lack of direction as evinced by the difficulty in reaching consensus decisions and worry as to what they should do if unable to implement their plans. Lack of government support was discussed and members said it seemed as though the Council and the government were following two different paths. The purpose of the

Council and its continued existence were called into question. The minutes record that:

The Council was making training proposals for a system that was manifestly against training, as study awards were not being taken up and Hospital Boards had withdrawn social work training awards. The possibility that the Council could exist for no good reason raised the question of whether we wished to continue to exist and if we did, whether an advisory council is the appropriate form (Minutes of the 54th meeting of the NZSWTC, 26-27/3/81).

This matter of study awards was taken up by the Hospital Boards, who made the point (which Council eventually accepted), that they were still available and candidates needed to be encouraged by the professional bodies to seek training (Minutes of the 55th meeting of the NZSWTC, 29/5/81).

This two-day meeting stands out as a watershed for the Council and its work. At the time, the new members had been meeting together for a year and had made little progress. Decisions had been regularly deferred or matters referred on to sub-committees and working parties for further discussion or research. Government would not commit funds for further courses. Instead, it put pressure on the Council to propose shorter courses of study which would be available to a wider population by being short-term and modular. Practitioners and employers were impatient and educators like Ken Daniels and Merv Hancock (both members of the NZASW) had each put forward alternative models which had Treasury or community support.

By July 1981, the Council agreed to modify the minimum standards for social work qualifications and recognise part-time courses as capable of leading to a professional qualification. A little bit of realism had diluted the idealism. This coincided with Government approval for the establishment of a professional training course for social workers, community workers and youth workers in Auckland. Cabinet had finally agreed to the need for this, but stipulated that the new programme should be for two years with a minimum age of 20 and must meet the minimum standards established by the Council (Minutes of the 56th meeting of the NZSWTC, 31/7/81). This is an example of direct pressure on the NZSWTC by the Government to adjust

its standards to meet the economic resources and ideological positions of the day.

Also at this meeting, the Council received a statement from the Assistant Director-General of the Department of Social Welfare, a former member of the NZSWTC, in which he affirmed that the Department had a policy of recruiting qualified staff and encouraging in-post staff to qualify (Minutes of the 56th meeting of the NZSWTC, 31/7/81). In this way, the Council received just enough official encouragement to continue. Government had agreed to fund one more professional course and the Hospital Boards and the Department of Social Welfare had denied the suggestion that they were discouraging their staff from gaining qualifications through lack of study awards or clear messages. The Council modified its standards in an attempt to accommodate contemporary needs and desired levels of ability.

At the end of 1982, the Council listed its priorities as pre and post entry training, increased access to pre-entry training, a review of the study award system and review of the minimum standards. It drew attention to its heavy workload and recommended that the Government

note the extremely low proportion of adequately trained social workers in the Department of Social Welfare, recognise the fundamental importance of having appropriately trained people undertaking paid social worker tasks, and declare an intention to give urgent attention to the allocation of resources which will enable a rapid improvement to be effected in the level of professionally trained social workers throughout New Zealand's social services (Basic Professional Committee 26/11/1982).

There is nothing in the NZSWTC minutes to suggest that their priorities met with encouragement from the Ministers of Health or Social Welfare, although, by November 1982, the Report of the Human Rights Commission into DSW Children's Homes had been out for several months, giving time for recognition of the dire need for residential staff training.³⁴ In fact, as the

³⁴ Little attention has been paid here to the provision of residential training. This is an area which deserves further research. Several respondents have drawn attention to provision of training for residential social workers, which traditionally tends to be the Cinderella. It proved to be an area in which, amongst other factors, the lack of training for staff finally caught up with the Department of Social Welfare. Accusations about culturally insensitive practices and abusive treatment of children in DSW residential centres were investigated in the early 1980s. In June 1983, News and Views issued a summary of the DSW response to the Human Rights Commission Report on DSW Children's Homes. There had been substantial agreement between the two reports on cultural inadequacies in the treatment of young people in residential

minutes progress into the next year, one sees a further dwindling of energy and lack of co-ordination in which fewer productive meetings were held. When the Labour Government was elected and began its extensive reviews into social organisation, the NZSWTC was a natural candidate for review and deconstruction.

The Deconstruction of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council: Reviews and Oral Data

This section considers the two Ministerial Reviews of the NZSWTC and the opinions of respondents on several of the important issues already mentioned as well as some which have not. It is argued here that the story of the NZSWTC embodies the struggle between a variety of groups in society over the capture and disposal of resources for education and training and beliefs as to what forms and in what settings and for whom that education and training should be available. The impact of politics is embedded in this study and illustrates how education for social work is intertwined in national politics.

In September 1984, the Right Honourable Ann Hercus, the Labour Minister of Social Welfare, requested of the NZSWTC that members "prepare a 'full, frank and innovative review' of its achievements, structure and functions" (Ministerial Review Committee of the NZSWTC, 1985: 1). In March 1985, the Minister approached Merv Hancock and requested that he prepare an independent review of the NZSWTC, its "results and effectiveness," with recommendations for the future of the Council (Ibid 1985: 3).

Hancock's Report of the Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC showed wisdom in the inclusive manner in which it gave detailed and pragmatic definitions of social work, community work and youth work. The definitions acknowledged and gave equal value to the separate identities and characteristics of each occupation³⁵ and had implications for

care. One response was the introduction of the Maatua Whangai programme. The changes to practice and other recommendations of the Human Rights Commission Report (30/8/82) and the in-house investigation conducted over the same period at the instigation of the DSW, the Johnstone Report, were to be overseen by the Officials Committee of the Cabinet Committee on Family and Social Affairs. Today, residential social work in the traditional sense has been scaled right down. Maurice McGregor and Brian Manchester were particularly supportive in trying to secure training in this area. Now the traditions of residential are almost buried in the mists of time. Brian Manchester recalled how, recently, he drove past one of the now closed residential establishments, to find the gates padlocked and leaves covering the entrance (B.M. Manchester, pers. comm. 14/11/95).

³⁵ The social work definition bore a close resemblance to that in the Brownlie Report, not surprising given that they have an author in common (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 30/8/95).

determining what the minimum standards for qualifying social, youth and community workers should be, because this depends on an understanding of the commonalities and differences among the roles of these three forms of social service.

The definitions in the Ministerial Review demonstrated where there was common ground between these approaches. Because of their simplicity and the focus on what people in these groups actually do, the definitions avoided, but did not belittle, the ideological rhetoric of many who had entered the debate. This strategy was taken up in later years when it was the turn of NZCETSS to offer the country its definitions of social service work. Both the NZSWTC and NZCETSS ran the risk of being seen to favour a particular approach during this period in which the social services were evolving so quickly.

The Ministerial Review Committee listed the main areas of conflict on the Council. Recognition of social work as an occupation with a common base of knowledge and skills had taken place during the 1950s and 60s. The question of what constituted social work identity topped the list of matters causing difficulty. It would be difficult to overestimate the trouble caused by the failure to acknowledge and accept, in a way that was publicly seen as inclusive and egalitarian, the commonalities and differences between social work, community work and youth work. By concentrating on a narrow understanding of social work, the Council was perceived, rightly or wrongly, as favouring it at the expense of community and youth work. The Ministerial Review drew attention to the inclusive

tradition within the social service field which nourishes a respect for people, acknowledges the centrality of justice and recognises the material and spiritual basis of existence (Ministerial Review Committee, 1985: 13).

It was this tradition which had pulled together disparate groups of social workers and enabled the formation of the NZASW and allowed for the consolidation of the profession. It is argued in this study that, during this second phase of social work education, social work identity was not only recognised but to some extent consolidated. Energy was put into the transmission of social work knowledge and skills and the development of a professional ethos. By the end of the period, there were considerably more

social work graduates in the field from different schools of social work. Most of the lecturers still had ties to the VUW courses and a common understanding of professional practice. There was a strong value placed on social justice and the role of social workers in championing the causes of the oppressed. Communication systems were much improved with the result that people were able to network and keep in touch on issues with greater ease.

At the same time, social work had become sufficiently recognisable for groups to begin to emerge and withdraw, as they recognised their differences, groups for example, like the National Association of Counsellors, which was founded in 1973. Other groups from a variety of different social work education programmes and from the community, challenged the status quo and promoted community work. Key people from these groups were: Adrienne Baird and Wendy Craig, Palmerston North feminist community workers, Michael Elliott, ESOD, Professor Ian Shirley, community worker and lecturer and Mr John Rangihau, Maori development.³⁶

Professionalism was another area which involved differences of opinion as to what professionals stood for. Was it academic knowledge, adherence to a set of values and expertise in a field of practice, or simply technical competence? The Review noted how some felt professionalism was elitist and unnecessary and argued that it was in reality about self-aggrandisement. Individualism versus collectivity and indigenous versus internationalism were further divisive concerns, brought to the attention of the Review Committee in submissions (Ministerial Review Committee, 1985: 14).

The Ministerial Review found two barriers to effectiveness met by Council. One was its membership. Members were nominated by certain groups and which groups could send nominees was a source of constant debate. Another aspect of nomination was whether Council members had to represent the views of the group which nominated them or whether they could speak their own mind. The second barrier was lack of resources. There was never a time when there were enough staff to carry out the work, there was insufficient funding for what was done and recommendations

³⁶ People named here would be the first to acknowledge that they were part of collective movements in which singling people out risks giving a false impression. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that several of the respondents in this research were dedicated community workers.

were always to be fiscally neutral, which meant that if a project was established it was to be funded at the expense of some other project from Vote Welfare (Ministerial Review Committee, 1985: 23).

Certainly, the minutes show that there were times when Council members themselves felt keenly their impotence vis-à-vis Ministers of Social Welfare, Treasury and Cabinet. The financial constraints upon resources for social and community work courses were very real and the Council could well have argued that it played the role of whipping boy for governments which did not wish to invest in training social workers.

The Council considered itself to be seriously under-resourced and regularly put forward requests for more favourable working conditions. Lack of funds hampered the Council's ability to conduct research, which meant it had little information about the extent to which people in the social services had any degree of social work qualification. Members of the Council were diligent, but their work was carried on largely in private and they failed to involve, as allies, those with a practical interest in their outcome. The lack of an autonomous funding base had seriously curtailed its ability to publicise its work outside the Department of Social Welfare. Failure to relate to the non-government organisations and to share ongoing debates within the NZSWTC, its decisions, their implications and their reports led to a serious crisis of confidence in the Council which, in the end, meant that the NZSWTC was disbanded.

In spite of this lack of resources, the Ministerial Review acknowledged the Council's efforts in sponsoring the 1983 community workers' workshops, and noted how the Council's Map of the Training Journey, produced in 1980 after consultation with the community, had been met with no response from the Government.

The Council, in its review of itself, made it very clear that it saw the need to

preserve the integrity of professional social workers and social work training that leads to a recognised qualification accredited by the Council (NZSWTC, 1985: 5).

The Council also acknowledged the difficulties encountered by community workers in seeking access to adequate training courses (NZSWTC, 1985: 5). In

relation to cultural concerns, it drew the Minister's attention to the new minimum standards which spelt out the inclusion of bi-cultural material in the curriculum. The Council was torn between its focus on social work and the need for training to cover the wider social service and community work scene. It was unable to decide which course should be taken, a most unstrategic indecision.

Respondents had some points to make about the NZSWTC which clarified or emphasised aspects of the work of the Council already mentioned. The lack of market signals from the employers to the educators was mentioned several times. Professor McCreary's last words to me were that the employers never did enough. Another respondent explained that:

The employers didn't create a market for social work education and so all of the market signals to educators about demand were not getting through. So universities weren't being pressured to put resources into that area and making it a priority....While I was on Council it became clear that the short-term measure, just like the pre-fab, was lasting for year after year. It was becoming a permanent approach.... So I think that that was largely because of employers being happy to use those as the minimum and not commit themselves to anything else (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

The importance of alliances between sectors of the social work education world is now being recognised internationally. Taylor, in her review of recent contributions to the study of social work education, argues that the distinction of three interest groups: sponsors (the professions, government and employers), providers (the educators) and clients (students and service users) offers a useful, but oversimplified, analysis of the stakeholders. She points out and I agree with her, that the sponsor group is not unified over time (Taylor, 1996: 173). In this study, one can discern, in the earliest phase of social work education, a commonality of interests among New Zealand educators, professionals and government bodies. In the middle phase, however, the sponsors are pulling in different directions and will be seen to have formed different alliances in the third phase of social work education.

Influences and Alliances

The influences on social work education during this middle period were numerous and they changed as time went by. Ministers of Social Welfare and Health exercised both government and personal policy in their dealings with the Council. The question of who influenced whom in developing social work education is a difficult one, as Brook noted in her study of the NZSWTC (Brook 1988: 60).³⁷

The period began with the Hon Norman King, Labour Minister of Social Welfare, making resources available for several new university courses, while the period ends at a point when Cabinet and Treasury, having agonised for several years over extending the provision of social work courses, established only one of three courses advocated by the NZSWTC and other interested parties. Even then, the course was restricted to two, instead of three years duration. The period ends with the Right Honourable Ann Hercus, Labour Minister of Social Welfare, presiding over the disestablishment of the NZSWTC, having recognised that it could no longer function as it was. It had, whether deservedly or not, lost credibility in the community. It was her vision to reconstitute the NZSWTC with an equivalent body that would have dual responsibility to the Ministers of Social Welfare and Education in order to negotiate this difficulty more easily. Recommendations in the Ministerial Review Report of the NZSWTC suggested that dual accountability between the Department of Social Welfare and the Department of Maori Affairs would strengthen the cause of social work education. This would be particularly in the event that Cabinet was unsympathetic or under financial pressure, when social work education and training was always a low priority.

Studies of the Council's work by Brook (1988) and Cranna (1989) depict a group whose members were overburdened with work on top of their daily jobs, aware that any expenses incurred by Council would be at the expense of other programmes in the Department of Social Welfare. Brook concluded that

³⁷ Her study is interesting in that it is informed by interviews with members of the NZSWTC who, when interviewed, were even closer to events than when I talked with them almost ten years later. Brook put considerable emphasis on the use of her interviews for data, finding that the inconsistent manner in which minutes of the NZSWTC were recorded made it hard to determine the debates and processes of decision making (Brook, 1988: 51). The minutes are certainly discrete and bland, given the strength of feeling that is still around, even today.

in many ways the NZSWTC was not independent enough from Government and relied upon the goodwill of major employing agencies (Brook, 1988: 65).

This is an indication of the alliance between industry (employers of social work staff) and the NZSWTC in shaping the curriculum. Crockett's evaluation of the NZSWTC was less tolerant, and its radical criticism voiced current feelings in Auckland about the direction which provision for social and community work education and training was taking (Crockett, 1979).

Many members of both sectors were also members of the NZASW, although the NZASW, at this time, had a young and radical leadership. The critical, young and recently educated practitioners predicted by Dr Robson had arrived. One can speculate that the good relationship maintained between the NZSWTC and agencies militated at one level against the more radical direction in which the NZASW was moving. At the very least, it served to underline the dilemmas faced by professionals and practitioners. The NZASW archives contain many indications of tension and division of opinion particularly among the radical and conservative members in the Auckland region who disagreed with one another over the question of what should count as qualifications for professional social work. The debate focussed partly on whether Maori who knew their tikanga, language and history, needed further qualifications or not. Related to this point was the question of whether community workers should have their own courses, distinct from social work.

The NZASW conferences of 1978 (The Disabling Professions) and 1982 (Social Justice Conference) expressed some of these tensions and dissensions, as can be seen from their titles. The photograph of Ivan Illich sitting on the floor talking to the social workers, with Graeme Fraser, Professor of Sociology, beside him depicts an unaccustomed informality for conventional (Pakeha) New Zealand. The evidence presented in this chapter has indicated that the struggles for resources and for hegemony were waged both within the Council, and between the Council and the wider community of employers, professionals and others.

People, their views and choices concerning social work education

In terms of what influenced the course of social work education in the country in this period, many people played significant parts. People of influence were often connected in one way or another with the NZSWTC, either as Ministers, members of the Council and its working parties, or its critics. This chapter has referred to some of those who stood out as leaders in the field, but many other people played significant parts in this history. Writing contemporary history means that one is so close to events that there will be a danger of missing people and decisions that later stand out as having had more significance than at the time was acknowledged.

Professor McCreary and Mr John Rangihau together represent the close but contradictory relationship of traditional approaches to social work education and the growth of Maori development models. Mr John Rangihau was one of Professor McCreary's first students. They formed a close personal and working relationship. Mr John Rangihau had an intimate knowledge of the social work profession. Understanding it, he was in the best possible position to challenge the equilibrium of the curriculum and introduce new energy through his research into and publication of Puao-te-ata-tu. This publication named institutional, cultural and personal racism in New Zealand and commanded attention.

This challenge to the status quo had already been taken on board by staff and students at the School of Social Work, Auckland Teachers College, where Mrs Hessey proved responsive to the calls of Maori and Pacific Island students and their communities to change the curriculum to meet their needs. Although the changes made proved controversial, nevertheless this experimental course injected something new into the scene and made stakeholders think seriously about what was wanted in social work education. Gradually, it was recognised that this would differ depending on whose interests were taken into account.

A telling photograph, in the archives of the School of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University depicts the first intake of students in 1976, together with staff. It contains a significant number of people mentioned in this thesis for their influence and their vision of social work: Merv Hancock, Robyn Munford (student), Mrs Hessey, Angela Gilbert (one of the health student unit supervisors), Professor Ian Shirley, Ephra Garrett and

Professor Fraser. The connections between people are notable in Aotearoa/New Zealand and well-illustrated in this photo.

In the first period discussed, people with vision for social work sought to ensure that it could raise its status and gain recognition as a professional occupation. Mr Tom Austin's contribution, for example, represented this vision in practice. He saw that social workers needed a professional education and helped to provide the infrastructure within which supply and demand for qualified practitioners could function. His regular workforce statistics and the managerial systems he introduced were particularly valuable in this context.

The second period, however, was one in which there were competing visions. Radical versions (or visions) of social and community work were taking shape. They were informed by development workers like Paulo Freire and liberation theologians, talking and writing about such radical matters as the preferential option for the poor and the urgent need for social justice. These messages were taken up, often without the Christian wrappings, by people as diverse as Wendy Craig and Professor Ian Shirley, who were both at Massey University with Michael Elliott, when he was studying and teaching his Christian-anarchist vision. Likewise, Maori and women were looking for opportunities for self-development and, for them, the community work movement was an important vehicle for their vision of a better world. In this climate it is hardly surprising that the vision for social work to gain public acknowledgment as a profession was one that attracted some while repelling others.

The choices facing social work educators throughout this period were about how to make the best use of resources for social work education and at what levels, or standards, should one's sights be set. Should education for social workers be part-time or full-time, pre-entry or post-entry? What might be the implications for standards if education went part-time, or even extra-mural (distance mode)? Should a system of accreditation be introduced and what effect could it have on courses catering at a pre-professional level? Could accreditation become stifling and elitist? These are familiar questions in any history of social work education. The different responses to them by the NZASW, the NZSWTC, the community workers, social workers and the employers show how difficult a job it was to attempt to advise Ministers of Social Welfare with confidence about the correct direction that should be

taken. One of the difficulties that the NZSWTC had to contend with when faced with these choices, was its inability to make strategic decisions that were acceptable to a sufficient number of people for them to stand.

The Ministerial Review recommended the disestablishment of the NZSWTC and the appointment of a new Council, capable of serving the interests of Maori, of community workers and of the social services generally. Educators from all the tertiary sectors were to have a say on this new body, but the Maori and Polytechnic interests were to be given particular attention. Terms of Reference, together with nominations for membership of the New Zealand Council in Education and Training in the Social Services, were drawn up by the Department of Social Welfare, under Ministerial instruction, taking into account the two Ministerial reports and the submissions on them from the wider community. The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services was duly established in December, 1986 and first met in June, 1987. It provides the focus for the third period in this study and is the lens through which the influences on social work education in the third period of the history are considered.

Chapter Eleven: 1987-95, Introducing the Third Period

After the disestablishment of the NZSWTC, the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services (NZCETSS, or "the Council" in this chapter and the next) was established in December 1986. I therefore identify this third period as beginning in 1987 and ending in 1995, when NZCETSS made way for Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation. This chapter and the following one, continue the argument that the provision of social work education is sensitive to market demands and pressures as also is the social work curriculum. Social work practice is likewise sensitive and responds to societal attitudes and values, particularly as expressed in social service agencies. Given that social work education attracts government support in the shape of funding and accreditation, knowledge of policies and organisational contexts for social work practice is an essential ingredient in understanding the interconnecting influences on social work education.

It was argued in the previous chapter that those involved with social work and social work education, having gained a measure of professional recognition in the 1960's, worked to consolidate this in the 1970's and 80's. Social workers became, on the one hand, more confident as to who and what they were, and consolidation gave them a measure of professional respectability. For the more radical, community based social workers respectability conflicted with their efforts in relation to raising awareness of cultural and women's issues and changing the status quo. Consolidation was therefore accompanied by debate and dissension and during the middle period a number of social service groups and networks developed in different directions from the NZASW, for example the Aotearoa Community Workers Association (ACWA) and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. In a sense, the existence of a well-defined association of social workers made it possible for other groups to form different identities.

This chapter introduces external factors which affected the Council. Material is again organised around political, economic, cultural and social themes as for the two earlier periods. The organisation and delivery of

social services and intellectual approaches to social and community work are considered in relation to social work practice and education. Emphasis on practice models and agency culture is necessary in order to demonstrate the dynamics between changing fashions in social work, agency demand and schools of social work. It is argued that a relationship exists between the findings of public enquiries and agency-based social work policies and programmes for preparing social workers for practice.¹ Following on from these themes, the recent history of social and community work associations is presented and discussed together with opinions of social work educators concerning developments in social work education. The influences of these groups on directions taken in developing the curriculum and responding to contemporary pressures is analysed.

Political Leadership and Changing Economic, Cultural and Social Background

Since the late 1980s the public sector in New Zealand has worked through a series of public policy and organisational reforms designed to minimise the role of the state in providing direct, front line services. Economic motivation has driven many of the changes,² in the light of which, functions of government departments were simplified through the separation of policy, funding and purchasing of services and their delivery. The new emphasis is for the state sector to serve the government by ensuring that its policies are implemented, rather than implement them itself. Government departments such as education, health and social welfare are part of the state sector. Concerns at the exponential growth in numbers of civil servants employed in the state sector and questions as to their efficiency are one rationale for redesigning the state sector (Department of Statistics, 1990). Reorganisation of the state sector involved the introduction of mechanisms of accountability and measures of quality performance which have also had implications in the field of social service delivery (Cheyne, et al 1997). These will be discussed below as will legislation which directly affected social work education and the deliberations of the New Zealand Council of Education and Training for the Social Services.

¹For example, see Henaghan, M. & Atkin, B. (1992). Auckland, N. Z.: Oxford University Press, pp 168-182.

²For example, in a briefing paper to the Minister of Finance, 22/4/1987, Treasury advised that the child protection provisions of the 1986 Bill were going to be too expensive and that the Bill should be modified accordingly (Henaghan, M. & Atkin, B. : 175). See also, Nash, R. (1988) *The Treasury on Education: Taking a Long Spoon...*,

The NZCETSS came into being under the Fourth Labour Government. It continued to operate under a Labour Government until National came into power in 1990. The political philosophy of the Labour Government during these six years represented a break with the past. Under this government the aspirations for a collective approach to the welfare of the community as expressed in the Royal Commission on Social Policy, gave way to an individualist approach known as the New Right (Kelsey, 1993, 1995, Sharp, 1994, Boston et al 1996, Cheyne et al 1997). The new policies on post-industrialism and the social services have already been discussed in Chapter Three. As implementation of these policies occurred, the New Zealand economy faced a recession and rising inflation and Treasury offered new economic strategies and solutions. It is useful to consider the implications of the legislative changes introduced, for they represented a new political climate which favoured individualism, free market competition and independence over solidarity, a planned economy and interdependence. Given that social work is partly influenced by the society which hosts it, these changes could be expected to affect social work practice and the preparation of practitioners.

For example, the State Owned Enterprises Act (1986) and the State Sector Act (1988) have provided the legislation to implement the changes in the Public Service, traditionally the major employer of social workers. The Public Finance Act 1989 was designed to maximise the accountability of government departments by stipulating how they should report their financial management, while the Reserve Bank Act 1989 was introduced to combat inflation, which had been rising. The Reserve Bank was, under the new legislation, to manage monetary policy in such a way as to maintain price stability. The new Act removed the injunction that in managing monetary policy the Reserve Bank must be mindful of and promote social welfare in New Zealand (Cheyne, et al 1997: 130).

The new economic policies introduced under Labour were further consolidated when National returned to power in 1990. When the National Government took office in 1990, the Right Honourable Jenny Shipley was appointed Minister of Social Welfare and the political background against which NZCETSS worked was one in which the role of the state in the provision of welfare services continued to diminish. The state became instead a purchaser of social services intent on addressing "welfare dependency" and reducing its spending in this area. Maori and community

groups in general argued for autonomy and developmental as opposed to welfare approaches in the field of social services. Maori calls for culturally appropriate programmes were particularly influential during the early years of this third period. The Right Honourable Ann Hercus, the Minister of Social Welfare in 1986, when Puao-te-ata-tu was published, nurtured the efforts of NZCETSS towards providing for educational resources for the social service community which promoted biculturalism. Her appointment of Professor Shirley to chair the New Zealand Council of Education and Training in the Social Services was seen as

very strategic, because if there had been another chairperson a lot of the work that Maori were doing at the time could have been shut down (R. Munford. pers. comm. 26/10/95).

The cultural context in which the NZCETSS functioned during this period began with a strong emphasis on Maori issues and recognition that many institutional cultures were in fact racist in the way they were organised and staffed. The Council was established at the end of the year in which the Ministerial Advisory Report, Puao-te-ata-tu, was published. This document confronted the Public Service in general and social work profession in particular with the history of Maori/Pakeha relations in New Zealand's social service institutions. Puao-te-ata-tu presented a clear, uncompromising picture of problems within the Department of Social Welfare and suggested remedies. The first recommendation was that Government endorse the following policy objective:

To attack all forms of cultural racism in New Zealand that result in the values and lifestyle of the dominant group being regarded as superior to those of other groups, especially Maori, by

- (a) providing leadership and programmes which help develop a society in which the values of all groups are of cultural importance; and
- (b) Incorporating the values, cultures and beliefs of the Maori people in all policies developed for the future of New Zealand (Ministerial Advisory Report, Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986: 9).

The Report conveyed an unambiguous message that social workers be targeted for educational programmes. As indicated in the preceding chapter,

Puao-te-ata-tu did not erupt on an unsuspecting Pakeha Public Service. It was, rather, the culmination of a series of reports and efforts to alert Public Service managers and the wider community to the need for cultural sensitivity and understanding in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi, and Maori cultural practices such as whanaungatanga. In practical terms, Maori recognised that their children were over-represented in Department of Social Welfare institutions, found their treatment to be culturally unacceptable and determined to do something about it. Puao-te-ata-tu acted as a catalyst, in that it was the culmination of a number of Reports in which racism and cultural insensitivity figured large.³ These Reports had clearly articulated the Maori perspective and provided a medium in which to discuss and make changes.

Puao-te-ata-tu challenged social workers to introduce a balance between Maori and Pakeha content in the curriculum. This had tremendous significance for social work education, being closely linked to other fierce and at times bitter debates in the 70s and 80s between those who held a conventional view of professional social work, and those who regarded social work as intrinsically part of the radical movement towards a more just and equitable society in which client self-determination would be taken seriously. At a deeper level it heralded a growing body of well-expressed Maori philosophical traditional thinking which whanau, hapu and iwi could apply to whatever was happening in the public sector that affected Maori people. The tino rangatiratanga and community work movements tapped into a common well-spring of hope in which human rights, self-determination and confidence in the judgement of ordinary people to work together collectively for justice and the good of the community constituted fundamental ingredients.⁴

Two significant papers in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University collection of NZCETSS material, are: The Maatua Whangai Programme and Whakapakari Whanau/Family Decision Making (DSW, c.1988) They are good examples of early efforts within government departments to respond to the challenge of biculturalism, significant because they gained the attention of those making policy for practice. Each made it

³ New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 1982; DSW: Institutional Racism in the Department of Social Welfare - Tamaki-Makau-Rau, 1985; DSW: Maori Advisory Unit Report, 1985.

⁴ These social aspirations of a sizeable sector of Aotearoa/New Zealand are written up in the Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988.

clear that the role of the social worker would have to change in response to the call for more autonomy and self-determination at the whanau level. In order to help social workers adapt to their models of practice, social work educators had to be cognisant of these calls for change and accommodate them in the curriculum. These papers are therefore directly relevant to the question of who and what has influenced social work education. It is not surprising to find them in the archives of the NZCETSS, and their presence shows clearly that Council members were aware of them. Each is explored below in recognition that they were influential factors in the changes affecting social work in the late 1980's. Their influence lay partly in what they argued, partly because they were from the Maori Directorate and partly because they contributed to the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 (Henaghan & Tapp, 1992: 203), and subsequent changes in social work and education for social work.

The document, Maatua Whangai: A New Direction begins with the exhortation

Return the authority of the tribes to the tribes, of the sub-tribes to the sub-tribes, of the families to the families, of the individuals to the individuals, representing as they do, the generations of past and present (Maatua Whangai, Maori Directorate, Head Office, DSW, 1988: 1).

The Maatua Whangai Programme proposal (Maori Directorate, 1988) was submitted to the Minister of Social Welfare by Harry Walker, Programme Director, Maori Directorate, Head Office, Department of Social Welfare, in 1988. Harry Walker was then a social work educator. Together with Whakapakari Whanau (Harry Walker, 1988), it gave detailed accounts of Maori philosophical approaches for working with Maori, which statutory social workers were encouraged to follow. The two papers carried the message of Puao-te-ata-tu, which had drawn attention to racism in many aspects of the working of the Department and pointed out that

At the heart of the issue is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the place of the child in Maori society and its relationship with whanau, hapu and iwi (Ministerial Advisory Committee, Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986: 7).

Many would argue that the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 owed its kinship approach to the care of children to the lessons of Puao-te-ata-tu and to the "overall cultural pressure" that existed in the mid to late 80's (E. Beddoe, pers. comm. 22/9/95). As already mentioned, the philosophy expressed in the above quotes was particularly compatible with the direction of devolution of state responsibility for welfare espoused by Treasury and politicians of the New Right at that time and since. Certainly, the Maatua Whangai programme, when introduced into the Department of Social Welfare in 1983, played a significant role in the devolution of social work decision-making from the professional to the whanau/family. The path to legislation for the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) also reflected the struggle between Maori and the Pakeha professional establishment. One may speculate on the influence of the Social Welfare Commission national hui,⁵ held at Waiwhetu Marae on 14-15 April 1989, on changing the direction of this legislation. That hui provided an important opportunity for the community to tell the DSW that it still had a long way to go in addressing the recommendations in Puao-te-ata-tu.⁶

The Maatua Whangai programme,⁷ an attempt to reduce the number of Maori children in residential care, expanded into the preferred approach to working with Maori children in need of alternative care. The programme was based on an agreement between "the Maori people and the departments of Social Welfare and Maori Affairs" (ibid: 1) which was sparked by the Hui Whakatauirā (Maori Leadership Conference, 1981). When the pilot programme was evaluated it was decided that the Department of Justice should be involved (to facilitate the process of diversion, by which criminal convictions may be avoided under certain circumstances); that Maori were prepared to run the programme; and that "the Maori kinship base required for the placement needed strengthening" (ibid: 1). It was noted that while in some areas the programme had worked well, on the whole it had not achieved its goal of caring "for Maori children within their cultural structures" (ibid: 3).

The paper made three recommendations. The first was a call for iwi development. In this context, the Maatua Whangai programme represented

⁵ The Social Welfare Commission was set up under section 71(c) of the 1987 Social Security Act, to consult with iwi on moves within the DSW towards 'devolution of power from central government to iwi authorities, to enable them to administer some social service programmes.'

⁶ However, as already mentioned, the change in direction was also in response to Treasury advice that the Minister opt for a cheaper alternative to the 1986 Bill (Tapp et al, 1992:172-183).

⁷ Translated roughly as kin-based foster parenting.

a practical opportunity for the State Services to form a partnership with Maori (the second recommendation) in the accordance with Recommendation 2 of Puao-te-ata-tu that policy should be guided by principles based on equal partnership about resources and their disposal.

Three main areas of difficulty were faced by the programme. It was seen by many practitioners as an optional extra instead of the only programme available. There was a lack of co-ordination between the three government departments involved. Iwi were neither ready nor resourced (financially or educationally in relation to social work systems and practices) for the programme, and the difficulties for urban Maori in implementing it had not been sufficiently addressed (ibid: 4).

Where these new developments directly impinge on social work education is in the demand that social workers learn new ways of working with Maori children and their families. Thus the third recommendation was for Whakapakari Whanau, family decision making. The paper addressed the issue of management for change, calling for a "shift in management attitudes" and a change of direction in practitioner training (ibid: 7). The underlying philosophies and history of this precursor to the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 were a crucial element in the history of the development of indigenous social work and its implications for teaching social work.⁸

The Minister of Social Welfare, the Right Honourable Michael Cullen, made the following points in his response to the Maatua Whangai paper

that the government intended to devolve responsibility to recognised Iwi authorities; that he agreed in principle with the proposed way for working with Maori children through whakapakari whanau, such that the Department would only intervene as a 'last resort'; and that service contracts between Iwi authorities and the DSW should be introduced (Cullen to Director-General, pers. comm. 15/11/88).

⁸ Tapp, Geddis and Taylor's account of the long-drawn out attempts to reform legislation for the protection of children from abuse endorse this point. They do not recognise validity in social work arguments against the tenor of the 1986 Bill in relation to mandatory reporting and the power of professionals over families. They conclude that "The present policies in this area in New Zealand are not the end result of logical, coherent evolution, but rather reflect an ad hoc political compromise in the face of pressures applied from vested interests." Tapp, Geddis and Taylor, 1992: 197.

The second document, Whakapari Whanau, was introduced as "a practitioner's view of the implementation of a family empowerment way of working" (Walker, 1988: 4) with reference to the Maatua Whangai paper just described. It explained in detail and with case-studies exactly what was meant by the new process of family decision-making being proposed. The core of this model of practice is that practitioners should be a resource for families, but that where possible, decisions should be made, not by practitioners, but by families. Professional power would thus be ceded to families, who were cast as their own experts. Experienced and qualified practitioners in the Maatua Whangai scheme had had difficulty gaining acceptance for this notion of the family as its own expert (Ibid: 4). The recommended social work role was in future to be based on facilitation, provision of resources and assistance with implementation of the family's decision, sometimes even when the social worker had reservations about it. Where families were used to the conventional social work style of intervention the new approach was "particularly bewildering" (ibid: 5). Four case studies were included to illustrate the process and possibilities in the Whakapakari Whanau approach. They depicted the new role for social workers, the method of selecting family members to attend a family meeting to discuss what would be in the best interests of the child, the guarantee that resources would be forthcoming to implement the family decision, what decision was made, and in each case they highlighted the cost to the Department of Social Welfare.

This paper acknowledged that many DSW social workers found this approach difficult to grasp. In order to change their practice, they needed to learn about Maori history, family practices and the central importance of working with a genealogical awareness. A training programme would be necessary in order to prepare social workers for this new approach to practice. The paper argued that families would need to have practitioners from their own culture in order to put these ideas successfully into practice.

The voicing of Maori political and cultural concerns gradually claimed the attention of Pakeha and middle-class social workers. When, in the mid to late 1980s, the direction of New Zealand's future social policies was opened up to public debate, idealism and the lessons of protest against the Springbok Tour were not forgotten. The prolonged period of reorganisation faced by the nation's welfare institutions had direct implications for change to social work roles and methods. This has also had an impact on how social

workers needed- to be educated and re-educated to meet the changed expectations. When unemployment, a key social indicator, began to rise in the mid-eighties, it became evident that choices had to be made about what kind of society New Zealanders wanted and how the distribution of national resources and the management of the economy could be harnessed to bring this about.

Governments, first Labour and then National, called for reports and reviews to provide them with information. In the education sector, the Picot Report, Tomorrow's Schools (1988) recommended devolution and decentralisation of the school system. In the health sector, Area Health Boards had already been legislated for and were later established in the name of devolution, despite the recommendations of the Gibbs' Report Unshackling the Hospitals (1987), which advocated introducing the funder-provider split. Ahead of its time, the report was simply put on hold and later revisited by a National Government which replaced Area Health Boards by a system of Regional Health Authorities and Crown Health Enterprises. The April Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988), was the result of widespread consultation with the people of New Zealand on the kind of social policies they wanted the Government to put in place. It depicted a high level of support in the country for giving priority to collective social wellbeing over individualised economic wellbeing. The title of this report, Towards a Fair and Just Society, signalled its philosophical approach.

The history of the Royal Commission on Social Policy encapsulates and uncovers tensions and divisions in New Zealand society. This background information helps to explain how some were thinking when they changed the 1986 Children and Young Persons Bill, thereby signalling a change in the power relations between DSW social workers and their clients. It was an extraordinary Royal Commission and stories about how it began and the hopes it raised are indicative of the social and political divisions of the mid 1980's. It was established "to inquire into the extent to which existing instruments of policy meet the needs of New Zealanders" (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988: vi) and to indicate what changes in policy and administration may be necessary "to secure a more fair, humanitarian, consistent, efficient and economical social policy" capable of bringing about "a more just society" (Ibid: vi). Originally conceived of as a Royal Commission on Social Security, its Terms of Reference were widened

(I. Shirley, pers. comm. 13/10/95). Perhaps this was an influence on Treasury's Briefing Papers to the incoming Government (Treasury, 1987: 395) which spelt out the underlying philosophy of the minimalist role envisioned by Treasury for the state in relation to welfare provision. Economic policies were to become the mechanism for the management of social well-being and the State could confine itself to the administration of justice to bring about a "fair economy and society" (Treasury, 1987: 394).

The Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission on Social Policy were wide ranging in scope. The Commission was to consult the people as to whether they considered that New Zealand met the standard of a fair society and if not, where it fell short of such a standard. The standards of a fair society, defined in the Terms of Reference, spoke of "dignity and self-determination for individuals, families and communities" and "maintenance of a standard of living sufficient to ensure that everybody can participate in and have a sense of belonging to the community" together with "a fair distribution of the wealth and resources of New Zealand" (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, Vol 1: vi).

Professor Ian Shirley was invited to contribute to these terms of reference, by the Minister of Welfare, the Right Honourable Ann Hercus (I. Shirley, pers. comm. 13/10/95). The regard for human freedom and the value placed on the principles of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and the Treaty of Waitangi here, fit well with the way in which Professor Shirley ran the NZSWTC. These were the same aspirations and ideals expressed by members of the NZASW who supported inclusive membership of the Association, anti-racist practice and community work.

The findings of the Royal Commission indicated strong grass and flax roots⁹ support for policies that would empower local communities and in doing so, give practical expression to Maori aspirations based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Considerable space was allocated in the Report to describing and explaining Maori history, philosophy and hopes for the future, with sections such as Standards and Foundations of Maori Society, (Henare, Vol. 111a, 1988: 5, Royal Commission on Social Policy), The Treaty of Waitangi, (ibid) and The S-Factor: Taha Wairua, (ibid).

⁹ A reference to Maori community groups.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, bound in five large and heavy volumes, met with considerable scorn from politicians and journalists for its earnestness and idealism. Yet it recorded the values and aspirations of many New Zealanders who challenged the competitive, individualistic approaches emerging from the international tidal wave of economic rationalism and managerial innovation. The Commission argued that New Zealanders had said that they wanted to be able to participate in their society, to make meaningful political choices and to enjoy the prospect of security. It also affirmed the need to give recognition to two movements which had been gaining ground in recent years, namely an upsurge of support for observing the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Women's Movement (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988), both relevant for the direction in which social work was moving.

Little has been said so far about the Women's Movement and the influence of feminism on social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was not insignificant. Women such as Ephra Garrett, a lecturer in the Social Work Unit at Massey University, raised the critical consciousness of many New Zealand women, first through extension courses at the University and later with her popular sociology paper, *Women in New Zealand Society*, which paved the way for the Womens' Studies Department at Massey University. It was Merv Hancock who encouraged her to offer the paper and one respondent mentioned Ephra Garrett particularly as "bringing [to the course] the gender, the feminist minority and looking at the rights of indigenous people" (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95). Feminism in social work practice was further introduced into the schools of social work through practitioners like Wendy Craig¹⁰ who introduced her feminist praxis first as a student and later as a staff member (Nash, 1987). Where feminist principles threatened to cut across bicultural principles the former tended to make way. My study of feminist social work student placements noted this as a difficulty for women in social work (Nash, 1987). By then, women's social service agencies, such as women's refuge, well-women clinics, and rape crisis centres were leading innovators making

a strongly voiced commitment to affirm the new attitudes towards social work which derive from the women's movement (Nash, 1987: 3).

¹⁰ A community worker.

Overseas debates about whether women's issues should be mainstreamed in the curriculum or addressed in separate courses were also rehearsed (ibid: 9) and it was predicted that feminist social work components would soon form part of the curriculum in Aotearoa/New Zealand (ibid: 15). When the NZSWTC published its revised accreditation standards, they had moved to affirm the indigenous nature of social services in Aotearoa/New Zealand, (Revised Accreditation Standards, NZSWTC, 1984: 1.3.1.) to encourage students to study contemporary social problems (ibid, 1.3.4.) and curriculum content had to include issues around poverty, racism and sexism (ibid. 3. 2.). Similarly, the NZCETSS guidelines, after much debate between the Maori and the Tauwiwi Caucuses, gave women's issues a place in the curriculum. However, in both sets of guidelines, the emphasis in favour of cultural issues was much stronger than that for women's issues.¹¹

These were small measures of progress, given that social work, as a profession, has been concerned to maintain the status quo, while feminism is very much about challenging it, particularly where women are concerned. Many women who chose to put their energy into affirmative action for women found that they were then confronted by the situation of Maori women, who suffered the dual oppressions of racism and sexism. The relationship between feminism and Maori sovereignty, was posed by Donna Awatere:

White women hold onto their trivial goals, seemingly driven more by their individualistic philosophy and commitment to themselves than to a determination to rid this place and this culture of its injustice to all women. That must include Maori women. Justice for Maori women does not exist without Maori sovereignty (Awatere, 1984: 44).

Since 1984, feminist theory has opened up to embrace post-modernism, and a multiplicity of situational feminisms. Some women involved at the more radical end of the social services continuum in Aotearoa/New Zealand have had difficulty finding ways in which to honour the competing demands of biculturalism and women's oppression. These demands were felt to be in competition, in that women, with only so much time to spare,

¹¹ Wittmann (1998:39-44) refers to the hesitancy, of feminists during the 80s, over promoting women's issues, if they felt these were in competition with Maori issues.

had often to choose between putting their energy into combating either racism or gender inequality.

This is one instance of how public opinion in the late eighties became polarised, perhaps as a result of the pace of political change, coupled with citizen consultation and heightened personal awareness of the effects of change on individuals. When economic procedures were put in place which provided the employed classes with increased prosperity, arguably at the expense of increased numbers of unemployed people, this was yet more divisive. Two measures particularly indicative of the direction of policies to restructure and reduce direct state involvement in welfare systems, included the benefit cuts in 1991 and the introduction of payments for hospital treatment and admission in 1992.¹²

Social Work Agencies and Employers

Significant changes in the structure of social service agencies occurred while NZCETSS was in existence. Some have already been referred to, for example, the funder provider split¹³ which I argue has fragmented the provision of social services. Social workers were slow to appreciate the long term implications for the profession of these changes.¹⁴ The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 represented a paradigm shift in thinking away from the monocultural approach embedded in the 1974 Children and Young Persons Act towards the biculturalism advocated in Puao-te-ata-tu, with its focus on whanau and the recognition of the mutuality of interests of whanau and child (Cockburn, 1994: 86).¹⁵

Public scrutiny of new practices in social work was recognised in the Department of Social Welfare social work development plan, Te Ara Hou, (The New Path) (1989). It noted that "social workers are increasingly in the public spotlight" and "consumer accountability" had become a necessity. A

¹² The ever widening gap between the rich and poor that was predicted has been apparent since the 1990s (Evans, 1992; New Zealand Council of Christian Churches, 1993).

¹³ In which government departments increasingly purchased services through a contractual third party rather than providing the same services themselves.

¹⁴ The Social Welfare Transitional Provisions Act 1992 restructured the Department of Social Welfare into five operational branches, one of which, the Community Funding Agency, purchased core and statutory services from contracted organisations. Other divisions were the Social Policy Agency, the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and their Families Service, Income Support and what, at the time of writing, is referred to as TRITEC, the information and technology group.

¹⁵ This very point was made in an internal memo of the NZCYPS, 8/6/92: 2.

low retention rate for front line staff was acknowledged, resulting from poor job satisfaction, "fear of decreasing career opportunities" (Department of Social Welfare Social Work Development Plan, 1989: 5). Lack of resources, together with a new management style and the need for training for managers were further contributing factors in staff turnover (ibid.: 5-6).

In 1992, the Minister of Social Welfare announced the Department's goal that 90% of its staff would have completed a competency assessment by December 1994.¹⁶ Spurred on by enquiries and reviews¹⁷ pointing to the desperate need for professionally qualified and competent social workers, the NZCYPFS introduced an in-service competency programme for social workers, known as "Toward 2000".¹⁸ This was part of its strategy to increase the proportion of professional practitioners in its employ.

It is one thing when a professional body chooses to adopt self-imposed standards of competency. In such a case, professional autonomy can be maintained. It is quite another story, when competency standards are developed and assessed by an organisation other than the professional association, for then professional autonomy is at risk. Social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand have experienced two self-chosen competency systems. The Hospital Chief Social Workers Association competency project was an early expression of the need to raise practice standards and tighten up on accountability. This project was funded by the Health Department in 1986 and contracted to Canterbury University Social Work staff. It was designed to enable those who had been through social work courses to identify for themselves their strengths and learning needs. This project was overtaken by re-structuring in the health services in which professional social work leadership positions were disestablished (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95).

¹⁶ This target was later postponed till June 1995 and then again for another year, until June 1996 (Coopers and Lybrand, 1995:1). In November, 1997, the programme, which was part of an ongoing effort by NZCYPFS to provide its own training and qualification for social work for staff was discontinued.

¹⁷ In particular, the Report of the Independent Inquiry Team Reporting on the Circumstances of the Death of a Child (1988) (Dangerous Situations); The Report of the Independent Inquiry Team, (1989) investigated the death of a child, spotlighted social workers in the DSW and called for better education, training and support for social workers. (The Review Team to the Minister of Social Welfare (1992) (The Mason Report).

¹⁸ As early as 1982, it was suggested that it would not be beyond the capabilities of the Department of Social Welfare to provide a professional qualification for its own staff that offered a standard for social work courses in other institutions (Review of Social Work Division Working Party Report, DSW, 1982: 82). This idea, that the Department of Social Welfare could eventually offer its own, in-service, professional qualification, was fostered by the need to retrain current staff and prepare new staff to work appropriately under the CYP and F Act 1989.

The NZASW competency assessment policy, discussed later, is an example of professional leadership which shows the efforts of the social work profession to respond to changes by introducing tangible measures of good practice, as defined by social workers themselves (Beddoe and Randal, 1994). This is qualitatively different from the NZQA competency movement, in which the leadership comes from an alliance between government (which needs to raise skill levels in its vocational workforce) and employers and funders.

Between 1989 and 1992 the New Zealand Children, Young Persons and their Families Service (NZCYPFS) developed and piloted a competency programme, one of three strategies for raising the level of competency and qualifications within the Service. The senior manager responsible was Bev Keall. The programme was modular, consisting of units of learning which matched the social work tasks and roles. These were identified by a management consultancy firm engaged to devise a selection instrument for hiring the right kind of social workers for the Department of Social Welfare and to apply a competency approach for in-service training, having first analysed the role of the social worker. The definition of competency to be used was drawn from the Australian Public Service Competency Based Training Bulletin and focussed on "the ability to perform the activities within an occupation or function to the standard expected in employment" (Working Paper, NZCETSS Development Group, [nd]).

In one of their papers, the consultants advising NZCYPFS looked at cost-effectiveness in training and selection for social work. They observed that it was easier and therefore more cost effective, to develop students competent in knowledge and skills than it is to develop their self-image, attitudes and values to a required standard (Ibid, [nd]).

These are crucial considerations for anyone developing programmes for social work education and training. They affirm, from a managerial point of view, the need for such programmes to pay careful attention to the selection criteria for candidates. They take account of the pressure on the agency to manage a limited budget. The same concerns are important for social work education providers in all tertiary institutions and affect the distribution of education and training resources for social and community work. There is a critical issue here. Providers have to assess the necessary education and training outcomes required for whatever level of attainment is sought. If

they then have to adjust their programmes because of resource constraints, do they acknowledge any consequent shortfall in the attainment of standards, or will the standards simply be redefined downwards?

This is a delicate question for contemporary providers, given the fiscal constraints which govern so much educational provision. It would, after all, be understandable if providers were tempted to move their educational goal posts to meet the functional and fragmented task-oriented approach to social work that can be observed coming into, for example, the formulae used by Crown Agencies purchasing core services. From a pragmatic point of view, if in-service programmes like the NZCYPFS one which has just been discontinued, aim at developing a minimum level of competency, well and good. If however, they then claim that this minimum level is the professional standard, then I believe there is a serious situation which has to be addressed by the social work profession as a whole.

In this context, some thoughtful reflections on task-oriented training were made by a respondent, looking back over the history of social work education. Judith MacKenzie was reflecting on the arguments within the NZSWTC about accreditation and whether, as Professor McCreary believed, it would be wisest to

strengthen and enrich our core central education programmes and then move on to some post basic courses.... People who come to mind are Ian Culpitt, Ken Daniels, myself and Murray Short, we were arguing strongly for your core course, and then going out from a position of strength....

And I've seen it over my years if you had people who had had training they could come in and were task-oriented and task oriented people are just loved by those who have to get people out of beds quickly and move the patients through. I find that totally totally unacceptable, and I can sympathise with bed-clearing and so on but you do not just enter people's lives to do one thing without being aware of what your actions may trigger and touch and what long term effects that could have not only on the individual but on their network. If you don't understand those things then people are better not to actually have any intervention, at least then they are responsible to themselves, without people coming in and out of their lives....

I've always been terribly opposed to giving people pieces of paper which say you can do this when actually behind that piece of paper you know there are a lot of inadequacies and the paper bears no relation to the standards one might reasonably expect them to reach in active service (J. MacKenzie, pers. comm. 1/12/95).

When the NZCYPFS Competency Programme was launched in 1992, the NZCETSS Development Group had worked closely with the Department of Social Welfare throughout the formation of its competency programme. How much notice the NZCYPFS took of advice received, is a matter for further research. When it applied to NZQA for accreditation as an agency to train, assess and certificate social workers, the application was approved.¹⁹

The Competency Assessment Programme ('Toward 2000') was reviewed by Coopers and Lybrand, who issued their report in March 1996. They contextualised the programme with reference to the uncertain professional standing of social work as an occupation in which registration does not exist and noted that "there is no independent, statutory body which is universally recognised as bestowing professional status" (Coopers and Lybrand, Evaluation of Professionalisation Strategy, March 1996: 1). In addition to the Year 2000 requirement, the professionalisation strategy included a policy to hire people with a level 'B' qualification (under NZQA) and to improve staff retention rates; to hire increasing proportions of Maori and Pacific Island social workers; to see that 95% of managerial staff had managerial qualifications by 1997 (ibid: 1).

According to the Coopers and Lybrand Report, by September 1995, only about 10% of current staff had completed their competency assessment, 100 people all told (ibid: 3). Only 32% of the managers (19 of them) had a managerial qualification (ibid: 4). An effort was made to gauge the return on investment of the competency assessment programme, (Towards 2000) which had cost approximately nine million dollars, but Coopers and Lybrand reported that the outcomes had been too unclear to allow for any meaningful calculation (ibid: 6).

¹⁹ Much of this information is from a series of undated reports from consultants and from the NZCETSS Development Group, held in the NZCETSS archive collection, Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University.

In the Coopers and Lybrand Report (ibid: 4) the failure of the strategy to hire level B qualified staff was attributed to the lack of a nationally co-ordinated recruitment plan. The disestablishment of the Department of Social Welfare's student units which had been a regular source of recruitment of social work graduates was mentioned as an additional and contributing factor (ibid: 4). It was recommended that these student units be restored and that graduates should be nurtured when first hired. The Report endorsed the overall strategy to produce a qualified workforce in the NZCYPFS but indicated that the policy appeared to have operated in something of a vacuum. Not only that, but attention was drawn to an apparent "lack of commitment" among senior staff in the service to the professionalisation strategy and the same thing at lower levels:

We gained an impression that many staff continue to view professionalisation as an "optional extra" which is in some way secondary to the 'real' work of CYPS. Such views will persist until such time as the importance of professionalisation to all aspects of the organisation's work and hence its long term survival is recognised (Coopers and Lybrand, March, 1996: 45).

It suggested that NZCYPFS would do well to liaise at Head Office level with "relevant tertiary institutions" to encourage specialist courses for NZCYPFS staff. As well, it encouraged closer ties between Head Office and the New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ibid: 52).

The authors of the Report lacked familiarity with the social service field. They were outside observers of the implementation of the strategies to improve the qualifications of social workers. Since this was an exercise about which many social work educators, members of the NZASW and staff of NZCYPFS had feelings, there were advantages in an outsider review. By implication, the Report indicated that the problems and dilemmas over which the New Zealand Social Work Training Council had agonised were as strong as ever. In addition, the legal and administrative context in which tertiary education and training was offered was still changing.

Tertiary education sector administrative systems have now been reformed in a series of policy implementations referred to as 'Learning for Life'. The reform of education administration was designed to rationalise the provision of education and training in New Zealand. Three new

organisations were established, which affected the provision of education for social service work, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA); the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA) and the Industry Training Organisation, (ITO) which, for the social services, is Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi.²⁰

For the social services, changes in government policy meant re-organisation of the social service delivery system several times over in the last few years. While the responsibility for implementing statutory social work functions remain with the Department of Social Welfare, the Department shares this responsibility directly, through NZCYPFS and indirectly through the purchase of core services by the Community Funding Agency. The responsibilities themselves have changed. It is particularly significant for this thesis, for example, to note that the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989, released the Department of Social Welfare from any responsibility to provide training opportunities for social service workers other than its own employees.

The Community Funding Agency (CFA) purchases certain services from Child and Family Support Services and Iwi Social Services.²¹ These are defined as core services and clearly demarcated and tend to exclude preventive measures. It is this setting of boundaries which provides the mechanism by which the purchaser signals what it will support and can define the skills needed to achieve the tasks to be paid for. When, for example, the CFA purchased core services such as a number of "bed nights", only keeping statistics on how many were paid for, instead of how many children were accommodated, one can argue that the practices of social work are being stripped down to the bare essentials, technologised by detailed analysis of the tasks involved in each aspect of the service in order to cost out specified tasks.

²⁰ The Education Amendment Act 1990 deregulated previous systems of accreditation and replaced them with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). The NZQA is mandated to co-ordinate and simplify the qualifications system and retain its international recognition (Ministry of Education, June 1990). It is expected to play a key part in increasing the number of students in post-compulsory education and training and has to 'forge closer links between the needs of the labour market and provision of education and training' (NZQA News (2), June, 1990).

The Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA) was established among other things to liaise with industry and employers so that training provided the skills they required and to develop policy in the area of education and training with the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, [6]).

It was ETSA which handled applications from bodies corporate for recognition as industry training organisations (ITO) and to which NZCETSS therefore applied in 1993 for recognition as the ITO for social work, community work, youth work and counselling.

The Industry Training Act 1992 introduced Industry Training Organisations to drive reforms in each industry. The responsibilities of an ITO are that it set the skills standards for the industry it represents, that it develop the delivery systems for the training together with monitoring systems for training and assessment (ETSA, July, 1992: 5).

²¹ The agencies referred to fulfil some of the statutory functions previously carried out by the DSW.

This may not necessarily prevent staff from carrying out sound social work practice. However, it makes transparent those aspects of work which are deemed surplus to the purchasing agreement and which may often consist of process and relational practices, the very things which actually make a difference to the dignity and self-esteem of the client (Read, 1996). It could send a signal to employers that less well trained staff be employed if "all they are doing" is to match children to beds. If this happened, it would jeopardise the value set on highly qualified social work practitioners. Analysis of instrumentalisation of social work practice in Britain has produced similar concerns. In recent years, managers have rendered social work a prescribed and regulated activity. Professional knowledge has been distilled into guidelines that must be followed and practitioners are case managers and deal in risk management and needs assessment. Professional autonomy is circumscribed in agencies functioning directly or indirectly under state authority or funding (Jones & Jordan, 1996: 267).

More responsibility is now officially placed on caring within the family under new systems of social service delivery. These have been introduced with rhetoric about community care which became both the answer to every community of interest trying to establish its independence in order to work in its own way for itself, and a face saving way of cutting the cost of care for dependent people (Nash, & Kane, 1994).

The contradictions in this complex area render it particularly unsuited to simplification, but I would argue that questions are emerging regarding the alliance between government policy and the rhetoric of self-determination. Cockburn, for example, exposes the dilemma faced by social workers trying to implement the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989, in accordance with their ethical standards and sound practice and confronted with the Government's response to the Mason Report. The stark reality is that the Government's response indicated that it would resource the Act as best it could but would be constrained by its fiscal position, (Cockburn, 1994). The question is then asked, who benefits from this rhetoric the most, the tax payer, through short-term savings, or the community, in its enjoyment of self-reliance?²² Worrall's stinging economic analysis of kinship care, its effects on women and incentives for NZCYPFS staff to perform according to instructions spell out what is happening in reality (Worrall, 1996).

²² The division between tax payer and community is perhaps a misleading notion, though a popular one. The community is, after all, made up of tax payers.

Philosophical and Intellectual Positions

During this third period, four intellectual and philosophical positions concerning social work education were significant in shaping the curriculum: feminism, community work, tino rangatiratanga and the technical, risk management approach to practice. These themes have particular significance in this third period, though the two former have gradually ceded centre stage to the two latter. Chapter Three addressed some of these approaches to social work education in social work debates and publications in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Shirley, 1979; Craig, 1983; Nash, 1988). First feminism and then what I have termed the 'technical approach to social work' are discussed in this section.

Feminist social work theory, together with community development were introduced into the tertiary social work curriculum of the mid-eighties (Nash, 1988). Social workers have traditionally depended on women to fulfil traditional nurturing work for relatives. As the philosophy of the women's movement has brought into question the assumptions behind this nurturing role and the proportion of women in the workforce has increased, so social workers have, for example, faced a diminishing pool of carers for elderly or disabled clients. At the same time, the basic minimum standards for social work in this country have never placed the same emphasis on feminist social work as on cultural matters, which I interpret as an indication of conservative resistance to feminist social work. Maori women, in the 70s and 80s were cautious, too, in their response to the women's movement which was white and middle class. If they were to be faced with contesting a site of oppression, their priority was indubitably racism and the effects of colonisation (Awatere, 1984).

Certainly NZCETSS had difficulty addressing the implications of the women's movement for social service education (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95). However, it attracted many students and qualified social workers who were motivated by feminist principles in their practice and research, as can be seen through an examination of research carried out by postgraduate students from 1988.²³ Feminist social work has a strong social justice

²³ A selection of thesis titles from one University Department (Massey University) reveal the strong feminist component in social work academic thinking: Feminist Social Work Student Placements, (Nash, 1988); Thinking Differently: Developing a Feminist Social Work Practice, (Ings, 1988); The Hidden Costs of Caring: Women Who Care for People with Intellectual Disabilities, (Munford, 1989), From Rocking the Cradle to Rocking the System: Women, Community Work and Social Change in Aotearoa, (Craig, 1991).

component, and emphasises the need for social change and prevention, rather than picking up the broken pieces at the bottom of the cliff. This contrasts with measures associated with the monetarist philosophy which may provide opportunities for development to some communities of interest, but have drawbacks.

Technical Approach to Social Work

In the 1990's, the dominant philosophical approach to the administration of state welfare and public sector reform is based on the principles of individual responsibility and minimal state involvement in service delivery. This political philosophy would confine the state's social service activities to the purchase of core services in a competitive market. In this way, maximum efficiency and consequent economic savings, for the government, could be introduced. This approach is intended to meet the economic needs of the government, while at the same time introducing flexibility and opportunities in the private sector, which then encourages the development of non-statutory social service groups. A key feature to note is the logic of organisational reform based on a style of managerialism which makes use of technological developments and quality management systems using measures of accountability which can assess efficiency and effectiveness. The surveillance of professionals is a key feature here and one becoming more than ever evident in the university sector.

Coupled with the minimalisation of state services there has been a logical progression of residualisation in welfare provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand (O'Donoghue, 1998: 71-75). It is worth reflecting that the question addressed by Downey,²⁴ in 1966 at the first biennial conference of the NZASW of whether the welfare state has driven out the voluntary spirit is once again in the public mind. In those days there was a growing concern lest the welfare state had become so totalitarian as to obliterate the spirit of voluntary welfare work. Downey referred to the adversity faced by New Zealanders who had left Britain for a better future in the nineteenth century, and argued that this led them to accept a government which played an interventionist part in their everyday lives for their own good.

Thus from the pressures in our historical development we have in the democracies of our tradition not only the recognition of

²⁴ Director of Catholic Social Services and, from 1966-68 President of NZASW.

individual freedom and its offshoot, the voluntary spirit in social work, but also the acceptance of the principle that the state has both the right and the obligation to legislate within this area also (Downey, 1966: 2).

He was speaking in a post-war society which had become more confident in its own prosperous future, so the move for individual enterprise and free competition without dependence on the state grew. At the same time it appeared to some, that the public service was beginning to serve its own interests rather than those of the general public, and was becoming too powerful. Downey quoted Hayek as offering "a classic attack on social planning" in which he discusses "the danger inherent in the proliferation of state planning and state services" (Downey, *ibid*: 7). Has this spirit been rejuvenated as the welfare state has diminished? It appears as though civil society has opted for a return to the free market without the once self-imposed buffers of philanthropy and acknowledgment of social responsibility among the rich (Eastham, 1986).

It is inconceivable that anyone would promote the purpose of the NZCYPFS today as being "simply to enrich the lives of all people in New Zealand" (Talboys, 1971: 3170) which is how the proposed department of Social Welfare was once described. The voluntary spirit is still alive, but operating under different structural conditions. The introduction of business interests into the not-for-profit sector poses a threat to the tradition of philanthropy, together with the good will and public service components in our society. Two Government purchasing agencies, the Community Funding Agency and the Regional Health Authorities specify exactly what programmes they will purchase and this has implications for the preparation of social workers and community workers for practice in that the purchasing agencies can specify that they want the services they purchase to be carried out by staff qualified in specific areas. This fragmentation of the social work task is occurring on an international scale, and social work educators (Ife, 1997; Dominelli, 1997; Fisher & Karger, 1997; O'Donoghue, 1998) are concerned that as a result there will be a diminution and deletion of the social workers' knowledge, skills and professional standing.

Social and Community Work Associations

Two associations were particularly significant in this period, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers and the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. This section first considers the former and moves on to discuss the latter.

The New Zealand Association of Social Workers

In this period the new generation of members of the NZASW continued to challenge the authority and professional stance of their association. This process had begun in earlier years and was described in the previous chapter. The Vice-Chancellor's representative on NZCETSS described the philosophical differences within the NZASW, when in 1978, in Christchurch, the NZASW Executive put a motion in favour of registration and it was dismissed:

I've got a view of the registration. I've always voted for it.... I went to a conference here in 1978 at which Maurice McGregor was the President of the NZASW and the registration vote was put out. I looked at the audience and most of them were under 30 years and most of them were young qualified social workers. And I thought God help the future of social work, these people are so radicalised, so against the dysfunctional aspects of professionalism that they don't trust themselves (D.J. McDonald, pers. comm. 20/9/95).

The issue of registration continued to be an issue for members of the NZASW to contend with. Beddoe and Randal argued that, at that time, the Association's stance against registration left it without leadership. They noted that many members had withdrawn over it (Beddoe & Randal, 1994). The issues surrounding registration involved egalitarianism, unionism and criteria for membership. Registration as an issue has returned to the NZASW agenda in recent years. New attitudes favouring visibility and accountability make it a more desirable option, less associated with elitism and closely connected to the competency approach. It was part of a general movement in New Zealand towards competency and credentialism in social work and other vocational areas.

The New Zealand Social Work Training Council had established a competencies working party in 1982 which prepared a resource document: *Competent Social Work Practice*. This was posthumously presented to the Advisory Services, DSW, for the attention of NZCETSS, NZASW social work educators and any other interested party. It was based on five workshops where practitioners were asked to reflect on aspects of competent social work practice in the New Zealand context. Specialist views were invited and a feminist response meant that a paper describing the feminist social work perspective was included, intact, in the Report. It would be difficult to say what influence this Report may have had. However, it represents an ingredient in the development of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand, aimed at self-improvement and more appropriate forms of social work education. The recommendations of the Report were that it be noted by "the NZCETSS, Director Generals of Social Welfare and Education, Chief Social Workers of Area Health Boards and Hospital Boards, the Executive Director of the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, the Chair of the Christian Council of Social Services" (Report of the NZSWTC Competency Working Party, (undated circa 1987), who were invited to consider its implications for developing competent practice. The Public Service Association, NZASW and Schools of Social Work were all encouraged to use the Report for the development of policies and practices which might further the provision of good education and training for social workers (ibid: 91-2).

The NZASW competency assessment programme grew out of the NZASW Biennial Conference, 1988 and was intended to serve a number of purposes, boosting membership by setting and assessing attainable standards without excluding those who lacked professional qualifications.²⁵ This paved the way for the cultural expertise of Maori and Pacific Island workers to gain recognition within the Association. The NZASW initiative in introducing competency-based assessment for membership was watched with interest both by NZCETSS and by the Department of Social Welfare and later by NZCYPFS.

²⁵ In particular it was
 To improve accountability to consumers, employers and the public;
 To develop New Zealand standards of practice;
 To improve the quality and efficiency of social work services;
 To assist with developing performance indicators and appraisals;
 To enhance social work credibility and strengthen the profession;
 To improve complaints and disciplinary procedures
 (NZASW 1988: 23, in Beddoe and Randal, ibid: 28).

Several issues with significance for the NZASW and for social work education are recorded in the Occasional Newsletter which was published, with the 1988 Conference news, as a supplement to Social Work Review in September 1988. First on the list was the reaffirmation of the Association's bi-cultural commitment as seen in its resolve to amend the constitution in order that it formally mentions the Treaty of Waitangi as a fundamental benchmark for practice (SWR Supplement, September, 1988: 1).

The Conference also issued a renewed call for social workers to fight for social justice and address government measures which "work against social justice" (*ibid*: 1). The third item introduced the Association's plan to issue its own "New Zealand Qualification in Social Work Practice", followed by mention of the Competency-based assessment for future membership of the Association (*ibid*: 1). The latter has continued and become a core feature of the Association, while efforts to promote social justice continue but, with difficulty.

Apart from the 1988 conference resolutions and the competency programme, which were noted by NZCETSS, there is very little mention of the NZASW, either in the Minutes of NZCETSS, or the mass of documents in the private collection used for this research. It seems to have had a low profile with that organisation, certainly in its early days. This is consistent with Ms Fraser's comment at the Conference that the few active members of the Association were "feeling drained and overwhelmed" and that consequently the Association was in a quiet phase (*ibid*: 3).

The most recent and comprehensive manifestation of competency based teaching is the drafting of unit standards for registration on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework. This long-drawn out exercise is discussed in more detail in a later part of this chapter.

The effects on social service personnel of this new climate for service delivery and preparation of workers has been feelingly expressed by two people closely involved with formulating and introducing the social service unit standards:

The social services are more familiar with partnership, co-operation, process and fuzzy edges on grey areas, but many of us have felt forced through partialisation and minimalisation

of our work into reductionist concepts of "industry" training. The very term "industry" has been anathema to many (Kane, & Hopkins, 1996: 4).

It was in this context of the industrialisation of social work, that NZCETSS was confronted with either aligning itself with the NZQA and reorganising itself in order to co-operate with transformation into an ITO. Awhina Waaka reflected on the Council's decision and wondered whether it had been such a good move, after all (A. Waaka. pers. comm. 11/11/97).

Aotearoa Community Workers' Association

The history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association up to 1991 has been recorded by one of its core members, Wendy Craig. This brief account is largely based on her thesis (Craig, 1991), together with the Report from the Aotearoa Community Workers Association on Community Work Training (1988), Te Kupu, the Community Workers' magazine, oral histories and reports and minutes in the NZSWTC and NZCETSS archives. The community work movement is significant in that it is related, albeit in a contested way, to social work, both occupational activities coming under the generic term of social services. In this sense it is connected to social work education, some courses including social and community work in their titles. At the same time, it was felt that resources for community work were to be obtained at the expense of resources for social work. In other words, if increased funding went to polytechnic community work courses, this would mean less funding for university social work courses.

Formal community work training was traditionally offered within social work courses that were centralised in tertiary institutions in the cities. It tended to be full-time and costly and the curriculum was not controlled by practising community workers. When the Aotearoa Community Workers Association was formed, one of its main goals was the introduction of local, modular, courses taught by community workers for community workers (Craig, 1991: 318-340).²⁶

²⁶ The Local Authority Community Workers Association was established in 1980, limited to the sector with most security and best access to education, training and job security. The grass-roots community workers were excluded. Eventually as had happened with the NZASW, the call for appropriate training prompted community workers to form Regional Associations through which funding for training could be requested and channelled. In April 1986 another community work Hui discussed forming a National Association and several issues were raised, there being a certain amount of suspicion about the prospect. It was resolved that the issues would be discussed within the regions and representatives would explain that a National Association of Community Workers was proposed which would have a Whanau structure based on the Kohanga Reo model. In 1987, the Manawatu Community Workers Association group

The first National Hui of ACWA was held in Teapot Valley, Nelson in 1988. I was there, drawn (by Wendy Craig) because of my new responsibilities as co-ordinator of the Certificate in Social and Community Work at Massey University and the strength of feeling about the distribution of funding for social service courses was very strong indeed. The universities were seen as over resourced and blocking the development of community work courses. The aims and objectives of the Aotearoa Community Workers' Association²⁷ showed the concerns of community workers who faced fundamental difficulties in gaining access to resources for education and training.

As universities and polytechnics begin to respond to market-signals, in which employers demand certain kinds of training for their staff, so the community workers are disadvantaged, because they tend to be employed by small and often transient agencies with little economic clout (M. Short, pers. comm. 5/10/95).

Not only that, but employers now have new concerns:

One of the critical things to affect social work education has been the development of the Public Finance Act and the whole Market economic thrust which forces people spending public money to determine what their statutory required outputs are, and to restrict spending taxpayers money to achieving those outputs. You can see that has happened to NZCYPFS, its

developed their own constitution and formed the Manawatu Community Workers Association. At the Fifth National Community Workers Hui, 1987, a National Association was formed, spurred into being by the prospect of funding through the Department of Internal Affairs which was offering a training Grant of \$150,000, conditional upon there being a National Body to receive and distribute the grant. NZCETSS funded two hui for community workers to meet and draw up their new constitution. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association was based on the Manawatu Community Workers Association constitution. Maori Community Workers devised the formula for distributing the funds, which were then distributed at AGMs. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association became an incorporated body in March 1988.

²⁷

The aims and objectives of ACWA were:

To change power structures through: Redistribution of resources; Influencing organisations involved in Community work; Affirmation of small and struggling groups; Promoting recognition of value of community workers;

To spread knowledge through: Organisation of opportunities; Enabling self-learning; Facilitating access to information;

To encourage self determination through: Development of community groups; Making connections; Developing commonalities;

To develop a Whanau concept amongst community workers: With support systems and Clear standards of practice (adapted from the Report from the Aotearoa Community Workers' Association on Community Work Training, Palmer, R. (1988: 43).

happened in health and I think its happening in Local Authorities as well, who were traditional employers of community workers.... You can see social work as well as community work being diminished all over the country.... Community workers have always been in a parlous position because they've often been the people that have encouraged the liberation of their community (J. Hopkins, pers. comm. 19/9/95).

Hopkins' point here is that community workers were economically disposable and apt to be mistrusted by the powers that be. The NZCETSS worked closely with community workers across the country and distributed what funds were available for training through the Regional Co-ordinators. As it gradually transformed itself into an Industry Training Organisation, designed to meet the training demands of industry, tensions arose in its relationship with community workers. Whether the unit standards will in fact deliver community work training modules to Marae-based courses and grass-roots agencies remains to be seen. Certainly there were community workers who challenged NZCETSS as having taken their ideas and given them to the polytechnic courses (S. Marshall, pers. comm. 2/10/95).

Social and Community Work Educators

At the beginning of this final period, the value of tertiary social and community work education continued to be disputed. One issue was the need for clients, the majority of whom were Maori, to have bi-culturally competent and preferably Maori social service workers to turn to. In 1986 staff from government agencies told BSW students about to graduate that without practical experience and Maori background they would be disadvantaged in seeking employment in a statutory agency (Personal Observation, 1986). A second issue was hostility on the part of community workers towards tertiary institutions, discussed above. The universities were the main focus for hostility and the account by the Vice-Chancellors' nominee on NZCETSS, (a community work dominated organisation in its early days) illustrates the gulf between Council members:

I went to the first ever meeting of NZCETSS and my first two years on the Council were absolute hell. I had the most naive

view of why we were here and I did not understand what was going on around me (D. J. McDonald, 20/9/95).

He went on to describe how he was ignored by certain members of the Council:

They would never speak to me. And I confronted one of them one day and said "What's going on?" And they said "Look at you. You're the epitome of the establishment, dressed up in your suit and what have we got to say to you?" My relationship with them changed after I confronted them I could not understand why university education never got onto the agenda. We did not discuss university education in Social Work for more than two years. and when we made attempts to do it the agenda would suddenly shift. And things happened such as, "well you're the university rep. We're going to call the universities to account. We want all of their course brochures, we want everything. We're going to discuss it at the next meeting". So rush around and tell everybody urgent, urgent and it was never discussed... the agenda shifted again to something more important. And I had nothing to tell my colleagues in the university system. I found it very difficult to know what to say to them (D. J. McDonald, 20/9/95).

This account from one of the respondents shows how NZCETSS was at the interface of these highly charged feelings and indicates the skill necessary to hold together a group which the Chairperson had been told would be unlikely to last a year in each other's company (I. Shirley, 13/10/95).

The cartoon below illustrates the anti-university feeling abroad at this time, and also reflects the anti-professionalisation culture noted in the NZCYPFS by Coopers and Lybrand (1995).



Cartoon: Titiro Mai No 1, April, 1990

If there were those on the Council with negative perceptions of the universities, there were also those for whom exposure to community work teaching in the workplace, in particular on the Marae, was a revelation. Maori women on the Council taught using alternative models for training and skills education in the workplace. Their work impressed some of the more academic Council members.

So what happened is I come with this fear of training and my eyes were opened up to training on the Marae, training for Maori staff, iwi, a whole world ... I was just so humbled ... those women were just amazing. And they had been so hidden and they'd spent years and years developing their own people, you know, really trying to challenge these kinds of systems, trying to make things right for Maori (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95).

It was education like this, at the grass-roots level, into which NZCETSS put a great deal of time and effort in the early years, before its energies were harnessed by the need to become an industry training board. This was how money available to the Regional Co-ordinators was spent. This money was a resource which served the needs of community workers and Maori, in many cases they were one and the same people:

What we did in the regional areas which was important, is we took the training to the people, on the Marae, each regional co-ordinator had \$9,000.00 to give out. And they used that to run hui on training sessions that weren't able to be run before, and for people who couldn't afford to go to polytechnic and university (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95).

The NZSWTC had been confronted with this type of radical social work education by Professor Ian Shirley but had denied its relevance for Aotearoa/New Zealand. Yet this was the approach described by Robyn Munford as practised on the Marae, and elsewhere, with the material support of the NZCETSS. The Council "broadened the definition of social work education ... and ... took it out of the university into the arena of the community" (R. Munford, pers. comm. 26/10/95).

This approach fitted well with concerns²⁸ in the Report of the Advisory Group on Non-Formal Education to the Minister of Education (the Right Honourable David Lange). As a result of the Report, the Committee for Independent Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand (CILANZ) was established. These concerns reflected the philosophy of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association which worked hard, with the NZCETSS Development Group, to get funding for a national qualification in community work, even preparing a curriculum for such a qualification. The Government neither approved funding nor recognised the proposal. It was now focussed on the NZQA and developmental resources were put towards the registration of unit standards and qualifications on the National Qualifications Framework.

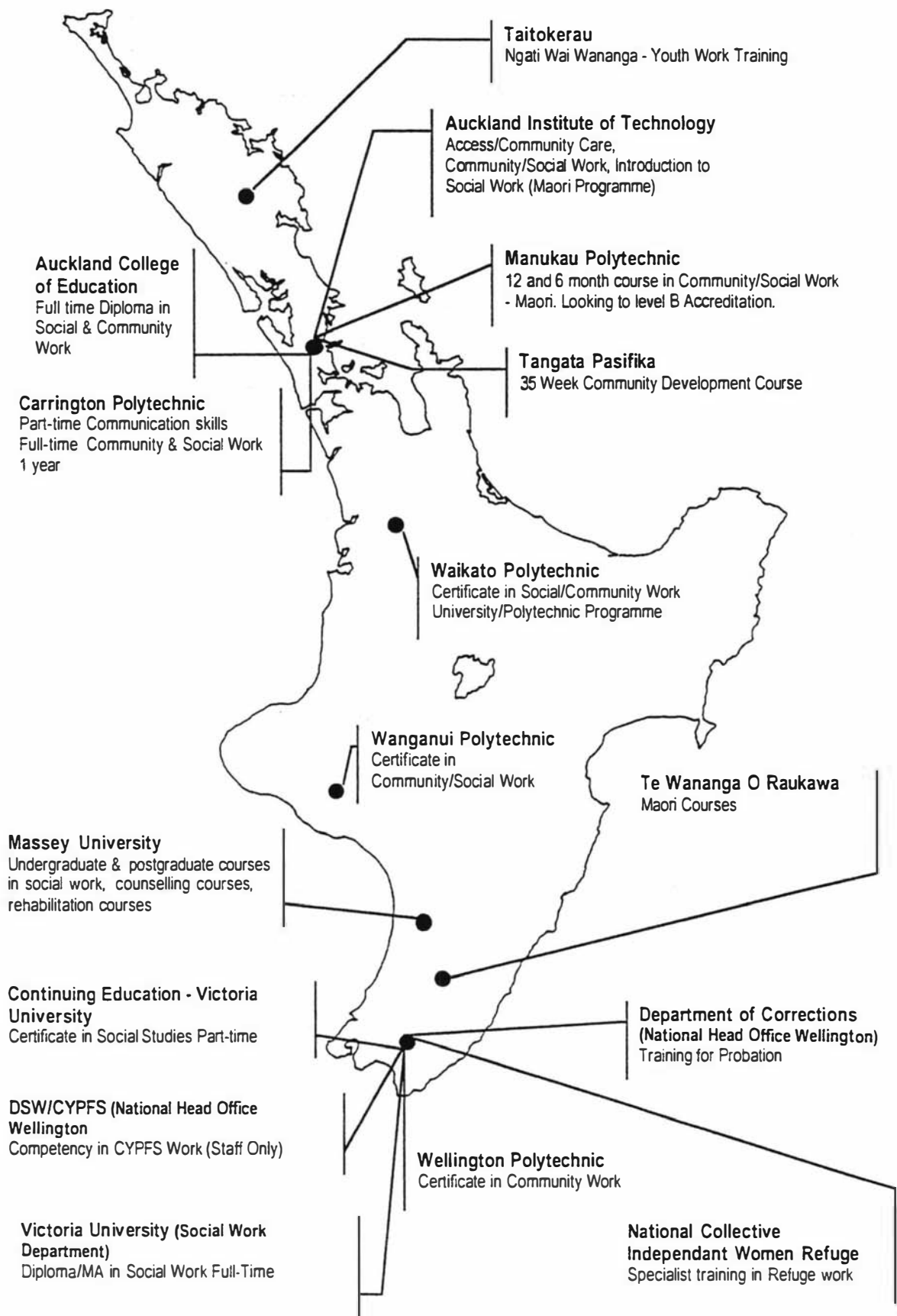
²⁸ There were concerns about
 An apparent public disillusion with the ability of large institutions to respond to community needs.
 The growing tendency for training and accreditation to hijack education.
 The growing inequality in New Zealand relating, not least, to education resources and achievement.
 The growing demands from the community for a greater share of control over resources and decision-making.
 A general abhorrence of the user-pays principle, particularly in non-formal learning (Report of the Interim Advisory Group on Non-Formal Education, Sept. 1987).

During the mid-nineties, the provision of education and training for the social services in tertiary institutions and agencies consisted of an array of courses at several levels. The NZCETSS standards, while they were in operation, provided a modicum of stability in this quickly changing period. The next section describes the education and training opportunities available to social and community workers in this period. It is followed by a section on standards and accreditation which introduces and explains the three qualification levels, 'A', 'B' and 'C', in the NZCETSS guidelines (1991). These provided nationally recognised standards for vocational, professional and advanced practice and, being easily understood, met with equal favour from employers and educators.

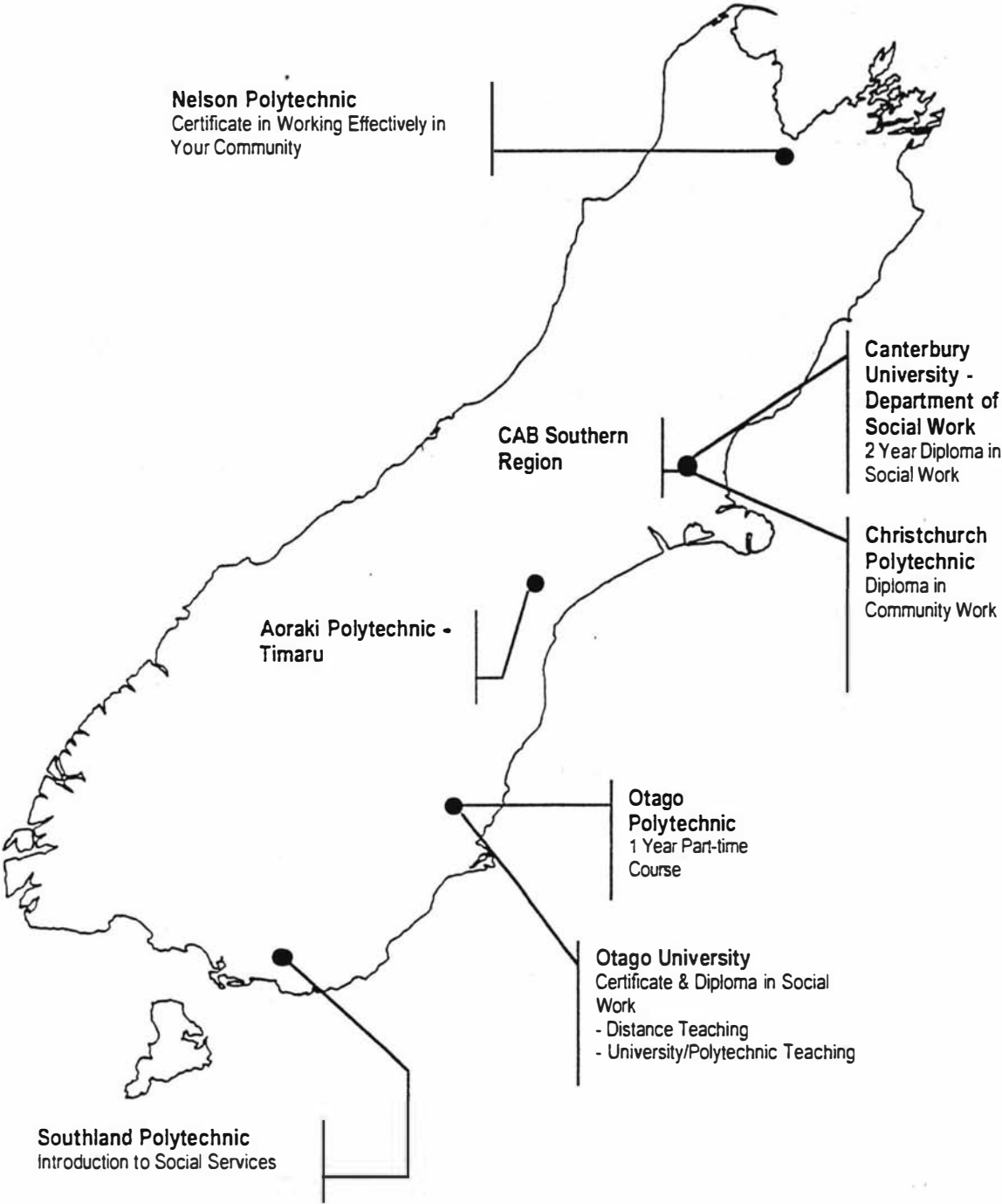
The Mosaic of Opportunities

By the end of this final period, in 1993, social service courses were available at universities in both internal and extramural mode, the latter at Massey and Otago Universities. Courses were also offered at the Auckland College of Education and polytechnics. NZCYPFS provided the competency-based in-service training, an example of an agency registered as a government training provider with the NZQA. Some courses which were not able to be accredited were the workshop-type training opportunities available through community groups and through Regional Co-ordinators employed by NZCETSS. The maps (overleaf) provide a geographical picture of the situation (NZCETSS, 1989).

Map of Social and Community Work Courses
North Island



**Map of Social and Community Work Courses
South Island**



Introductory 'A' and 'A' level endorsed courses were available through some tertiary institutions, mostly in polytechnics. At an introductory level, deemed to be the equivalent of the NZCETSS 'A' level, the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University, in 1988, began to offer the Certificate in Social and Community Work. This extra-mural, part-time and modular programme of study consisted of seven papers, all of which could be transferred into the Bachelor of Social Work Degree.

This unique course was instigated by the Voluntary Welfare Agency Training Board who in 1985 had begun negotiations with tertiary institutions which would host a programme of study for voluntary agency workers. The New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations which had surveyed its members and found that many wanted training in social and community work but that there were no courses available nationally in distance mode. This employer-led initiative was eventually taken up by Massey University, which, through its extra mural medium, was able to reach students in the most flexible way. Support for the first three years of the Certificate in Social and Community Work came from the New Zealand Voluntary Welfare Agencies Training Board. The programme co-ordinator (myself) was funded by the NZCCS and NZIHC for the first three years and this initiative was carefully monitored, with the result that figures on student progress through the programme was collected and analysed, as were student evaluations (Nash, 1991:14).

There was some doubt in the community as to whether this Certificate should be offered at university level, because it was felt that this would render it less accessible. In the event, I believe the course has been a success and many students have progressed further to get the Bachelor of Social Work degree and other tertiary level qualifications. It has proved to be flexible and to service the needs of rural students, Maori and women.

Professional social work education and training in New Zealand was available through tertiary institutions (universities, colleges of education and polytechnics), where students gained the 'B' level qualification either with a postgraduate Diploma from Victoria or Canterbury Universities, the Bachelor of Social Work Degree, from Massey University or a two year Diploma from some of the Polytechnics, Wanganui being the first to obtain accreditation with NZQA.

The specialist 'C' level qualifications were either gained through postgraduate study or specialist courses in other settings. The 'C' level qualification was not one that became particularly widespread.

These qualifications were superseded in 1997, when the ITO, Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi registered the national Certificate and the National Diploma on the NZQA Framework. However, the social service industry still uses the old terminology and it would appear that the system of accreditation introduced by NZCETSS was readily understood and user-friendly.

The Universities

The provider of the widest selection of programmes during this period was the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University. The Department was offering a four year undergraduate Bachelor of Social Work Degree, with open entry into the first year. The first two years were available extramurally. There was also a two year post-graduate Diploma in Social Services, designed for experienced practitioners which was available on both an extramural and internal basis. Merv Hancock's plan for the Department to offer a complete range of degrees, undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral was achieved by this time. It is ironical that the first doctoral graduate was Wendy Craig, whose thesis was on women and community work. Ironical, given that these have traditionally been fringe elements in the professional social work curriculum.

Victoria University still offered the Diploma in Social Work and an MA (applied) option for Social Science Graduands. This two year programme built on a degree or approved qualification and practical experience. The University of Canterbury also taught a two year Diploma in Social Work for graduates (or the equivalent in tertiary qualification). The University of Otago taught a Diploma in Social and Community Work for mature students with social service experience and/or a level 'A' certificate or its equivalent. Auckland University had no professional social work courses during this period.

The Polytechnics

The polytechnics began to register their social work courses with the NZQA at this time, and a range of "A" and "B" level courses formally accredited by

NZQA began to emerge, starting with the Wanganui Regional Polytechnic two year Diploma in Social Work. It therefore became possible for candidates to gain a 'B' level qualification in social work in two years, without a first degree but building on a one year certificate. For example, some polytechnics recognised the NZCYPFS competency certificate as equivalent to their own first level qualification.

The curriculum guidelines put out by NZCETSS in 1991 were not only approved by NZQA but they also met with academic approval and were welcomed by those institutions setting up new courses. The NZCETSS Development Group worked closely with such institutions assisting them with advice and information. This included the NZCYPFS Competency Programme, together with Wanganui Regional Polytechnic, and several other courses, including the Christchurch Polytechnic Diploma in Community Work.

This was a time when educational providers were confronted with a sudden increase in the number of social service programmes and the realisation that market forces were going to affect the growth and survival of different programmes, depending on what consumers favoured. The formal associations, both community and social work, could only be pleased to see how the call for a mosaic of provision in this area was being answered. At the same time the effects of an industrial model of social service delivery on indigenous practice, on the community development approach and on the social justice lobby were coming into clearer focus.

The next chapter introduces the NZCETSS and discusses its work advising the Ministers to whom it was answerable and developing policies and standards for social and community work education. I discuss how the minutes of the NZCETSS indicate that, as the Council worked more closely with NZQA, it began dancing to a different tune. One played no longer by those working in the community in order to secure the kind of educational opportunities community workers wanted, but rather by those government organisations such as ETSA and the NZQA, with a responsibility for vocational training standards. The Council minutes became more formal, the Maori caucus met less regularly, and the Council became preoccupied with the development of the social services industry training board and the preparation of unit standards for the social service industry, standards

which, once registered on the NZQA framework, eventually rendered the NZCETSS 1991 guidelines obsolete.



From the left, Professor Leon Fulcher, Department of Social Work, VUW; Dr Dugald McDonald, Department of Social Work, Canterbury University and Professor Ian Shirley, Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University at Brian Manchester's farewell from the Department of Social Welfare, 1987.

Photo supplied by Dugald McDonald.



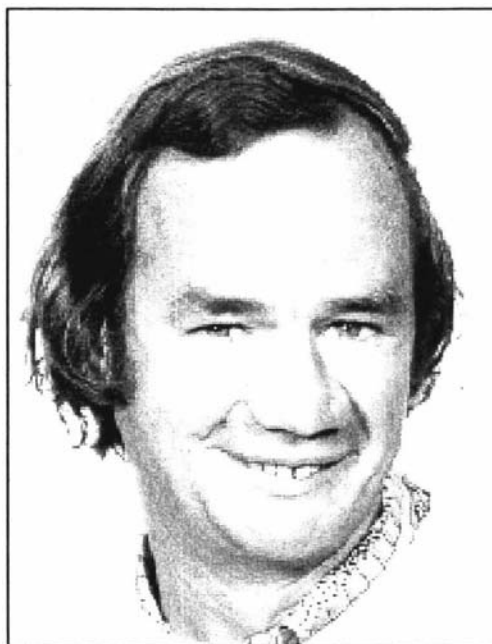
Dr Robyn Munford (respondent) Head of School of Social Policy and Social Work 1997 to present.

Original held in School of Social Policy and Social Work



Wendy Craig (respondent) Professor Ian Shirley (respondent) and Liz Beddoe (respondent) Rehua Marae, Christchurch, 1988.

Author's personal copy.



Mike O'Brien (respondent) NZASW life member, and member of staff at the School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University.

Original held in the School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University.



J.B. Munro (respondent, first on the left).

The Dominion, Friday, October 24, 1997: 6.



New Zealand Council of Education and Training in the Social Services.

From left to right: Top row: Lewis Marshall, Harry Moeke, Moriana Wynyard, Karen Moses, Jenny Jakols, Raylee Kane, Ian Shirley and Sonny Riini.

Bottom row: Awina Waaka, Rangi, Manu Adam, Lynne Briggs, Karen Johns, Bev Keall and Roger Awanui.

Chapter Twelve: 1987-95, Diversification and Fragmentation

This chapter focuses on the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services (NZCETSS), beginning with its formation, constitution, terms of reference, membership and working styles. It then concentrates on certain aspects of the Council's work of particular relevance to this thesis. In doing so, the Council's philosophical approach to its responsibilities is also presented and discussed in relation to its influence on social and community work education. The argument that standards for social work education¹ set by authoritative bodies such as the NZCETSS have a strong influence on the curriculum and its delivery, is continued in this chapter which introduces and examines the constitution and work of the Council. The Council's working style and philosophy meant that there was a more open dialogue between the Council and those with an interest in social work education, than was the case with the NZSWTC. The new standards set by NZCETSS catered to a much more indigenous understanding of social work and its potential as an instrument of personal and social change.

In discussing the Council's work, four broad areas are covered in this chapter: style of working, accreditation and validation, competency-based learning and the transition to ITO status. A significant part of the Council's work was its ability to network. For example, when NZCETSS issued its first newsletter in June 1988, it sent a clear signal to the community that it was keen to network and knew how to communicate with social service workers. The newsletter introduced the Council, its members, its terms of reference and the principles under which it would operate and was published in Maori as well as in English.² Another key aspect of the Council's networking was its distribution of Regional Co-ordinators, who brought the Council's work to the regions and made it relevant.

The work of the Maori Caucus and the Accreditation and Validation Working Party were particularly significant, because of their indigenous

¹ As indicated in the last chapter, the tensions between social and community workers continued in this period. However, the accreditation guidelines gave both groups recognition and encouragement. Because this thesis studies professional social work education and the influences on it, I continue to concentrate mainly, but not exclusively, on social work education in this chapter.

² The newsletter came out regularly and helped NZCETSS to network throughout the country.

character and because their work eventually gained acceptance in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Council's work on competency and recognition of prior learning brought a new dimension to social work education and one that was welcomed in many quarters³ and is therefore addressed. Finally, the transition to Industry Training Board status as a stepping stone to becoming an ITO for the Social Services will be described and discussed.⁴

This chapter recognises the contested relationship between community development and social work discussed in the previous chapter. Its implications for the setting of priorities by the Council are crucial here. For example, the principles of distribution of resources for the education and training of practitioners in those two spheres were publicly debated and the community work movement challenged the system for distributing educational resources and demanded a fairer share for themselves. Both community and social workers believed that according to their codes of practice, they were defenders of social justice and good practice and therefore deserved government resources. In the early years of this third period, when the Royal Commission on Social Policy was at work, the option for social justice carried more weight than in later years when economic performance became a more accepted touchstone, or measure of success.⁵

NZCETSS was soon functioning in a different climate from that in which it was inaugurated.⁶ New alliances and partnerships were taking shape in which employers and the government acknowledged and acted upon their common interests,⁷ not necessarily shared by social or community workers. New interest groups emerging with new strength during this period, included Maori, women, people with disabilities and mental health service users, empowered through self-advocacy movements.⁸ As well as employers, these interest groups challenged the curriculum, while the

³ Staff teaching the Certificate in Social and Community Work, an introductory course at Massey University, were very pleased to see this opportunity to recognise the prior learning of experienced students (personal observation).

⁴ Space does not allow for a full history of NZCETSS here, though there are rewarding and fascinating histories yet to be told, which will include the study of a bi-cultural moment in the social services of New Zealand.

⁵ For both groups, the 1990s have challenged their capacity for social action and social justice work.

⁶ The benefit cuts of 1991 quickly brought home the nature and implications of the change in political direction described in the previous chapter.

⁷ The previous chapter described the impact of core services and new funding mechanisms on agency programmes.

⁸ Service users in Britain are becoming more organised and demanding that social workers listen to their point of view (Croft and Beresford, 1997).

Industry Training Act 1992 heralded yet another new set of standards for social service education and training.

I will argue that this has been a period in which diversification and a degree of fragmentation of the social work identity has followed upon its consolidation. Factors already mentioned influenced the provision of education and training in social work. People began talking more about "social services" than about "social work" or (later) "community work". The need for a wider spread of recognised and standardised qualifications for people in the social services was acknowledged. The question as to who has, or should have the authority to define social work, has once again been raised. This time it is asked in the context of registration and in-service training at NZCYPFS. This is a crucial question because the answer determines whether social work is a professionally autonomous occupation, or one dictated by agency and statute, or some combination of these options. These are the issues, then, which directly influence social work education and are discussed in this chapter.

For this chapter, access to the collection of NZCETSS minutes, publications and general business held in the Department of Policy Studies and Social Work (formerly Social Policy and Social Work), together with respondents from NZCETSS, has contributed unique and invaluable sources of information. One respondent, the last person to be interviewed for this research, needs an introduction here, namely Awhina Waaka. A member of NZCETSS from the beginning, she worked constructively in a leadership role. A teacher, she came to NZCETSS with a fresh viewpoint on the social services and what was needed. Her data has been particularly important in giving a Maori point of view for this period. Her views of the Council and the workings of its two Caucuses provide invaluable contribution to this Chapter.

Establishment

The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services was formally established in December 1986. In consultation with the Minister for Social Welfare, senior staff of the Department of Social Welfare, mindful of the recommendations of the two Review reports on the Council, had drawn the blueprint for the new Council. They were informed by submissions to both reviews which made suggestions as to what kind of

Council should replace the NZSWTC. The Ministerial Review had forcefully recommended a strong Maori presence on the new Council and this recommendation, which was very much in keeping with the prevailing climate of opinion in the social services, was implemented.⁹ The Council itself acknowledged the Treaty of Waitangi as fundamental to its work and manner of operating.

The Senior Advisory Officer at the DSW, a member of the NZSWTC, advised the Director-General that the Council was torn between those who wanted to see a British Institute of Social Work model introduced and others who agreed with the external Ministerial Review and preferred to see the Council replaced with a broad-based organisation with a social service focus (NZCETSS, 5-5-1, Divisional Director, Policy and Development to Director general, DSW, 20/8/85). The same Officer highlighted the two fundamental issues confronting the Council: should it be concerned solely with social work education and training or should it include education and training for community work as well? The New Zealand Social Work Training Council had been unable to reach a decision on this, though the Ministerial Review was clear that an inclusive approach to this question was needed. In fact, one could argue that this distinction was a false one, in that, given the finite nature of resources for education and training in the social services, whatever resources were put into tertiary and professional courses would have reduced the resources for community education and training.¹⁰

In the end, the process for establishing the new Council followed closely the proposals in the NZSWTC review of itself. There are telling continuities and breaks between the wording in the format devised by the old Council for setting up its successor and in the manner of appointing the new Council.¹¹ The submissions called for a Council that would be more representative of the social service sector interests, and would have a regional focus. Many submissions emphasised the importance of Maori

⁹ There are details of the formation of NZCETSS in the NZSWTC archives as well as among the NZCETSS papers to which I had access. Both include a commentary between DSW officials on the two reports commissioned by the Minister of Social Welfare, in which it was observed that the Ministerial Review was more in tune with the opinions of the community and that the NZSWTC had (crucially) failed to recognise and emphasise the demand for indigenous models for social work practice (NZCETSS, 5-5-1, Divisional Director, Policy and Development to Director-General, DSW, 20/8/85).

¹⁰ The rise of private education establishments has now changed the balance here, by introducing a third kind of education provider eligible for certain kinds of financial assistance from the government.

¹¹ For example, "social work profession", (NZSWTC self-review terminology) was replaced, in the planning documents for the new Council drawn up by DSW officials, with "social service workers". This change in terminology was advocated in submissions called for by the Minister of Social Welfare on the Council reviews.

membership on the new Council. Some, including the New Zealand Planning Council, Christchurch Polytechnic and several private individuals, called for women's interests to be taken into account in the constitution of the new Council (NZSWTC, File: 15-4-1, 26/11/85).

Another question addressed by the NZSWTC concerned the legal constitution and status of its successor. Should it be replaced by a more authoritative Council that was an independent, statutory body with its own budget, able to provide, as well as to advise on, training, or should it have a similar constitution to the NZSWTC? The Minister was advised that the Council's major weakness had been its inability to reach a decisive conclusion on these, and related matters (NZCETSS, 5-5-1, Secretariat to Director-General, DSW, pers. comm. 18/7/1985). These concerns were taken into account in setting up the NZCETSS.

Constitution

The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services described itself as a Ministerial Advisory Body established jointly under the Ministries of Education and Social Welfare, in accordance with the wishes of the Minister of Social Welfare, the Right Honourable Ann Hercus (NZCETSS, June 1988, Newsletter (1) 1). It had become obvious that the previous Council had operated with severe constraints as it negotiated between two Ministries for the funding needed to provide resources for social and community work training and education. It was clear that the Ministry with a vested interest in the availability of such resources for the development of its staff (Social Welfare) was not the same Ministry that had to be persuaded to pay for it.

NZCETSS records indicate that there were legal difficulties over the introduction of dual Ministerial responsibilities and the exact legal arrangement was never precisely defined in the archives to which I had access. Instead there is an entry stating that on 29 January 1986 the Minister of Social Welfare withheld the memo for Cabinet seeking authority to establish the new Council. Perhaps she never did send such a memo to Cabinet.¹² When NZCETSS applied to the Board of the Education and Training Agency in 1992 for recognition as an Industry Training Organisation it was told that, because it was not a body corporate the

¹² The Minister was not approached for interview, because she has consistently refused to be interviewed for other research (Shirley, I. pers. comm. nd).

application could not be considered. It is a requirement of the Industry Training Act 1992 that Industry Training Organisations be body corporates.¹³ It transpired that, according to the legal advisers of the Social Policy Agency, NZCETSS had no formal legal status, even as a Ministerial committee. Instead, according to the Social Policy Agency, "it could be described as an unincorporated body set up by the Minister and/or the Department." (Social Policy Agency to the Minister of Social Welfare, 2/5/1993).¹⁴

Regardless of its precise legal status, the Director of NZCETSS had authority to manage the budget, a much bigger and more realistic budget than that of the NZSWTC. In addition to the existing funding already in place for 1986-7, an equal opportunity planning report recommended a total operating budget of \$1,336,000. This recognised the need to fund an executive office with a Director, Secretary and regional staff, as well as travel and regional hui (Equal Opportunity Planning Report, 16/12/85, NZSWTC Archives, File No 15-4-1).

Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference for the NZCETSS were very similar and in some instances identical to those recommended in the Ministerial Review.¹⁵ The Council was to concern itself with a broader and more inclusive approach to the standards and provision of education and training programmes for workers in the social services. This was to involve them in working alongside local communities and groups to find out what they wanted and help them achieve their own goals for education and training programmes. The Council was to consult with interested groups and develop curriculum and education standards and guidelines for education and training in the social services. It was to give an account of itself after its first term and to report on issues concerning accreditation for courses in the social services. NZCETSS was also to provide information to the public and advice to government departments on the development of appropriate education programmes and the resources required to achieve the implementation of these programmes. In order to do this, it was expected to conduct

¹³ A 'body corporate' is a legal entity and separate from the Crown. It has the same power of transaction of natural persons. It can contract, borrow, lend and sue or be sued. It can take several forms including a statutory body, a charitable trust, and incorporated society, or a company, (Social Policy Agency Report to the Minister of Social Welfare, 2/6/93, private archives).

¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Council managed to operate without this situation causing undue problems until negotiations began for the transition to ITO status, in 1993.

¹⁵ The Terms of Reference were published in the first newsletter.

appropriate research such as workforce reviews and consumer needs (NZCETSS, June 1988. Newsletter (I) 1.).

To summarise, four roles for the Council emerged from these terms of reference. The first was a community development role in which local communities were to be empowered to identify their social service training needs and meet them. The second was a policy role in accreditation and standards. The third role was that of advising the Ministers of Social Welfare and Education. The fourth was a networking role, focussed on the accumulation and dissemination of information about education and training in the social services (NZCETSS, undated briefing paper outlining the Council's priorities for 1990. SPSW NZCETSS archives).

Membership

It was several months before the Minister of Social Welfare could put together the new Council. The Department of Social Welfare was asked to produce recommendations based on the two review reports of the NZSWTC and submissions resulting from them and duly sent a list of nominations and curriculum vitae of possible members for a working party to be appointed by the Minister of Social Welfare to set up the new Council. Some members of the old Council were on the working party to ensure a measure of continuity. They were people who were seen to be in tune with the recommendations of the Ministerial Review.

The Council was established with a Chairperson, Professor Shirley, a secretary from the Department of Social Welfare and ten voting members who were to represent a sector of the community, rather than the body which nominated them. The Council had five community representatives, a representative from the voluntary and community social service organisations, and a representative for Pacific Island interests. The Departments of Maori Affairs, Justice, Social Welfare, Education, Internal Affairs, and Health were represented as was the New Zealand Vice-Chancellor's Committee, the Association of Polytechnics and the Teachers' Colleges. There were five regional co-ordinators in paid positions, who, like the Director, contributed to the discussions but did not vote (Undated planning document for NZCETSS, private archives).

Membership was widely publicised in its newsletters, with biographical sketches of each member and their phone numbers. In this way it was immediately clear that Council members had a strong involvement in community work and that many were Maori. This was in line with similar proposals in documents like Puao-te-ata-tu and with what was happening elsewhere in the country (I. Shirley, pers. comm. 13/10/1995).

As a group, the new Council took a broader view of the social services than the old Council and developed a very different philosophy. This is expressed by Awhina Waaka, when she observed that

We may have included a lot of things that perhaps people in social work thought shouldn't be part of the brief but with the Maori view of holistic learning we couldn't leave health out of it, because if you've got a health problem, sooner or later, the social aspects catch up with you and vice versa too, a social problem can turn into a health problem quite easily and we didn't know how to separate that and so we had health people too (A. Waaka, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

Several Council members came from areas outside of social work, and were more sympathetic toward community work than traditional social work. Awhina Waaka made several comments about membership of the Council.

Ann Hercus started it all and wherever she is she should be proud of what is happening from the initiative that she put forward, So I went along there feeling well I don't know what I can contribute and I think for the first two meetings we sat and listened. And I say again, the people who were heading this thing knew the direction they wanted the Council to go in. So that was quite smooth, with Ian [Shirley] being the Chairperson and Robyn [Munford] being our Director (A. Waaka, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

One could argue that Maori tradition and kaupapa were strong on the Council in its early days and the representation of traditional social work practice took second place to addressing how social service workers could be best equipped to work with Maori. This meant a steep learning curve for many of the Pakeha members of the Council. This is illustrated by the

passage below, in which Robyn Munford and Awhina Waaka discussed the Council's way of working:

The thing I really enjoyed about the first Council was that we didn't expect the people to come to us, we went to them. We travelled a lot. It cost money, but to get the best results out of things, you have to give away what you feel will get the best results and ... I don't think some of our Council loved sleeping on floor on Marae and things but I think it gave them a feel about, and I think that some of them thought we're never going to get a good result from all of this, its just too hard, because they saw where these people lived, they got a feel for what the problems were in those areas and then they could see what an enormous task it was to actually try and make a dent on the population in those places (A. Waaka).

- I. The Council probably wouldn't have got that understanding if they had not got out and about?

Well, we felt they couldn't, because in most things, we're the ones on the back step and you don't always wait for us to catch up either. In going to the Marae, what we were trying to do was to afford the Tauivi people a chance to see the reality of things in the different places (A. Waaka).

And we were prepared to be challenged, weren't we? like it would have been easy to have contained people by staying in our hotel conference rooms and making them feel uncomfortable in that environment so in a way we kind of unsettled ourselves. Do you remember that one in Hastings when we got absolutely challenged? (R. Munford).

And the one in Hamilton (A. Waaka).

(A. Waaka, & R. Munford, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

The motivation for Maori to work on the Council was strong, so long as they knew they were operating in a partnership that was in tune with the Treaty of Waitangi and fuelled by the constant reminder of Maori social statistics.

I think after the first meetings we had some young Maori people on that Council and like most young people they were sort of ready for action and they thought that this thing was getting along a bit slowly or something and one of the things that was happening on the Council was that people would ask us questions and we didn't want to answer them because we felt we were representing the people back home and we shouldn't give our opinion, we should go home and ask those people and come back and answer.

And I was elected to put it to the full Council if they would allow the Maori members of the Council to withdraw as a group to discuss some of the ... questions that were being asked of us, so that we could give a united answer. And I remember the first time we asked for that, there was a bit of alarm in the Council, didn't quite know why we were wanting to do this, and I think keeping us within the whole group they had more control of us but in the end they allowed it, we did have our own meetings and sometimes we let Robyn come. We didn't let everybody come, because we felt how could we discuss things that someone was there trying to point a direction for us.

It was good because I think from that beginning, from when we had decided that, right, we should play a part in this And of course, the getting together was sort of like support for all of us we weren't standing just on our own, we were standing for one thing and that was our people, really, and I think a decision to stay with the Council came because we pointed out to them that we needed to be there, if they were looking for a solution, because the statistics against Maori were such something needed to be done. We were over represented in the prisons, in the mental institutions and in unemployment we were there in the dole queue and if we didn't take a lead and show some interest then the same old thing would happen - Tauwiwi would say here are the solutions and we just felt that it shouldn't be like that. For me, one of the reasons that I would let my name go forward is that I believe the only way out is through education and because this was an education and

training council I thought, right, you may be able to do something there (A. Waaka, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

Awhina Waaka and Robyn Munford reminisced together during the first half of the interview with Awhina, about how they challenged the Minister and

fought as a Council for our autonomy; there was no way when we met the ministers, we were then going to run away and do what they told us, we actually advised them (R. Munford, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services had one Chairman throughout its existence, Professor Ian Shirley. Robyn Munford, who had been a student on the BSW programme at Massey University while Professor Ian Shirley taught there, was the Council's first Director. Both had the confidence to stand back and let the combined strengths of Council members form a bi-cultural way of working together which is epitomised in this statement from the Maori Caucus:

We take as our starting point the idea that the first task of social work education is to enable the educated to empower the powerless; to give Tamaterangi the cloak that will enable him to speak. An educated social services worker should be both able and willing to free the minds of the oppressed, to enable them to see beyond the limitations of their misfortunes, to become actors taking back control of their own lives, instead of passively accepting their status as victims. To accomplish this mission, social work must always be concerned with development of individuals and communities...

They must be able to develop and to pass on to others the ability to see problems, to understand what has been and what is oppressing their clients, and to work with their clients as partners in resisting and where possible removing the causes of their problems, rather than being content simply to make a bad situation seem a little more bearable (Kahukura, 1991: 1).

The influence of these words for social work education is difficult to calculate. They have a sense of balance and commitment to indigenous practice and social justice which contributed to their authoritativeness. At the same time, they signalled an expectation that social work education was to aim at a high standard with a wholistic approach. They put a strong emphasis on preventative work and endorsed the empowerment model of social work so much in favour among the radicals in the NZASW and among community workers. The social services were presented inclusively, as embracing two approaches:

The social services as part of the country's social welfare system have been approached from two major perspectives:

- (a) Service Delivery
- (b) Developmental

The service delivery approach responds to the day to day needs which arise in the lives of people. This approach assists people to get access to community services. It also includes preventive, remedial and rehabilitation services through which people receive assistance. The developmental approach accepts that present structures do not meet many of the needs that people have. The methods used in a developmental approach enable communities, groups and individuals to define their own needs and establish their autonomy and access to resources.

These two approaches are complementary, and each is necessary (NZCETSS, May, 1991: 15).

The NZCETSS was conscientised to the situation of Maori. The passion expressed in the publications of Maori Caucus of NZCETSS are quoted here in order that they come across with their own force, rather than being mediated through anyone else. Thus the Maori Caucus referred to the suffering of Maoridom which:

weeps for the treasures of the past that seem to be fast losing their significance in our present world..... It rejoices that, at last, a pathway is opened for all people who aspire to higher learning: a pathway without barriers, without obstacles....The accreditation of prior learning requires a commitment to the Tangata Whenua o Aotearoa and at the same time empowers

other ethnic groups. It celebrates differences and acknowledges that learning can be acquired in a variety of ways - that learning can and does occur whenever people gather for that purpose (Benton, for the Maori Caucus, 1991: vi).

The two passages on the previous page are from the NZCETSS Accreditation and Course Approval Procedures Guidelines (1991). They demonstrate the Council's ability to place conservative/traditional and radical views side by side, each given equal importance and therefore allowing continuity with earlier New Zealand positions. The definition of the service delivery approach was influenced by that of the Ministerial Task Force on Social Work, Social Welfare Services: A Resource Book, (1986: 5). The developmental approach echoed the views of Tangata Whenua (Rangihau, 1986) as well as the NZASW and others, (Crockett, 1981; Shirley, 1981, 1982; Pilalis, 1982). Above all, the views represented the thinking of Council members themselves. The inspiration of Puao-te-ata-tu can be seen giving shape to the Council's philosophical approach to its work. The pieces quoted above represented what the Council had

built up in terms of philosophy and approach. I don't think people realise what an achievement it was because at the time we wrote the basic documents for accreditation there was an attempt by some young Maori to write their own. And it was only when all this was worked through that we got absolute agreement on one set of documents coming out (I. Shirley, pers. comm. 13/10/95).

Modus Operandi

There is a great story about how a disparate group of people came together in NZCETSS to produce inclusive, indigenous statements of the quality illustrated by these quotations. That story does not belong here, but suffice it to say that there was a process put in place which helped to characterise the Council's manner of working and this was an important ingredient in its ability to express its philosophy of social service education (R. Munford, 26/10/95).

The following account from the private collection of NZCETSS papers informing this chapter shows that much reflection occurred in order for the Council to develop a co-operative working philosophy and illustrates the

effect on many concerned Pakeha of the cultural ferment of the late 1980s. It is a letter from a Pakeha Council member to the Council, reflecting on key issues that the Council was coming to grips with in 1987. The author described it as a personal observation, an attempt at dialogue, "there must be a better way!" (Council Member to NZCETSS, pers. comm. 1/7/87).

He described how he saw the difference between the values of Maori and Pakeha. The differences noted were the stereotypical ones with which we are familiar. More interesting is his account of the effect on him of articulating them:

Until I realised that there were considerable differences between Maori and Pakeha values I was unable to comprehend Maori requests. I discovered that I was measuring them by my own (Pakeha) values and beliefs. This is not what they want, they wish to be measured by their own values.

I better understood the subtle, yet powerful, influence over me by my cultural values when I realised the control over my thoughts and actions exerted by my (often subconscious) belief and value structure. The conflict, for me, comes through my job I am required to promote, teach and measure Maori students by a system devised to meet the learning needs of Pakeha. I would like your help to find out how we can better provide for Maori needs here at.... (Member of NZCETSS to Council, pers. comm. 1/7/87).

This Council member captures the mood of many educators and social workers at that time, who, with degrees of good will and feelings of guilt combined with enlightenment, were trying to take on board the criticisms of Puao-te-ata-tu. The same Council member wrote an account of the first conference of social work educators, held at Rehua Marae, Christchurch, a month later, in August, 1987. I attended that conference and found it interesting, years later, to see how this account caught the mood of the occasion. Mr John Rangihau gave the keynote speech in which he reiterated the challenges of Puao-te-ata-tu in a "highly-charged emotional environment" (Council member's report on the Social Work Educators' Conference, 1987: 1). He called for Maori autonomy, for Pakeha to honour the principle of equal partnership which would mean changes in the

distribution of resources and power of decision-making. He put it to the meeting that the preponderance of European social workers in agencies where the majority of clients were Maori was no longer acceptable. Furthermore, he made it clear that, in his opinion, the confidence held by Europeans regarding professionalism and academic qualifications, was echoed by a corresponding scepticism among Maori, who felt these only compounded their difficulties. He made his point in an inimicable and colourful style:

I find the present state of the art condition of social work as not being that of a corpse which should be buried but rather as an embarrassing skeleton in the cupboard. Whether its resurrection or reincarnation is a problem for present day practitioners concerns me not in the slightest; I am merely here as a Maori, who has witnessed tragedies of many degrees brought down on hosts of other Maori people and Maori communities in order that society complete its homage to the defunct gods of social work (Rangihau, 1987: 1).

Mr John Rangihau, senior author of Puao-te-ata-tu, was one of the first people to gain the Diploma in Social Work at Victoria University and a close friend of Professor McCreary. It was therefore extremely disturbing for professional social workers to see him taking this position. He could not be swept aside, but stood, like a monument, confronting prejudice and goodwill alike. For Maori, this was liberating and served to strengthen the movement toward tino rangatiratanga in the social services.

As NZCETSS began its regular Council meetings, these thoughts and feelings were in the air calling to be addressed in relation to the Council's terms of reference and *modus operandi*.¹⁶ That the Council responded constructively to Maori development can be seen throughout this chapter about its actions and publications in this area.

The Council quickly formed itself into two caucuses, one Maori and one Pakeha, later renamed Tauwi in order to accommodate the Pacific Island membership. The caucus approach allowed for equality of operation and open discussion. It was not without its difficulties but it worked. Three

¹⁶ In fact, the Council held a meeting immediately after the conference at Rehua Marae. Council members met and were housed in one of the DSW residential institutions and worked to a kaupapa similar in intensity to that on a marae (Munford, pers. comm. 1997).

practices contributed to this success: team-building through story-telling, a team of five regional co-ordinators and the Council's commitment to travelling around the country and attending relevant hui.

At their first meeting, Council members debated how 'they might work together. Members knew that they had been selected to represent not just their organisation but their whole sector (R. Munford, 26/10/95) and Professor Ian Shirley made it clear that he wanted them to be themselves

He didn't want us to be representatives, he wanted us to be people in our own right that used our knowledge and information, but he didn't want us to have to be tied and directed by the agencies we came from (R. Munford, 26/10/95).

One of the mechanisms used to forge a working arrangement was the telling of each person's story.

At the first meeting we told our personal stories and our feelings and what we would consider to be Council. And it was who we represented and it was a million other things. Like for Maori it wasn't the fact that Awhina was from a school, it was the fact that she was from an Iwi, she is a Maori woman, who is a particular age and at a particular time in this country (R. Munford, 26/10/95).

Council members, when interviewed for this history, agreed that there were difficult and at times heated debates which challenged the Council's ability to continue its work. An example was the question of feminism and the social services:

I can remember a situation we had where the women in Maori caucus reacted very strongly to young Maori expressing feminist views. And they did this in, there were a couple of young radical Maori women and they were really put down by the older Maori women, by Awhina in particular who said "I'm a feminist but not in those terms, I have power but not in the terms that you're expressing and I don't buy into that." She saw it as a European model of feminism and she criticised them for not understanding the Maori model. Now I don't

want to debate whether that has legitimacy or not. But I think it is interesting that it couldn't, it's not an area that we would have got consensus very easily at all. Whereas we could get consensus interestingly in terms of the significance of Maori development (I. Shirley, 13/10/95).

This passage indicates that the lukewarm support for feminist social work and the difficulties over including clear guidelines about feminist social work standards in the accreditation documents were related to the cultural stance of the traditional Maori on the Council.

Consensus decision-making was one of the aims of Council. The debates were part of the process, but respect for the mana of fellow members was held to be important, and it was fostered by the telling of each person's story. It was also nurtured by the willingness of members, the Director in particular, to go along with whatever process they were involved in, even to rescheduling planes and spending extra days in an area to listen to what was being said. This whole approach to working is captured in the following passage

My secretary and I kept a log book and if it's lost it would be a tragedy. There's these wonderful logbooks. And with maps of where people were situated. And there are stories in it. And I kept that as a way of having an historical record... (R. Munford, 26/10/95).

And of the tensions between community and social work practice approaches which entered into the Council meetings Robyn Munford observed:

I think that whole challenge in community workers The whole challenge [came] from Maori and then from other cultures, like Pacific Island cultures. But what was really important is that it got responded to, it didn't get put under the carpet, it didn't get you know subjugated, it was there, it was upfront, we debated it. We didn't run away, we didn't cut down the debate, sometimes we extended our time in a particular place, where I'd ring my husband and say I'm not going to be home for another night. We had terrible struggles

in those early days about them (NZQA) wanting us to fit into their framework and us saying no! we hadn't finished going around the country. Like [Regional Co-ordinator referred to] was doing some amazing work at Raukawa ... down at the marae, down with kids who were unemployed and working with them. We broadened the whole definition of education, and we took it out of, we took social work training out of the university into the arena of the community and said this is what is social work education about... (R. Munford, 26/10/95).

Networking and the Regional Co-ordinators

Telling stories and listening to stories was a dominant characteristic of the Council. Rather than add to consultation fatigue, (a recognised phenomenon in many sectors of society during this period) Council members "talked about listening to the stories" (R. Munford, 26/10/95). People came in large numbers to tell them their stories as the Council travelled from one hui to the next around the country.

The Council met with testing behaviour from Maori and community groups, who at first doubted their sincerity. Here, the role of Regional Co-ordinators was significant, both politically and educationally. A paper presented by one of the Council's paid Regional Co-ordinators in 1993 provides an example of how the situation had by then developed. He referred to the devolution of the Department of Maori Affairs into Nga Runanga, (Hapu and Iwi organisations) and Nga Taurahere, ("tribal representatives meeting away from their own lands") and referred to the need to ensure that where children were to be returned to nga whanau, "home people can and are willing to accept their young people back" (Adams, NZCETSS, 1993: 2). He raised the all important question of whether this new approach in which whanau and hapu took care of their children was not a government economy measure taking advantage of the difficulty for Maori whose mana would be diminished were they to acknowledge any problem associated with meeting the demands of whanau. His paper included a list of projects for the coming month. He was going to consult with nga runanga, hapu, iwi, about the direction of NZCYPFS, furthering the provision of training for community workers, the promotion of self-reliance in organisations, understanding the implications of the Treaty for the social services, promoting the work of NZCETSS, attending to

Recognition of Prior Learning and going to hui. Regional Co-ordinators were an innovative addition to the work of NZCETSS. It was significant for several reasons, one of which was described by Awhina Waaka

And I think the appointment of Regional Co-ordinators was a great boost because we wanted that, as I said before, where most of the Pakeha social workers came from that background, they knew what they were on about but we still had to discover what it was that was keeping us down where we were ... and of course with the Regional Co-ordinators it was really good because there was someone being paid to co-ordinate evidence, we did these projects, one in Hawkes Bay, one in Wellington, to find out (A. Waaka, pers. comm. 11/11/97).

Most of the Regional Co-ordinators were Maori and they promoted Maori development. This practical way of demonstrating good faith was very important in laying a foundation of good will for the work of NZCETSS.

In this same report referred to on the previous page, Mr Adams described a training programme offered by Pa Henare Tait: The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga. This gave an insight into what is meant by indigenous or Maori models of practice. Part One of the programme covered tapu relating to whakapapa, personality and heritage. Part Two looked at personal mana and expressions of mana. Part Three covered principles of tika, pono and aroha. Part Four was concerned with whanaungatanga, relationship terms, roles and internal and external principles for motivation related to whanaungatanga while the final section looked at the contemporary implications of whanaungatanga (Adams, 1993: 4-5).

This is one example of the kind of work carried out by the NZCETSS Regional Co-ordinators across New Zealand and it served rural areas as never before. More detail is probably unnecessary to conjure up a picture of the changed cultural environment in which the Council operated. The work of the Council through its two caucusses showed considerable sensitivity to the aspirations of many involved in Maori development and community work.

Not surprisingly, they were challenged by those professionals who felt the Council was giving away social work and what it stood for. Facing pressures

on either side meant that the Council had to be very clear as to what it was saying and it had to be committed to that message. The Council's thinking as it initiated policy for education and training in the social services was innovative and visionary. In some ways, the Council was giving away elements of social work education.¹⁷ The traditional social work curriculum traced its origins first to the seminal work of Reynolds (1942), Towle (1954) which was carried forward by Perlman (1967) and Hollis (1968). The model of social casework met competition from behavioural and community development models. The wave of international student revolt in 1968 heralded, for social work, the need for a more consultative and open approach to social work education. Solas (1994) has studied the psychoanalytic principles embedded in early social work texts, arguing that they were challenged with the introduction of Knowles' adult learning theory (1972). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the community work movement began taking shape in the 1970s, demanding recognition for quite different styles of teaching and curriculum. The time was ripe for a more communal, and less authoritarian approach to social work and the education of social work practitioners. For example, the BSW degree at Massey University introduced students to the psychoanalytic tradition, but students were presented with an array of approaches, in which the psycho-social model was but one.

Theories of adult learning fitted well with the new mood and challenged the psychoanalytic teaching methods implicit in the social casework model. These methods drew a rather subtle line between education and therapy, (Solas, 1994: 57) and criticism of the teacher could be interpreted as defensiveness and a sign of personal unsuitability for professional status.¹⁸ The psychoanalytic approach and pedagogy is demanding, sophisticated and intense. In a country like New Zealand, dealing with the quickly changing economic and cultural environment of the 1970s, it was predictable that priority would be given to addressing structural and administrative problems of the population, using methods which were less resource-hungry than traditional psycho-social theories and models.

Under such circumstances the insights into human nature offered by Freud were considered by some social workers to match neither the resources of the teaching institutions nor the wishes of the student population. Social

¹⁷ For example the reduced emphasis on the casework approach, embedded in which is a valuable repository of counselling tradition.

¹⁸ Solas' argument here rings true to my personal recollections of the pedagogical methods in use when I did my social work courses at Edinburgh in 1970 and 1972.

casework methods were criticised in the mid-eighties as being a cultural misfit and unhelpful in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi. More recently, the social work task, as defined in the core service and purchaser models of today also gives scant attention to process and relationship in the client-worker interaction.

The social work curriculum has been influenced by new theories about how people learn and therefore should be taught. While adult learning theory made its mark on the pedagogy, so too did the works of Freire on conscientisation and liberation and together they introduced radical ideas about education and student-led learning. The Kiwi dislike of experts, of authoritarian teaching methods for adults combined with the need to open up social work courses at an affordable and more accessible academic level. Social work was changing significantly at this time. New ways of working were being introduced,¹⁹ that explicitly shifted the balance of power away from the expert towards the service user and influenced thinking and decision-making about the direction for social work education.²⁰

One could argue that the Council was simply in tune with these changes and as part of the host culture in which social work operates, the changes were inevitable. The fact that they have occurred internationally indicates that the Council was responding to strong social, political, economic and cultural forces.

The Newsletters

Another example of the Council's networking is the series of newsletters it issued. The Council's first newsletter introduced the two caucus arrangement in the Council and noted several national issues which had implications for social work education. For example the advent of the Committee for Independent Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand posed a possible competitor for funding and constituted a new constituency of people wanting the kind of education that community workers were trying to obtain. The existence of a lobby for the establishment of a Ministry of Youth Affairs was publicised through the newsletter, as was "the proliferation of courses in social services training" (NZCETSS Newsletter, 2

¹⁹ Examples are The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989, which gave partnership with clients a central focus; the impact of the funder/provider split on management systems and the introduction of economic criteria for measures of success within the New Right.

²⁰ In this context, leaders in the field were Mr Hancock and Professor Shirley, (Massey University) Ms Hessey, (Auckland College of Education) and Mr. Shannon (Otago University).

October, 1988). Council newsletters were a bridge between the Council and its community of interest. They came out regularly and enabled the Council to be visible and provided an opportunity for networking.

Standards and Accreditation

By October 1988 the Council was able to report that it had established working parties to look at training for community workers, accreditation and validation of training in the social services, training for child abuse workers and an international working party. This was in accordance with its Terms of Reference where one of the Council's priorities was to establish standards for accreditation and to support the development of resources in education and training for the social services.

The working party for Accreditation and Validation was chaired initially by Mr Peter Smith, (1988-9) and later by Ms Beverley Keall (1989-90). It distinguished between accreditation of education providers and the assessment of practitioner competency (NZCETSS, 1991: 3). Some of the Accreditation and Validation work was contributed by the Maori Caucus, chaired by Mr John Tapiata. The NZCETSS Accreditation and Validation Guidelines 1991 (referred to here as The Guidelines, 1991).²¹ recognised three certificate levels: 'A' Certificate: General, 'A' Certificate General: Endorsed, 'B' Certificate: Extended and 'C' Certificate: Advanced.

The 'A' Certificate: General was at a basic level and introduced students to social service work in New Zealand. It included theory and practice, the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications for social service practice, together with a beginning knowledge of Maori language and culture. As well, the student would look at the social context of the client, would be familiar with ethics for practice and would go on several field visits to social service agencies (NZCETSS, 1991: 27). The 'A' Certificate General: Endorsed entailed greater knowledge relating to a specific field of practice (NZCETSS, 1991: 33).

The 'B' Certificate: Extended was the professional level of qualification for which successful candidates could be awarded the internationally recognised

²¹ The Maori Caucus was responsible for two of the three documents which together constituted The Guidelines, 1991: Kahukura, the Possible Dream and Recognition of Prior Learning: From Hegemony to Symphony, the third document was Education and Training in the Social Services: Procedures for Accreditation and Course Approval.

Certificate of Qualification in Social Work. This took similar categories to those for the 'A' level certificate and added to them an analytical and critical dimension which gave them much greater depth. The 'B' level qualification included two placements, which were required to be of long enough duration to meet the criteria for international recognition.

NZCETSS identified specific themes for both the 'A' and 'B' level certificates. An example of a core theme at the 'A' level, "New Zealand Social and Political History" consisted of:

A study of historical events and political processes that have helped shape the current New Zealand economic and social context, including the history of European colonisation. Maori history both prior to and after first contact with the European. The New Zealand political system with particular emphasis on policy formation and change (NZCETSS, 1991: 28).

The learning objectives were to enable the student to know and understand this information and "demonstrate how they can use this knowledge in their work" (ibid). The 'B' level certificate core themes looked very like the conventional New Zealand university paper. An example which gives a sense of what was involved is the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori Development theme which included:

A detailed knowledge of the Treaty, its various interpretations, current status and related issues from a Maori perspective. The development of a personal response to the bicultural nature of New Zealand including the undertaking of programmes which dispel racism. An examination of major movements in Maori society and their implications for social development in New Zealand. A Maori language component (NZCETSS, 1991: 36-7).

A catalogue of learning objectives accompanied each theme. Core themes were divided into a knowledge base, a social service base and supervised practice. Core themes included New Zealand society, the Treaty of Waitangi, gender issues and sexuality, human development, social policy, social services, management and administration, agency organisation, decision making and power and research methodology. Each theme had its learning objectives and learning outcomes. Themes were linked to

competencies. They were described as relating to "the types of tasks which people should be able to undertake competently" (NZCETSS, 1991: 35).

Compatibility with the NZQA Framework was ensured by the NZQA prior to the publication of the guidelines. The general lay out of the document illustrates how this was achieved. Recognition of prior learning, (RPL) part of the NZQA system, was likewise incorporated into the new guidelines. It was introduced as a new initiative (one in which the Maori Caucus had a particularly important role) in order to acknowledge and recognise the experiential learning of many practitioners, especially older Maori social service workers. The Report: Recognition of Prior Learning: From Hegemony to Symphony, was commissioned by NZCETSS as the third part of its education guidelines. It gave a comprehensive introduction to RPL and suggested ways in which it can be carried out in the context of social service qualifications. RPL is now a recognised procedure throughout the tertiary institutions of New Zealand where, for example, it has been successfully implemented at a beginning level at Massey University by social work educators.²²

The competency approach is there in the guidelines in embryo, where, for example in the learning objectives which state what a person will be able to do after completing a core theme. This is an area about which respondents were specifically asked to comment. Feelings among respondents about the NZQA competency movement were mixed.²³ Several respondents had little to say on this development for social and community work education. Others were closely involved in it, either writing the unit standards or assessing them and they tended to be optimistic but in a rather guarded manner. The educators who were preparing to implement them were quite uncertain as to how they would work and felt they might restrict the social justice and critical aspects of social work. The employers were frankly looking forward to hiring new staff who they could be certain had exactly the skills required for their job. Their comments below illustrate the main points raised.

²² The widespread and successful use of RPL in this area can very likely be attributed in part to the work of NZCETSS. I was a member of the Council's RPL working party for a short time and attended an NZCETSS workshop introducing the procedure and have been personally involved in implementing the RPL procedures as part of my work at Massey University. Student interest quickly turned into a flood of demand with the result that many candidates have been able to enjoy the satisfaction of getting academic recognition for their experiential or prior learning.

²³ It is important to keep in mind that this data was collected at a time when the unit standards and national qualifications were still on the drawing board and therefore fluid.

Those directly involved in drawing up the unit standards for the ITO spoke of them as a means by which intellectual knowledge and values could be integrated through demonstrable skills. One saw competency based learning as a method which would ensure that students had confidence in their abilities and could pass this on to future employers and clients and hoped that:

students will pull together intellectual learning, heart learning or spiritual learning or whatever it is and behavioural learning. So they will be able to say "I now know how I apply that knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi" (**Respondent, pers. comm. 1995**).

It is correct to say that social justice, as an element of practice, is included in the unit standards. However, not all unit standards are core standards and whether they are included in the National Certificates remained to be seen when these interviews were conducted. No one felt confident that the social justice element of social work was protected under this new system. One respondent, a life member of the NZASW, felt very strongly:

Social work, if it stands for anything stands for some attempt to organise and articulate issues around social justice. If we lose that, we might as well pull down our flag in my view. For me, that is the driving thing about the nature of social work that must shape education and must shape the work of practitioners (**M. O'Brien, pers. comm. 23/9/95**).

The Probation Service had already adopted a competency based approach in negotiating with one university, explaining what competencies they were looking for. These competencies were generic to social work. It was difficult for this employer to assess whether this had resulted in graduates of the required nature (**Respondent, pers. comm. 1995**). He hoped that the emphasis on competency would help to integrate theory and practice.

The history of the writing of the social service industry unit standards will make a good study of competing interests between professions, employers, educators and the ITO which was operating under a tight budget. Social work is grounded in the work of the person in relationship, whether with individuals, groups or communities. Professional personal relationships

grow out of an informed process of negotiation and sensitively-paced rapprochement. One of the difficulties in writing unit standards is related to the nature of social work. An outcomes approach tends to have difficulty measuring the success of good social/community work practice, because it will usually be the result of a partnership approach in which the outcome of an intervention may be hard to discern immediately or at all. John Hopkins, who was contracted to write the unit standards for Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi, in partnership with Awhina Waaka and other tangata whenua, explained the implications for social service work.

Most of the standards we have aspired to relate to process. They do not relate to outcome. You can't say that the outcome is yours alone. You may be working with a woman who has been beaten up by her partner and you work with her in a counselling setting, she goes back to her partner and gets beaten up again. Is that because you have failed in some way as a counsellor? It clearly is not. You might have done a really good counselling piece of work that meets competency standards. But the outcome is in her hands. It is certainly not in your hands (J. Hopkins, pers. comm. 19/9/95).

This was not just an academic debate. This issue confronted whether it was possible, in principle, to encapsulate the process-oriented dimension of social work, in social service unit standards, in which case, a second question arose, whether the NZQA would be prepared to extend the contract and budget to accommodate the extra and unanticipated work involved. This was what was needed, in order to allow enough time for the contracted personnel to complete work that was going to take longer than originally anticipated. The rest of this story will be for future research to discover.²⁴

It seems, given the continuing references by employers to the 'A', and 'B' level qualifications, that in comparison to the unit standards, there was a transparency and accessibility about the 1991 Guidelines which escapes

²⁴ The writing of unit standards for the social services is on going and Awhina Waaka referred to some dilemmas: ... now we've gone a step further...we've got Maori unit writers doing the writing, doing the scoping exercise, its all in our hands, what comes out is ours. We're doing that now because of what we did, and I helped John Hopkins do the units for the present ones we've got in place, and they're sort of generic, but I don't think people have got the expertise to actually put the magic in it for themselves, they don't understand that and the reason they, it looked like a Tauiwi unit is because my people said to me we don't want to tell our secrets to everybody. If we outline exactly what is to happen, what is to stop a Pakeha person from delivering that and not doing it well? (A. Waaka, pers. comm. 12/11/97).

much of the current competency literature, partly because the vocabulary used is familiar and relatively jargon free.²⁵ The guidelines were understood and the tertiary institutions took them seriously. Although no university programmes were formally accredited by NZCETSS, they took account of the standards proposed when developing their curricula. At Massey University, the Director of the BSW had spent some time on the Accreditation and Standards working party and I remember him discussing the links between the BSW programme and the accreditation standards proposed and eventually accepted.

I would argue that the 1991 Guidelines were significant because they were nationally accepted, publicly endorsed by the government in the shape of the Minister of Social Welfare, and because, after the Council's networking efforts, people at all levels of the social services knew about them and saw that they set achievable standards. Employers recognised their value, too, and as the accountability and quality management culture grew, so too did the emphasis on employing qualified staff. As discussed in the previous chapter, this does not mean that the culture within the NZCYPFS suddenly took on a new look, but there was a general change in direction, at least officially.

The lack of accreditation for universities still needs to be accounted for.

It was not so much that there was resistance to applying for accreditation. Rather, it was probably due to a number of factors. The Skill 2000 programme in the DSW took up time and energy, as did the Council's creative, developmental work with polytechnics and, (though to a lesser degree as time went by) with community groups. Finally, once the guidelines were published the NZCETSS turned its attention to transforming itself into the industry training organisation for the social service industry.

So after 1991, the focus of the Council was deflected from community development towards servicing the needs of the social service industry. The Council also had to address the issue of its continued existence and what kind of legal body it should become. In the course of its dealings with NZQA over the development of the 1991 Guidelines, it had become clear that the Council would have to find a way of changing into an Industry

²⁵ Perhaps for this reason, too, these accreditation standards have achieved a popular currency among employers and students which has continued into the changed era of industry training organisations.

Training Organisation if it intended to have a leading role in developing education and training within the social service industry.

By the time the Guidelines were launched, the Council Director, Robyn Munford, had resigned to take up a lectureship at Massey University. She was replaced by an acting Director and later the position was filled by Raylee Kane. There were therefore changes in leadership style and the new focus for Council became more conventional in the sense that instead of overtly working towards community development the Council now had to work within a corporate framework. There was then a natural watershed between the early days of the Council which culminated in the launch of the Guidelines in 1991, and the four years which followed when the Council changed from being a Ministerial Advisory Body into first an Industry Training Board and then into an Industry Training Organisation with full corporate status and new priorities.

The Deconstruction of the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services

All but one of the interviews for this history were spread over several months during 1995, straddling the period when NZCETSS ceased to exist and was replaced by the Industry Training Organisation. This meant that the issue was a contemporary one about which some felt strongly. As elsewhere, some opinions may be quoted here, attributed simply to "respondent" to protect anonymity of respondents as a matter of courtesy and discretion. Inevitably, when writing about contemporary events, there is a likelihood that they will look different in hindsight. With this in mind, the respondents and I have nevertheless taken the risk of discerning the shape and meaning of contemporary events.

In July 1993 the Chairperson's report drew Council's attention to the fact that Council had been putting its energy into activities which were compatible with the responsibilities of an Industry Training Organisation. The particular spheres of activity focussed on setting basic minimum standards ("skill standards for the industry") and developing social service programmes and systems for mentoring and accrediting them (Chairperson's Report, NZCETSS, 11/6/93).

The same Report recorded other matters that deserved Council's attention which further contextualise the climate in which Council was now operating. The on-going lack of funding for voluntary and community groups was noted, together with underfunding for clinical training in the social services. The latter has become increasingly problematic in relation to fieldwork. I believe there is a case for arguing in this context, that clinical psychiatric or medical social casework is much less valued or recognised now than in the mid 1980s. Hard evidence for this needs to be gathered through research. However, both accreditation standards and job advertisements, by differentiating between the once joined counselling and case management aspects of social work, signal their fragmentation one from the other. There is a clear trend towards syphoning off the counselling role of the social worker and contracting this out to a counsellor. Here is an example of an international trend in social work in which the job is being downgraded and divided into specific tasks, making it much more controllable from the point of view of purchaser and employer. If the lack of funding for clinical training matters, in other words if employers cannot find staff highly qualified enough, eventually there will be evidence of increased demand for clinically qualified social workers. If however, social work as an occupation is being fragmented into relatively less skilled occupational categories, there will be no demand and social work as an occupation could lose its autonomy over defining itself. Professional social workers in many countries are expressing concerns that this may already be occurring (Ife, 1997, Dominelli, 1996).²⁶

To return to NZCETSS, 11/6/93, reference was also made to the difficulties of establishing a database for social service education and training. This had been a problem for the NZASW in the earliest period of this study, and similarly difficult for the NZSWTC until the Rochford and Robb data came through in 1981. The Council had, by 1993, carried out research into social service training provision in Otago, Hawkes Bay and Wellington. Nevertheless, the Chairperson noted that there were gaps in the information base and suggested that the Council look at the possibility of

²⁶ A social work educator trained as a psychiatric social worker in the UK and working in Aotearoa/New Zealand told me recently that her skills were not recognised as those of a social worker, but were seen as associated with psychotherapy. She expressed alarm over this, in that it signalled that social workers in child and family support services could be moving children from one care setting to another without understanding the implications of attachment theory and the long term deleterious effects of separation on children. If demand affects supply, and I believe it does, then lack of demand for qualified social workers will be likely to mean reduction of the standards of education and training for them.

conducting a workforce survey in the future (Chairperson's Report, NZCETSS, 11/6/93).²⁷

The question of why the NZCETSS decided to change its status and its identity is a significant one for this inquiry into the influences that have affected social work education. In the first instance, once its "soft" legal status became clear in 1992, it was prudent for the Council to change its status. Members of the Council knew there were other stakeholders in the community with an interest in developing the unit standards for the social services. There was concern, shared with educators and professional social workers that others would develop unit standards which would fail to preserve the vision of the Council and the profession.

There is a concern because although we've got the accreditation guidelines there, the reality is, and this is one of the reasons we decided at the Council to write the unit standards, or to control it, because when people write they might start from those broad guidelines, but when they actually start to write them they're actually writing the prescription and I think that is a real concern unless we have some direct involvement in it. And there is no doubt in my view that even though they say that there is a knowledge base there, the reality is that it is overwhelmingly focussed on skills and techniques (I. Shirley, 13/10/95).

The Maori caucus also had its concerns over what would happen to the effort they had put into working in a genuinely bi-cultural way, out of which came the philosophical positions which have been recognised by all in the social services as models for the future.

In the transfer from a Ministerial Council to an ITO we have these sort of debates within the Council quite often and particularly I did with the Maori caucus who were really worried about how can we protect what we have built up in terms of philosophy and approach (I. Shirley, 13/10/95).

At a meeting in February, 1994, the Council discussed what steps to take in relation to changing its status. The policy group reported on "NZQA's

²⁷ This lack of workforce data remains problematic despite a Colmar Brunton survey conducted under the auspices of Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi, 1996, unsighted.

outcome orientated approach and its dislike of process words such as "support", "empowered" and "rapport" (NZCETSS Minutes, 13-14/2/94). The language used in Council's minutes nevertheless gradually changed to incorporate the new vocabulary.

Council then worked on a strategy for transforming itself into an industry training organisation. The relevance to social work education here is considerable, in that, before ever accrediting the university courses and in that way consolidating the 1991 Guidelines, NZCETSS prepared for further change. In order to meet NZQA criteria to become an ITO, the Council had to demonstrate that it had the support of the social service industry. In order to do this, the Council networked with the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, Council of Christian Social Services, New Zealand Council of Social Services, New Zealand Association of Social Work, New Zealand Association of Counsellors, Te Whariki Tautoko and the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. The response from its request for industry support was positive, no doubt partly as a result of the Council's developmental role, one that community groups and agencies recognised and valued. It became increasingly clear:

that for our industry it is NZCETSS approval that industry wants and therefore providers need. This approach comes at the moment from the Development Group. (Report on Development, Approval, Assessment, Accreditation and Moderation, NZCETSS, 13/14/2/94)

Having gathered evidence that it had industry support, the Council then approached the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA) and discussed progress towards establishing itself as an incorporated society or Trust. Council members debated the pros and cons of taking this step and a list of advantages and disadvantages was drawn up.

The advantages they noted were that they would retain control of accreditation, moderation and standards, and here I am using their vocabulary. They had the mandate to represent the industry and believed they would be the best representative for the social services. They also saw this as a way that NZCETSS could continue to function and that they could continue to operate under their own kaupapa, or protocols NZCETSS, (13/14/2/94).

The Council was at this stage under some pressure to take action. By this time, the Department of Social Welfare was signalling that it would prefer to see the Ministry of Education hosting NZCETSS. The Chairman, Professor Shirley, told Council he believed it was time to move away from the Department of Social Welfare before getting contaminated by it. There was a note of urgency about the decision to change status. While NZCETSS already had the contract to write the unit standards for the social services, other, related areas such as the disability sector, were becoming Industry Training Organisations. This, it was felt, threatened the viability of introducing a further social service ITO. The spectre of losing the benefit of its hard work and well-earned leadership, was a spur to NZCETSS.²⁸

While some of those interviewed for this study had little to say about this change of direction for NZCETSS, others felt strongly about it. One forthright respondent was particularly interested in the change of power relations between employers and social workers under the ITO arrangement:

I think it will be a disaster, at two levels. It will be a disaster because the ITOs are driven by the needs of employers. That's what they are across the board. That is the fundamental nature of it. And the needs of employers are not necessarily paralleled by the needs of the workers or the needs of the clients....The second thing I think is that there's a real danger that in the medium term you'll finish with sets of occupational expectations which will corrode the idea that there is a broad base thing called social work. And so you'll get a whole lot of agency focus. And I think you can see it already. You get a whole lot of agency focus/type of qualifications that provide people with qualifications to work in an agency or a particular narrow field but the generalities will be lost and all the struggle we had in the '60s will have to be revisited about what is our common identity. And thirdly at a different level again, it seems to me that the piece that underlies the idea of ITOs about the way in which knowledge is transmitted and utilised and developed is really ... its not anti-intellectual but its certainly the compartmentalisation of knowledge There's a real

²⁸ This is another example of the gradual break up of the social work identity, through the multiplication and diversification of identities among social service industry groups.

danger that you'll finish up with a very minimalist kind of approach in which these are minimum standards and that is the end of the story. And it fits quite nicely alongside the outputs kind of climate within which social services operate (Respondent, pers. comm. 1995).

The Council drew up the blueprint for the ITO which would replace it, and in doing so returned to the Ministerial Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council for inspiration on how representation for Maori could be ensured. In the end regional representation was chosen (I. Shirley, 13/10/95). There was a drawback, in that

in actually defining Maori representation you are not necessarily defining people who could truly articulate Maori development within the context of social work, social service education. And you see the people we have had there historically had come to terms with all of that.... (Respondent, pers. comm. 1995).

There were, then, aspects of the transition for social service education from a relatively inclusive environment into one where some providers (the universities) would be excluded, with worrying implications both for standards and for the critical functions of social and community work.²⁹

After August 1994, there are no regular minutes in the archival collection to which I had access. The Council was by then well into the period of change and in June 1995, the NZCETSS was formally disestablished and was replaced in July 1995 by Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation for the Social Services. This particular Industry Training Organisation is an unusual one because the NZCETSS negotiated certain conditions for it, for example, membership was to include representatives from education providers and professional bodies as well as employers. Several of those who facilitated the transition of NZCETSS into an ITO are still closely involved in its work. While outsiders would regard the ITO as a completely different organisation, with a different ethos and new loyalties, it

²⁹ Awhina Waaka also compared the developmental approach of NZCETSS, to the constrained role of the ITO which has come under pressure to implement government policy and act as a rubber stamp, rather than make policy.

appears that these people still have a sense of continuity between the ideals of the former Council and the ITO.³⁰

Alliances and influences

This chapter has recorded the development of social service education and training in the immediate past. It began with an account of the constitution and membership of NZCETSS, from which it was seen that, like the NZSWTC, the NZCETSS lacked teeth, remaining an advisory body. Unlike its predecessor, however, it sought support from the wider social service constituency and this gave it authority and a power base from which it accomplished much. It was able to network and share resources with social services in the community and, for the first time, Maori felt included in a genuine partnership that was seen as beneficial to them. The influence of these factors was considerable, in that when the trinity of accreditation documents were issued, they were demonstrably bi-cultural and they gained support across the spectrum of people and agencies interested in the social services. Without the preparatory consultative work at grass and flax roots level, this achievement would quite possibly not have been possible.

The accreditation documents were influential in that they set standards which those offering social service courses were prepared to accept and therefore they were used. Although the universities and Auckland College of Education courses were never formally accredited, (I believe this was more for lack of opportunity than anything else) they took note and, certainly in the case of the programme in which I was involved, we made sure that we were moving to meet the standards pending an accreditation application. The polytechnic courses worked directly with the NZCETSS developmental working party, as they began to offer 'A' and 'B' level courses of study. The influence of these accreditation standards can be seen even two years since the ITO took over from the NZCETSS, in their appearance in job advertisements for the social services.

The competency-based approach, together with recognition of prior learning (RPL) have likewise caught the attention of educators, students and employers. Some of the universities (eg. Massey University) and all the

³⁰ This observation is made because it may help future efforts to interpret difficulties experienced over establishing an acceptable accreditation system for the university social work programmes. It indicates the great optimism and goodwill of those who chose to co-operate with the NZQA in transforming the Council.

polytechnics have adopted systems for RPL, while competency-based assessment of learning is a foundation principle for the New Zealand Qualifications framework and the unit standards, certificates and diplomas which are registered on the framework.

This chapter has shown the formation of new alliances among those with interests in the social services. In the early days of NZCETSS, it looked as though the community was at last going to receive recognition and gain a fairer share of the education funding. Gradually, as the economy declined, funding became tighter and reorganisations of the social service delivery systems targeted funding for in-service training for statutory social workers. The flax roots community has had to face a contradictory set of new opportunities combined with the loss of traditional avenues for development. The government and employers have been institutionalised by the National Qualifications Framework as having the primary interest in how people are prepared for employment in the social services. This is a new development for social work education which as a result continues to operate in a contested environment, while the alliances between groups has altered. In recent years the long-awaited mosaic of training pathways has emerged with the result that there are now many courses for social and community workers at university and polytechnic level, the Auckland Teachers College, private training establishments and agency settings. These courses are in competition for students and for good relationships with employers. I have argued that this is to the advantage of all concerned provided there is honesty about the fact that there are different levels. Some offer the generic, professional and internationally recognised Certificate of Qualification in Social Work, others are specialist, introductory and/or in-service. It is to no-one's advantage to confuse their different qualities, though I have indicated my concerns that this could be a temptation among certain interest groups.

The influences in this period may look rather different twenty years from now and one could miss the obvious, by virtue of being immersed in it. In this chapter, people, as well as economic change, political, cultural and social movements, have all been signalled as important. The people who have featured in this chapter have all influenced social work education, by what they said, did or did not do. Their visions for social and community work were voiced and nurtured and the more radical visions are currently struggling to survive. To select a number of outstanding participants in this

history at this point of the study is perhaps unhelpful, for three reasons: firstly, some individuals discussed here, like the Right Honourable Ann Hercus, Professor Ian Shirley, Awhina Waaka and Robyn Munford, were obviously influential and need no further naming, while there will be others, unnamed,³¹ whose contributions are nevertheless important and will emerge over the years; secondly, Maori contributions to this history were particularly significant, but Maori prefer to be acknowledged collectively, rather than as individuals; thirdly, this was a period which began with an emphasis on the collective in the social services, rather than the individualistic philosophy that is emerging and I wish to acknowledge that methodologically.

This chapter, and the previous one, discussed changes in the relationship between the providers of education and training for the social services and the employers. The resources available for community work are being harnessed by a new kind of community agency, which contracts for funding in a business-oriented, profit-making market and may or may not have the interests of clients at heart. Social work, once based on the process-oriented casework relationship, is fast becoming another commercial transaction between social worker and service user. The social work task has been minutely examined by the writers of the unit standards so that the necessary competencies can be identified and taught. Employers, now more than ever under budgetary constraints, want to employ staff who can immediately "do the job they are hired for". One area where this can be clearly seen is in fieldwork placements, where hard bargains are being driven between agencies and course providers to enable students to get placements and persuade agencies to offer them (Ellis, 1998).

Diversity and Fragmentation

During the third and final phase in this account of social work education, evidence suggests that social service delivery systems have altered the client/practitioner relationship. It has been transformed from one in which the professional social work relationship was supposed to be non-judgemental, empathetic and offered unconditional support, into a semi-commercial transaction. Social workers have to allocate resources and be mindful of limited budgets and managerial guidelines for their disposal.

³¹ For example, one person, who has hardly been mentioned, played a significant role, and that is Mr John Tapiata, who was the chairman of the Maori Caucus of NZCETSS. People spoke of him with affection and Professor Shirley referred to the enormous benefit of his wisdom, strength and dignity to the Council (I. Shirley, pers. comm. 20/11/90).

Social workers have been deployed to work in multi-disciplinary teams where there may be scant understanding of the orthodox social work role. In these ways, one can see the erosion of social work identity. Social work is no longer carried out in an environment which publicly facilitates the importance of good process and human relationships for bringing about change. Social workers are sensitive to the value of good process in enhancing the effectiveness of what they do. We now have case managers, field workers, needs assessors, youth justice workers, care and protection co-ordinators, rehabilitation officers and many of these positions only involve aspects of the social work task, thus losing the wholistic approach.

At the conclusion of the period studied, New Zealanders had some clear choices to make as regards social work education. Choices which could well undo much of the work of previous generations. The sense of altruism and justice that is part of social work has come under pressure with the supremacy of economic policy. Decisions being made as this is written will affect the direction of social work and how people are prepared for it.

This history of social work education ends at the point, in 1995, when the New Zealand Council of Education and Training in the Social Services was transformed into the Industry Training Organisation for the Social Services. Social workers in other industrialised nations where social work is practised and where social work has been adapted to fit the new industrial and managerial models of efficiency, accountability and fiscal constraint, share concerns raised in this chapter for the direction in which social work is moving (Howe, 1990; Kelsey, 1993; Uttley, 1995; Dominelli, 1996 and Ife, 1996). These concerns relate to the retention of standards of excellence, the place of altruism and critique and the question of whether a continued value will be placed on the reflective practitioner. The mood at the end of this period is very different from that which heralded it in. Some would argue that we are witnessing a paradigm shift in social thinking about the different claims of individual and collective responsibilities and that this is having a direct impact on social work practice and education.

Chapter Thirteen: Conclusions

While social work may be heir to its own history, it is the child of contemporary politics (Harris, 1997: 28).

Social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has come a long way since 1949, when the School of Social Science was founded. It is now accepted in principle that, like teachers, social workers need to be educated. As the nation's welfare philosophies evolved, so changes have occurred in the delivery and practice of social work. Since 1984, governments have "reframed" (Henkel, 1994: 93) vocational education and the infrastructure of the social services and this has affected the provision of social work courses. Alliances among those with an interest in social work education are consequently altered. The old-fashioned public service ethos of vocation and service has been replaced by a system in which social service providers negotiate between purchasers and customers for the most economic and efficient programme delivery possible. Definitions of social work have always been contested and this study has an intrinsic interest in this struggle, because of its implications for social work education.

When, in 1964, the NZASW was accepted as a member of the International Federation of Social Workers, its members staked their claim to practice according to international professional social work standards in Aotearoa/New Zealand, standards which had a reference point outside national governments. The history of social work education is part of the heritage of social work and the international reference point is a link which helps to explain the tension between social work as a professional occupation and social work in its agency context. The tension revolves partly around who has the right to define social work and therefore how people should be prepared for practice. Harris, in the quotation above, emphasises the relationship between social work and politics. He eloquently captures an important element in this case study, which portrays social work as situated in the society in which it operates. This study weaves a history of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand from many threads which together form a colourful fabric, depicting a complex and significant aspect of the social work story.

Four key areas of enquiry into the influences that have shaped social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand were identified at the beginning of this research. The first area of enquiry focused on debates about curriculum for social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and their historical relationship to what is happening today. As the study progressed it became obvious that the provision of resources for social work education, in other words, the availability of courses in different institutional settings and their accessibility at a variety of levels, was debated at least as much, if not more than the original curriculum and so the focus of this first area was adjusted accordingly.

The second area of enquiry concerned the direction in which the provision of education and training for social service workers has moved in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Chapter Three introduced the idea that social work has been through phases of professional development which have followed similar lines in different nations, in turn affecting the provision of courses for social work. The recognition of a professional social work identity was followed by the desire to consolidate the developing profession through recognised educational qualifications. The point at which social work becomes a recognisable entity is also the point at which it will meet with resistance, and as this has occurred, so the community work and other grass roots movements have challenged it. The coincidence in timing between these challenges and the growing movement among politicians and policy-makers to reduce state services has resulted in a degree of diversification and fragmentation in social work. I have observed that professional social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand has arguably shown developmental patterns similar to those in other western nations and this point is revisited in this concluding chapter. This second area of enquiry will be considered last since it draws on the other three areas, each of which sheds light on significant trends in social work education.

The relevance and impact of tangata whenua views and contributions to the development and implementation of social work education formed the nucleus of the third sphere of enquiry. Here, related areas such as community development, women's issues and those of social justice were also significant.

The fourth area of enquiry examined the introduction of competency-based learning and its implications for social work education and training. The

intricacies of research into all four areas over a fifty year span in which so much change has occurred are considerable and the result can be compared to a brightly coloured piece of woven cloth, with threads of different lengths and textures.

To demonstrate the links between the three periods into which this history of social work education is divided, I have designed two charts: social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand and social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Each is discussed and both contextualise the implications for social work education of the findings of this study.

Two structural devices have shaped the study. First, the period under study was divided into three chronological parts which focused on specific organisations closely involved in shaping social work education, namely, the School of Social Sciences at Victoria University of Wellington, the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, the New Zealand Social Work Training Council and the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services. Dividing the study into historical periods in this way gave importance to these organisations, not necessarily because of their achievements, the significance of which may be disputed, but because each organisation, in its own way, held a degree of authority in relation to social work education. This authority was such that they developed policies, advised Ministers of the state, consulted with the field of social work and social work educators and, in so doing, amassed the archives upon which to base a historical study. The respective efforts of the NZASW, the NZSWTC and the NZCETSS to set recognised standards for the education of social workers meant that, despite struggles for power and controversies about future directions, they were taken seriously enough to either generate or engage in the debates from which it has been possible to construct this study. In this final chapter, the three periods into which this study was divided are drawn together and viewed in relation to one another.

The second structural feature of this study is the argument that, as social work education endeavours to prepare people for practice, so contemporary perceptions of and policies concerning social work will exercise a strong influence on how social workers should be educated. The characterisation of each of the three periods within this case study (beginning with the degree of professional autonomy achieved by recognition as professionals, followed by the consolidation of their professional status and the subsequent

diversification and fragmentation of social work) was therefore relevant as an indication of changing positions from which the social work profession and other interest groups have negotiated for better resources for social work education. The three phases of social work, recognition, consolidation and diversity leading to fragmentation, are not hard and fast. Elements of each can be found in all of the periods, but in this study I argue that one can discern a trend from recognition to consolidation and, most recently, diversification leading to fragmentation.

Several strands in this history, like the changing alliances between interest groups and the influence of different power combinations, give a special texture to the fabric of the story. There are people who stand out as having made crucial contributions to the development of social work education and their ability to act either as forces for change, or preservers of the status quo, is noted. The threads of this story have at times been tangled, as for example, the location debate in which the NZSWTC vacillated as professional interests vied with ministerial preferences. The question of accreditation for the YMCA course, although highly visible for only a short time, is another significant strand. The memories and feelings of many people who were involved in that piece of history are still relevant many years later and help to explain their loyalties and attitudes.

Other threads, like *tino rangatiratanga*, social justice, community work and the part played by women, give a unique texture to the fabric of this account. Threads such as whether social work is an academic discipline with a place in the university, are also woven into this fabric, for they distinguish between different approaches to teaching and learning in social work. In particular, they contrast the curriculum-based approach to education, characterised by the liberal arts and humanities, with the competency-based approach, in which competency is assessed through a series of demonstrated learning outcomes.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise key features identified in the development of social work and education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and to draw out the connecting links between them, thereby presenting an overall picture of this complex history throughout the period studied. The chapter will therefore compare international and national patterns of development for social work. Next, it will consider the individuals and structural forces affecting the course of social work education as identified

through the four key areas of this study, described above. Reflections on the methodology precede the next section which contains recommendations concerning treatment of archival resources for social work education. Finally, there is a discussion of the implications of this history for social work education in relation to current trends and possible future policy and research directions.

Professional Social Work in Aotearoa/New Zealand

On the following page, I have summarised, in Chart 13: 1 Social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand, important aspects about social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how it has changed and adapted over the years. Three characterising features are considered, social work identity, the issues which have been important for social workers as they have worked to develop and professionalise as an occupational group, and the ethos, or characteristic assumptions and intentions of social workers.

I have argued that histories of social work in America, Britain and Australia show a gradually dawning recognition of "the common base of social work". This phrase, coined by Harriet Bartlett, situated social work practice in a state of dynamic tension between the person(s) worked with and their social environment. The improvement of communication systems, (transport, radio, telephone and television), enabled social caseworkers scattered in a variety of agencies, to exchange ideas and form into groups and associations. As a common identity evolved, so the radical, idealistic and altruistic strands in the social work tradition met and merged (at times, uneasily) with the charitable, philanthropic and controlling aspects of the job.

Chart 13: 1 Social Work in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Changing Identity, Issues and Ethos in Social Work

Date	Identity	Issues	Ethos
to 1949	Diverse. social work defined by employers and agencies (cause and function)*	Isolation & development of knowledge base in social work	Philanthropy and public service (needs led)+
1949 to 1972	Recognition of modern social work defined according to task, agency setting and profession	Education and training, & professional recognition	Philanthropy and public service (needs led)
1973 to 1986	Consolidation of professional status of social work community work emerges	Biculturalism, feminism, social justice and standards	Social work, professional ethics & social justice (user led)
1987 to 1995	Fragmentation of social work and the return of diversity	Dealing with the effects of deinstitutionalisation, the funder/provider split, constant agency re-organisation and competition for funding	Adaptation to new public management & welfare society, commodification & technological, managerial approaches (user led and then consumer led)

*(Leiby, 1978: 180, discussed in Chapter Three, p 47).
+ This terminology: “needs led, user led and consumer led”, comes from Adams, 1996: 49, where he argues that in the UK, the personal social services have moved through phases which he characterises as treatment/needs led, empowerment/user led and service/consumer led.

In the first phase of this case study, social work was depicted emerging as an occupational category, recognised as such in the Department of Social Welfare Act, 1971. During this period, social workers were a small, scattered and diverse group. Many worked in voluntary and religious organisations, while others were employed by the hospitals and Child Welfare Division. The social casework approach, with its “treatment and needs led” (Adams, *ibid*: 49) approach dominated practice. I have argued in Chapters Seven and Eight that there was a shared understanding of service to the public between

employers, educators and practitioners at that time. There was a common agreement that provision for social work education was necessary, though once available, doubts were expressed by the educators as to whether much priority was given by agencies to employing staff with social work qualifications.

From 1964, the NZASW, like national associations for professional social work in other countries, took up the call for professional recognition and more educational resources for their members. The 1970s ushered in new economic and legislative contexts for practice and at that time professional social workers came together and made known their concerns. The NZASW campaign over the merger between Income Support and the Child Welfare Division can be seen as particularly significant in strengthening professional social work identity and signalling the changing alliances that would occur.

While some social workers were trying to consolidate their standing as professionals, others were arguing that the demands of altruism and social justice meant that social workers had to function from the margins in solidarity with the poor and oppressed. Maori struggles for the restoration of their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi were part of this climate of radicalism connected to other protests around freedom issues such as the women's movement, the peace movement, (the Vietnam War) and the anti-racism movement (the Springbok Tour). These were the years when the community work movement developed. During the second phase of this case study, the old alliances gave way under competing demands from new interest groups.

A pattern of alliances has emerged in which changes in social work education are influenced when the balance of power is altered and new strategic alliances are formed between government ministers, funders, employers, professionals, educators and practitioners. The users of social services and social work students appear to be two interest groups who as yet are scarcely consulted as to what should happen. The position of social work in relation to state provision for welfare has been crucial for what has occurred in this history. Social work is a chameleon-like occupation. Its nature is renegotiated over and over again as the social, economic and political will to safeguard, empower and/or control vulnerable members of society is altered.

Social work is an occupation which has espoused professional autonomy and high ideals, both internationally and in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Ideals embodied in the professional code of ethics speak, amongst other things, of altruism, cultural understanding, liberation of the oppressed, self-determination, and client advocacy. They sit side by side with undertakings to promote the values of society and work within the ethos and regulations of one's employing agency. These high ideals have been part of the core curriculum in each of the three periods studied and are integral to the identity of professional social work, as has been the notion of professional autonomy. They are seen to be under threat, both internationally and in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as new, technological, deconstructed and potentially de-skilling ways of organising work are developed (Ife, 1996; Preston-Shoot & Jackson, 1996).

The move away from statutory agencies as the key providers of services, to a system where government responsibilities have been devolved back to the community, families and individuals, is part of the trend in which social work is being deconstructed. Government purchasing agencies now contract with community agencies for core services. This alters the power relationship between social work and the state, in so far as "he who pays the piper calls the tune". Here one can see in operation the new ideology of governance, referred to, amongst other things, as the New Right, Managerialism, or Liberalism. It has gained widespread acceptance among policy makers and according to this ideology, individuals have inalienable rights and duties to take responsibility for themselves and their families. In order to do this, people must use their earning power to buy their own security and education. The less tax they pay, the better they will be able to fend for themselves. Economic prosperity, fostered through the workings of an unshackled international market is considered to be the arbiter of well-being.

Technological advances have brought into being communications systems that enable managers to put in place measures of accountability which make it easier to assess the more tangible social service interventions and their costs. Managers can, for example, keep in touch with employees through the use of cell-phones, fax machines, e-mail etc. There are several implications for social work. Professional autonomy is put at risk. At managerial level, it may be argued that it is less necessary, perhaps even undesirable, for a front line worker to use their initiative and act on the

basis of their own assessment of a situation. Instead, they are supplied with practice manuals and tools for risk assessment which they are trained to use. The broker role has also gained importance in social work practice.

The social work task has been broken into units of performance, as indicated in the previous two chapters. This means that people can be trained to do one aspect of an intervention and employers can then contract staff for only so many hours a week. The economic advantage is the reduction of agency overheads. The social disadvantage, less easy, but not impossible, to cost, is the development of a fragmented workforce, loss of professional identity and with it the expectation of ideals and altruism displayed by so many of those who have worked in the social services in the past.

The economic approach now in the ascendant, together with new, generic managerial styles have nevertheless brought into the market new interest groups. They provide opportunities for self-development to one sector of Aotearoa/New Zealand society with a sense of identity and an organisational structure all their own, the tangata whenua, who are prepared to try to harness it. Iwi Social Service initiatives are gathering momentum under the leadership of well-qualified Maori, spurred on by the government's eagerness to devolve further its direct service responsibilities (Durie, 1994; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997). This is not to ignore the contradictions in what is happening for people directly involved in welfare and social service systems, but it does serve to introduce the idea that for some, there has been an incentive to support government policies which appear to offer a way forward.

The introduction of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) and its new philosophical approach to the whanau/family, together with the advent of the free market approach to social service delivery, has resulted in the disintegration of old alliances which have had to make way for new interest groups. Industrial interests of employers are becoming paramount and the contractual nature of a service delivery system in which the funder state is inevitably one partner means that employer and state interests are converging.

What this means for social work education and training is as yet unclear. It does signal that the need to have a qualified workforce has been recognised and accepted. The supply of qualified social workers has too long been

inadequate and patchy. Whether we are witnessing a paradigm shift in the nature of the social work task itself, is another matter altogether. The question has been raised at recent conferences and publications, suggesting widespread concern over current trends in social work (Henkel, 1994; Ife, 1996; Nash, 1996; Dominelli, 1997; Fisher and Karger, 1997; O'Donoghue, 1998).

This study has followed the development and changing identity of social work as a professional occupation. It has depicted social work identity as adapting and changing in response to its host society. Identity in this case is not a static phenomenon which, once discovered through historical investigation, can be captured once and for all. Rather, my use of it is similar to that of Sneja Gunew as described by Wittman. For them, identity has to do with the process of negotiating one's self-definition in a particular environment:

...because positioning is always temporary, meanings are always provisional, and that the importance lies in always recognising the role of history and the prevailing circumstances of power (Gunew, in Wittman, 1998: 44).

When definitions of social work are negotiated in a local setting, it is hardly surprising that there will be discrepancies between pragmatic, working definitions which take their lead from actual practice, and idealist ones which are more likely to use international definitions as their reference point. The latter are more likely to be high-minded and altruistic, concerned about the wider human rights issues and distanced from the exigencies of local situations. The international code of social work ethics challenges social workers to keep their integrity, and to use their skills and knowledge on behalf of their clients, in preventive and developmental ways for the promotion of social justice, despite the lack of resources and the re-definitions of the social work task according to agency outputs.

To summarise, there are parallels between the international histories and that of Aotearoa/New Zealand in relation to social work. In 1968, the western world experienced the unrest and protests of a generation of young people convinced that there had to be better and more peaceful ways of organising society. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, this mood for change was a little later, but nevertheless took place and is referenced in Chapters Nine

and Ten. It is symptomatic of the phenomenon of globalisation that, for the third phase of this study, both internationally and locally there is a simultaneous perception of similar changes taking place in social work in response to new managerial and political styles (Henkel, 1994; Adams, 1996; Dominelli, 1997; Ife, 1997; Nash, 1997).

The comparison between international and national professional social work development shows social work changing and adapting in accordance with local welfare systems, while these in turn reflect national and, recently, international trends. This observation strengthens the perception of the host relationship between social work and the political, social, cultural and economic systems within which it functions. This in turn gives support to the argument that these systems exert significant influences on how social work develops and how people are prepared for practice.

At the same time, people and pressure groups can exert their influence to affect the course of events. Two occasions in Aotearoa/New Zealand have been identified here, in which social work was perceived by the state as a challenge. The first occasion was when the NZASW, strong in identity and sense of purpose, contested government moves to merge the Child Welfare Division and the Social Security Departments. It poured its resources, personal and financial, into opposing this direction in government policy, offering a wider vision for the social services, perhaps a more costly and extensive one than that of government. It was unsuccessful, and in its failure, having declared an independent vision for social work from that of the welfare system in place, the old alliances between public servants, professionals and educators were weakened.

The second historical moment that stands out is the work and vision of the NZCETSS, culminating in the publication of its accreditation guidelines for social and community work education in 1991. The alternative vision of social work in this second historical moment contrasted with the conventional, casework model of professional social work in the 1970s. It accommodated several alternative strands in social and community work thinking, within which are embedded the anarcho/Christian ideas expressed by Michael Elliott, the Catholic liberation stance which informed the radical views of Professor Ian Shirley in the early 1980s and the community development models practised by Maori, by feminists and by radicals in general. Hopes that social work would move in a new direction

were thus raised by the work and style of the NZCETSS, as it promoted community work and nurtured Maori thinking and ways of working. One can only speculate on the course that events would have taken, had the NZCETSS not opted for transforming itself into an industry training organisation.

Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

This section covers the four main areas of enquiry into the influences which have shaped social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Chart 13: 2, Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, on the next page provides an overview of the research questions about social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and indicates the changing identity of the social work profession in each of the three periods studied. Social work education is shown moving from a set of harmonious alliances into a period of contested visions for social work and social work education, in which alliances were renegotiated among interest groups that emerged out of the struggles for hegemony over social work.

The transition from having only one professional course to having many has occurred in fits and starts. One can see that the period studied ends with a plethora of institutions offering courses at several different levels, some introductory and others professional or specialist. As already indicated, the final period is the one in which social work education is beginning to feel the influence of global trends of instrumental rationalism, generic managerialism and the diminishment of the Welfare State.

Aotearoa/New Zealand has practised a robust mixture of residual and institutional welfare. We appear to be revisiting our 19th Century traditions (Tennant, 1989: 74 & 201) in which the deserving poor were targeted for charitable aid, thus distancing ourselves from a welfare system in which people enjoy rights to social security by virtue of their citizenship.

Chart 13: 2 Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

(An overview of the research questions)

	1949-72	1973-86	1987-95
Provision of courses and curriculum	One dominant post-graduate course with a curriculum-based on the British model of casework/social administration.	Further university level courses introduced, with one undergraduate programme.	Proliferation of multi-level and part-time social and community courses at Polytechnics as well as at universities.
Directions of social work education	Traditional and static during these years. Small numbers involved little employer demand. Recognition by social workers of their common professional interests and NZASW formed.	NZSWTC set basic minimum standards for accreditation. Health sector shows interest in qualified staff. Consolidation of professional social work. This was contested by radical groups.	Mosaic of pathways comes into being. NZCETSS guidelines well-received. Social work courses gain recognition at many levels.
Tangata Whenua and community work, social justice and women and their influence on social work education	Little consideration of issues of tangata whenua or other disadvantaged groups.	<u>Puao-te-ata-tua</u> published. Women and community groups struggle for their share of recognition and resources in social work education.	Maori and community groups recognised as needing support and educational resources.
Influence of competency and the managerial movement	Public service ethic recognises professional autonomy. Social work introduced as an academic discipline.	Early notion of competency standards for social workers first introduced by health sector and then by NZSWTC.	NZQA and the competency movement prominent. Managerial approach to social work introduced.

The four areas of enquiry examined in this research are identified in this chart, according to each of the three periods into which the study is divided. In each case, the changing situation for social work education is depicted. The first area of enquiry focused on the provision of courses and the

development of the curriculum. Towards the end of the first period, one senses that people felt much had been achieved by the establishment of a university-level, post-graduate social work course. It had taken years to persuade a government to fund social work education in a university setting. Once established, staff at the School of Social Science, Victoria University Wellington, were able to teach as they saw fit, adopting the British model for social work education. They were secure in the common assumption of mutual interest between themselves, government departments and employers. In the absence of a national, generic professional association, this alliance continued unchallenged for many years.

The conventional British approach was reflected in the early curriculum, which was based on the approach at the Tavistock Clinic (London) and consisted of a two year, post-graduate course of full-time study with fieldwork experience. It combined psychoanalytic theory, fieldwork and social administration. It bore few indigenous features and remained virtually static for the first 25 years. Nevertheless, it was graduates, mainly from the Victoria University Wellington social work programme,¹ who led the way in forming a national social work organisation, the NZASW, which campaigned vigorously for social work education to become more accessible through courses in universities around the country. In 1975, new programmes were established at Auckland University, Massey University and Canterbury University. The Bachelor of Social Work Degree at Massey University had a special character, in that it was a four year,² undergraduate programme catering for school-leavers. Calls by the NZASW and other interest groups for a national organisation capable of bringing order and a developmental approach to social work education were rewarded in 1973, with the establishment of the NZSWTC, which was later replaced by the NZCETSS.

These two national Councils held responsibility for advising the Minister of Social Welfare about social work education, raising standards and

¹ There is some correspondence which shows this to be the case, in papers dating from the 1960s, in my possession.

² The curriculum was developed in consultation with social work employers, and interested parties. Efforts were made to ensure it addressed the needs of Maori social work. Consultation, informal, through networking, and formal, as when 200 interested people attended a one day forum at Massey University, was carried out and it was designed to meet the basic minimum professional standards of the NZSWTC. Mr Hancock and Professor Fraser presented them with the proposed curriculum and they were encouraged to make their opinions known (M. Hancock, pers. comm. 26/9/95). Again, I hold relevant paperwork and correspondence from this time.

introducing nationally recognised qualifications. In each case, there were struggles around professionalism versus elitism, standards and accreditation versus exclusivity and indigenous versus overseas curricula. The same debates about professionalism, elitism, divided loyalties and distribution of resources took place in Aotearoa/New Zealand as elsewhere. In different countries, there were different responses to these discussions, which reflected different emphases on the nature of social work. The Australian social workers, for example opted for strict controls over the conditions under which one could call oneself a social worker, and early on, defined the level of qualification necessary in order to become professionally qualified. Aotearoa/New Zealand adopted a more egalitarian and inclusive approach. Professor McCreary had opposed, through the NZASW, policies that would exclude unqualified practitioners (J. McCreary, *pers. comm.* 29/5/95) and Merv Hancock also spoke strongly in favour of accepting as social workers those who practised social work, beginning with the practitioner rather than with the theoretician. This approach has remained important for social work and social services generally and was present in the tense and sometimes contradictory discussions and decisions of the two training councils. It was one thing to stand up for inclusive membership of the NZASW but this in no way deflected Professor McCreary from maintaining a rigid stance in favour of the highest standards being set for basic professional qualifications in social work. In fact, without the first option, the second would have been very difficult to maintain, as it would have precluded a large proportion of social workers from entry to the NZASW.

When the NZSWTC and the NZCETSS issued basic minimum standards for the accreditation of social work courses, institutions offering social work courses either applied for accreditation, or adapted courses in anticipation of their application. In this way, the national core curriculum was directly influenced by these bodies. It was influenced by becoming standardised and more systematic, but not uniform. As Aotearoa/New Zealand moved from the 1970s into the 1980s, I have indicated that new social work programmes were guided by the standards set by the NZSWTC, though it was only in the final issue of minimum standards, in 1984, that the NZSWTC began to emphasise the indigenous nature of social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand.³

³ Both the BSW degree and the Auckland College of Education courses were developed with the NZSWTC basic minimum standards in mind.

The curriculum-based approach, common to all the tertiary level courses in Aotearoa/New Zealand up until the disestablishment of NZCETSS, has come under pressure in the 1990's, facing competition from competency-based teaching and assessment methods favoured by the government through the NZQA. There is a widespread feeling, both internationally and within Aotearoa/New Zealand that the competency-based approach may prove a weak vehicle for the knowledge which has been built up within social work and which is considered to be well-suited, from the learners point of view, to a generic, critical and reflective learning environment. An eloquent statement to this effect is worth quoting here. I am indebted to Gwen Ellis, (1998) my colleague, for drawing this work to my attention.

[In Britain, CCETSW]...has yielded to employer pressure for a social work qualification which has been intellectually "gutted" to conform to their demand for a bureaucratically compliant workforce (Jones, 1993:15, in Pell and Scott, 1995: 45).

The need for social work students to have time to reflect on what they learned was emphasised by the Maori Caucus of NZCETSS (NZCETSS, Kahukura, 1991). It was considered to be so important that it was included in the NZCETSS accreditation guidelines.

Maori influence on the curriculum developed gradually, and has contributed to the development and implementation of social work education. For this reason, it was identified as a significant area to include in this case study. Maori issues and the question of indigenous practice and how it should be addressed in the social work curriculum were raised over many years and culminated with the confrontation of the social work profession, social work agencies and employers in Puao-te-ata-tu (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1986). The largely non-Maori staff in tertiary level social work programmes felt this challenge keenly in the 1980's. Curriculum and staffing are still an issue for social work education. The relevance for and impact of tangata whenua, the indigenous population of Aotearoa/New Zealand on social work cannot be exaggerated. The relevance is constant. The impact varies from period to period. It gathered expression and momentum, building on those early students of the Victoria University programme and developing momentum during the second two periods examined.

Every year, a small number of Maori enrolled in the School of Social Science at Victoria University, Wellington during its early years. I have not found their contribution to social work recorded in any systematic manner, but it has been significant. Sir Charles Bennett, Ngahinaturae Te Uira, Mr John Rangihau, Ann Delamere, Ephra Garrett, are names which come immediately to mind from the first period of this study. Mr John Rangihau made a highly visible contribution, as a member of the Tuhoe linking the Victoria programme through Professor McCreary to that Iwi. He is best known in social work circles for the Ministerial Report, Puao-te-ata-tu, which confronted the Department of Welfare and social workers with evidence of their institutional, cultural and personal racism. Ephra Garrett has worked and continues to work steadily and fruitfully in the interests of Maori in social work and the social services generally. Her teaching and consultative contributions have touched innumerable lives and her wisdom has tempered policy development and the choices made by many people of vision.

Maori contributed in other ways that influenced social work education. There were consequences for social work education in the existence in Aotearoa/New Zealand of an indigenous population with strong cultural traditions, its own language and community systems of political, welfare and other forms of organisation. The western, humanist social work tradition could not continue to ignore the claims of indigenous traditions whose political actions, philosophies, and community movements represented a critical mass of people supportive of the work of leaders like Mr John Rangihau and the Maori Caucus of NZCETSS. Perhaps this is why, from the early days of the NZASW, many social workers wanted their profession to be inclusive.

An example of the inclusive approach to social work was the acknowledgment of the value in having a variety of routes, a mosaic of pathways, leading to a social work qualification. This was not without struggle, as for example over the refusal of the NZSWTC to acknowledge the YMCA course as a professionally qualifying one. It could be argued that the disestablishment of the NZSWTC represented a movement struggling to transform social work education from a homogenous monocultural entity into a heterogeneous, bicultural one.

The outstanding contribution to social work education of the Maori Caucus of NZCETSS will doubtless be explored in future years. The political acumen of those who steered the Caucus has been indicated by respondents who were members of NZCETSS. It was no mean achievement to hold together a diverse and committed group of people in partnership with the Pakeha, (later Tauwiwi) Caucus to produce the accreditation standards in 1991. They worked through bicultural and partnership processes in relation to the Tauwiwi Caucus and developed a body of thought which integrated Puao-te-ata-tu into professional standards for social and community service work.

That was the more visible aspect of the work of the Maori Caucus. Its members also worked hard, taking training and educational resources to local communities and Marae. In doing this, they demonstrated to the tauwiwi members of NZCETSS, how communities can learn from their own people the skills they need. They empowered Maori communities in this way and bridged the gap between knowledge of Maori kaupapa and Pakeha administrative systems at a time when accountability systems and social policies were changing and having an impact on Maori as on all social groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The new accountability systems were part of the new social and political approaches to government and lead naturally into discussion of the competency philosophy and its educational practices in relation to social work education and training. Before leaving this section, however, the influence of those who worked in the women's movement, the social justice areas and the community work movement should be acknowledged. People tended to have multiple involvement in these overlapping areas. In the course of this study, I had several conversations with people about why it is that feminism still has a low profile in social work when compared to Maori and biculturalism. It was felt that the women's movement might have looked rather different were it not for the fact that many women decided to put their energies publicly into struggles for Maori sovereignty. There is no question that women have contributed a great deal to feminist concerns in the development of social and community work education. Research may well show that women have chosen to work behind the scenes here as in so many other areas rather than be seen to lack solidarity with the tangata whenua.⁴

⁴ For a critical discussion of this and related issues, see Wittman, 1998:39-41.

The social justice interest groups, to which reference has been made throughout this study, work from a varied set of altruistic principles, derived from humanism, Christianity, anarchism, indigenous traditions and socialism. Their collective stance and belief in solidarity distinguishes them from the contemporary received wisdom of market-driven policies, individualism and economic gain as the benchmark of success. These philosophical positions of liberation and solidarity with the marginalised in society have always presented a challenge to social work and in the middle period of this study achieved considerable, albeit uneasy, recognition from the establishment.

As a profession, social work upholds the rights of the client to self-determination and self-fulfilment. Social work codes of ethics portray an altruistic profession in which social workers are expected to stand up for human rights and to challenge the status quo on behalf of clients. This uplifting rhetoric is laudable, but that social workers are not perceived in this favourable light was one of the reasons why, during the life of the NZSWTC, there were heated and bitter confrontations between those trying to introduce and protect high standards for social work education and others trying to gain access to educational resources for community workers who they felt would better meet the needs of the same client population served by social workers. If social workers need to take account of client self-determination, then they have to respect and collaborate with grass-roots and community movements and acknowledge the validity of different methods for practice and, accordingly, different educational needs among practitioners. The Ministerial Review of the NZSWTC, 1985, met with approval, for precisely this reason: it acknowledged the rights of those outside the professional pale to be heard.

From the point of view of social work education, radical social and community workers were caught in the rapidly changing environment of the 1990's, when the benefit cuts of 1991 signalled a change of mood in Aotearoa/New Zealand away from "welfare dependency" or "support for the vulnerable", depending on one's point of view. So too were the NZCETSS guidelines for basic professional minimum standards (1991) which were gradually overtaken by the NZQA.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the competency movement and its philosophy have been discussed and debated in depth both in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the rest of the world. There is a consensus that social workers should be competent. At the same time, there is unease lest competency be construed as a minimum required level, and social work tasks be reduced to a measurable and some would argue, behavioural, level. If this occurs, then the new focus on assessment of observable practices in the educational context, could be to the detriment of critical reflective learning. If surface, as opposed to deep learning, accompanied such a change in emphasis, there could be further cause for concern. Social work education, under such circumstances, could become top heavy with skills training at the expense of theoretical and critical intellectual content.

The competency philosophy was formally introduced into social work education during the third of the periods studied. It has had significance for the direction in which social work education is moving, linked as it is to generic managerial approaches, both to organising agency practice and training for practice. These approaches, with their functional analysis of agency tasks, have been adopted in large measure by government departments with social work responsibilities and responsibilities for the purchase of social services. They can be seen in the publication of manuals such as the Manitoba Risk Assessment Model and the Child Abuse Assessment Manual. These manuals take the social worker, step by step, through the processes of assessment and in doing so attempt to ensure good practice under managerial supervision. Whether they can adequately guide the practitioner through the complex and intricate cases they work with remains to be seen.

The New Zealand Children, Young Persons and their Families Service developed its competency-based training programme for staff, using resources, some of which had been available through student units and summer placement payments, to students at tertiary level, professionally qualifying courses. This affected relationships between social work educators and a major social work employer in two ways.

On the one hand, it weakened its relationship with educational institutions. The reduction of access by universities and schools of social work education to resources for fieldwork and the disestablishment of one of the

achievements of the NZSWTC, namely the provision of student units, contributed to the growing distance between NZCYPFS and social work educators. This resulted in hardship to students in terms of added difficulties in finding appropriate fieldwork placements. On the other hand, the concentration of resources for the staff of the Department of Social Welfare, under pressure to improve the skills of its social work staff, meant diminished financial support for student grants. As already mentioned in Chapter Eleven, the review of the "Skills 2000" programme in 1995 indicated that it had been far less successful than hoped and raised further concerns among tertiary level social work staff over standards and resources in social work education.

When taking social work education in-house, the Department of Social Welfare, NZCYPFS, demonstrated its policy to put resources into in-service, modular, low level, introductory courses, rather than pre-entry, professional level courses. The level aspired to was level 'A' endorsed, recognised by NZQA, a level set by NZCETSS in its 1991 guidelines. As NZCETSS was drawn towards ITO status, many running established, basic professional social work courses from the universities noted that the highest academic standard that could be recognised by the ITO would be at a lower level than the 1991 professional standards. This is because the ITO cannot set standards for university levels at the time of writing. The highest standards it can register on the NZQA framework that can be included in its National Certificate and Diploma are at level 6. University standards are at level 8. The New Zealand Vice Chancellors' Committee does not come under the authority of the NZQA, to which the ITO is responsible. The NZQA, however, has the power to recognise, independently of the ITO, though usually in consultation with it, degrees in non-university institutions and did this in 1996 for the UNITEC social studies three-year degree.

It is under these circumstances that new alliances have begun to form. For example, Community Corrections (Now "Community Probation Service") and NZCYPFS are supportive of government policy for vocational training and work with the ITO and NZQA. The NZASW is making efforts to liaise with the ITO, but may have more affinity with the Association of Schools of Social Work Education, a body formed in 1997. This organisation was established as tertiary level educators became increasingly alarmed at the lack of accreditation systems for their courses of study and the consequent

potential they saw for lowering standards of social work education if the only nationally recognised qualifications were to be a National Certificate and a National Diploma, registered with the NZQA.⁵

Implications for Social Work Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Having considered three of the areas of enquiry into the influences on social work education, (provision of courses and their curriculum; tangata whenua and community groups and the competency movement) the fourth and final one looks at the direction in which the provision of education and training for social service workers has moved in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

If social work, as an occupation, alters to suit the welfare system in which it functions, it would be consistent with current approaches if social work were to take on a different emphasis, one in which individuals were expected to take more responsibility for themselves within their families and local communities. The post-election briefing paper, Social Welfare in New Zealand, Children, Young Persons and their Families Service (DSW 1996) signals organisational changes and the development of tools to help with risk management and accountability which have already affected the social work task (O'Donoghue, 1998). Professionalisation is mentioned as a goal but there is no mention of the social workers' professional association, the NZASW, nor any indication that critical or preventative social change approaches were part of an overall plan. From the literature put out by NZCYPFS, one might believe that it had a monopoly on defining social work. At the end of the period covered by this historical case study, NZCYPFS "does not feel well-served by some of the existing schools of social work" (NZCYPFS, 1996: 25) and there is a coolness between NZCYPFS and the universities and other training providers quite unlike the alliance described in the early years of this history.

Yet other social service organisations, represented by the National Council of Christian Social Services, manage programmes valued at around \$300.000.000, in comparison with NZCYPFS' net operating budget of \$460.000.000 in 1996 (NZCSS, pers. comm. 12/5/98). These social service

⁵ This information comes from my inside knowledge of the situation as the convenor of the NZASW Education and Training Standing Committee.

organisations also employ social workers and have an interest in what graduates from social work courses are learning. There is no justification for their interpretation of the social work task to be ignored by any government agency. At the same time, professional social workers themselves have a stake in how social work is defined.

Despite the efforts of NZCETSS to ensure some philosophical continuity between it and the ITO, the change over from NZCETSS to an Industry Training Organisation has had enormous implications for social work education. The new forum offers a change of personnel, in which social work is treated as one among four kinds of social service approach.⁶ The way in which the new organisation works has caused outsiders to wonder whether it lacks a sufficient number of members with an institutional memory of the history of social work education.

When NZCETSS decided to co-operate with the general direction in which government policy was taking them, members were faced with a dilemma that is familiar to most organisations facing change. They could have taken a strong defensive stance, protecting the position they held in 1991, in relation to their newly published accreditation guidelines, their community development work and their efforts to encourage and develop a wider range of courses across the country. They were, however, a small organisation, at the time receiving a clear message that their host, the Department of Social Welfare, was not prepared to continue to support them in their present form. They therefore decided to move with the times and try to ensure that they could preserve their achievements in the process of becoming an ITO, rather than stand on the sidelines and watch some other interest group take a leadership role and gain hegemony over social and community work as NZCETSS saw it.

It could be premature to draw conclusions concerning trends and directions being taken in social work education at present, given the volatile social, economic, cultural and political circumstances currently prevailing. When interviewing people in this study, some members of the NZASW had misgivings about the Association's loss of leadership over the direction in which the curriculum was taking. There was a feeling that social work, as it once was, is disappearing and being replaced, through the purchasing policies of the Community Funding Agency and Regional Health

⁶ Counselling, social work, youth work and community work.

Authorities, with a plethora of occupations undertaken by people who see their employer as the client, rather than the person with whom they are working directly. Cannan puts this eloquently:

As the public services become imbued with the values and practices of business, so their workers, the bureau-professionals, the caring professionals who have always been directly reliant upon state sponsorship for their spheres of practice, their market and their conditional autonomy, must renegotiate their position in the welfare state, (Cannan, 1995: 11, in Ellis, 1998).

One cannot predict, from a knowledge of history, what will happen. Moreover, the idea that history shows a progressive movement towards a better future is debateable. Professional social work education will, as Professor McCreary stated in his farewell speech to the NZSWTC, (quoted in Chapter Ten) always be strongly influenced by the government in power and subject to that government's political and economic priorities. What will happen as a result of developments taking place after this third and latest period will depend on a variety of factors, of which economic and political, ideological positions, while important, will be mediated by individuals and interest groups.

Methodological Considerations

Before considering opportunities for future research, I will raise four methodological points relating to this research. The first concern is that of writing about such recent events and the knowledge that to those most closely involved this account may appear as some kind of distortion of what really happened. I anticipate that others will come forward with their own histories of this complex and changing field, focussing on different issues and topics. Methodologically, I have tried to supply the evidence that can support this account and to signal its whereabouts. This brings me to my second point. The archival resources for this research are scattered and many are uncatalogued. Nor is it easy to gain access to those official archival resources which are catalogued, for example those for the NZSWTC. This is a concern and I hope that before too long we will see more interest in centralising the records which contain the histories of social work and social work education.

The third point to be raised is the timing of my interviews for this study. I had to begin the interviews before I felt ready, owing to the frailty of some of the respondents and I have wondered since whether this was such a bad thing. It meant that there was a genuine sense of the unknown in some of the interviews or conversations held, which may well have made it easier for people to put forward their particular viewpoint. Interviewing Awhina Waaka towards the end of the project, was on the other hand a bonus, for by then I had a better grasp of events and was better able to prompt at times when necessary. I found her interview useful in terms of triangulation and its confirmation of my understanding of the data in the NZCETSS archives which I consulted.

Finally, I acknowledge the expertise of my supervisors, who at a very early stage of this research, advised me in my selection of people to interview. As this study progressed, I recognised that, while other people would have provided excellent information, many of those I interviewed were, in fact, leaders in the shaping of social work education. This is not to say that I interviewed all those who could be regarded as leaders in this field, but simply that I had access to a range of people who have, in their own ways, been significant in shaping social work education in its social contexts. At times, there will have been reasons why events took place which appear one way, given the evidence to hand, but which may well be accounted for differently to those in the know. This is a danger for the historian and it will be up to future students to unravel new interpretations.

Future research

While the social, political, economic and cultural context of this history provided a structural framework, nothing would have happened without the people, their visions and choices. Future research into the influences which shape social work education could therefore usefully range from the structural and political, to the personal and private. A large scale workforce survey, like that of Rochford and Robb (1982) would provide very valuable information for the social service sector. It could provide data for understanding the social work tasks as they are changing in response to new agency requirements. This in turn would assist in working towards the much needed "goodness of fit" between social work education and practice.

In this history, the men and women who have put their energy into the education and training of social workers, either directly or indirectly, have lived through and experienced many of the circumstances upon which were built the arguments associated with the fair deployment of scant educational resources. They recorded their visions and they made choices and their decisions have had an impact on future directions. I have recorded the hopes and visions held by some of these men and women who have influenced social work and social work education. The work and views of those interviewed have perforce been given emphasis in this study. Professors Robb and McCreary, Mr Tom Austin, Brian Manchester, Merv Hancock, Ephra Garrett, Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Manson, Awhina Waaka, Professor Ian Shirley, Robyn Munford and Wendy Craig come to mind at once, but there are many others whose contribution was valuable and would lend itself to study and research.

The work and thought of Mr John Rangihau, Sir Charles Bennett and Ngahinaturae Te Uira, for example, might shed another light on the Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University Wellington and the careers of Maori graduates. Similarly, there are women who have contributed so much to social work education who also represent a rich source of study for future students of social work and social work education. Women social workers like Major Thelma Smith, Bertha Zurcher, Ann Corcoran have contributed a great deal to social work in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their oral histories would be very worthwhile. So too would a study of the contributions of the women lecturers who were involved from the very beginning, in professional social work education.

For those with a philosophical bent, the theoretical fashions and models for practice could be examined in relation to contemporary events, social and political. International influences were evident in the course of this study, and these will have had an impact on theoretical development, sometimes through being adopted and at other times through reaction against them. The psychoanalytic theories are an example of this. They have a place still in counselling, but social workers tend to rely on them to a much lesser extent now than in the past.

Another strand of research is the history of the relationship between Christian social services and the state. Social work in voluntary agencies has maintained a level of independence to the extent that this independence

was financial. There are numerous accounts of local social service agencies, often Christian in origin, which reveal the encroachment of the state as it buys their services and gradually dictates what those services will be (Lineham, 1994). Christian social and community work traditions are an area of influence well worth studying. At times this study has referred to people and their philosophical positions, particularly the anarcho-Christian work and thought of Michael Elliott. The Young Catholic Workers movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand, spear-headed by the Rev John Curnow, would repay the keen researcher who traced its influence from Christchurch, up the Whanganui River, to Auckland, and elsewhere, spreading the techniques and insights of structural analysis and conscientisation wherever it went.

The influence of funding for social work programmes, and the growth of the private education sector in this field, would be two other fruitful areas for research. This study has acknowledged, but not explored, funding systems, which would be an extensive field for research on their own.

These areas of research pay attention to people and the social and political structures within which they work. The changing alliances between social service interest groups are a signal of the struggles for leadership and ascendancy in these areas. As the interaction between them is recorded, so we can better understand the relationship between perceptions of social work and how people are prepared for practice. There are inevitable tensions in the contested area between professional autonomy and agency demands and this study has noted the development of social work as a profession and the efforts made by the NZASW to preserve its members' autonomy in defining social work. It is my belief that unless social workers preserve the right to self definition, their fragile professional status will either be lost or be redefined along the lines of the most powerful employers of social workers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.⁷ If this occurs, this historical study suggests that the implications for social work education will be to mould it to the social work task as conceived by that employer. If this is the direction in which social work is moving, then the social justice, social action aspects of the profession will come under ever greater tension and the occupation's professional integrity is likely to be further strained.

⁷ This observation is strengthened by two new historical publications which examine income support and welfare systems in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Thompson, 1998 and McClure, 1998. Neither recognise social work as a potentially self-defining professional occupation, Thompson partly because his work covers an earlier period than does this research.

Conclusion

The struggle between altruists and pragmatists for hegemony over social work continues unresolved. The old questions remain as pertinent today as ever. The debates about the availability of courses for practitioners and the appropriate levels at which accreditation should be set, go on. Merv Hancock's vision of social work as a graduate discipline has been achieved, but economic pressures are now threatening the two four year BSW programmes now in existence.⁸ Professional social workers have access to a considerable body of social work knowledge and skills, built up over many years. If this is to be put to the use of people in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is the responsibility of employers and agencies to promote the best of indigenous and international standards of practice, (NZCETSS, Kahukura, 1991). To do this, they need to support tertiary institutions to carry out research and continue offering high level courses in a progressive qualification framework.

I have argued that social work gradually gained recognition and a sense of its own identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As it did so, the calls for increasing education and training for practitioners grew. A period of consolidation followed, during which social work had become a sufficiently strong occupation to be challenged by groups associated with the social services but wanting a separate identity, and they called for different types of training resources for themselves. This coincided with government policies encouraging local solutions to local difficulties, the logic of which has led to a discernible degree of diversification and fragmentation in social work.

The principle of a mosaic of training opportunities, introduced in the middle years of the period studied here, was a sound one. This history indicates that it cannot be taken for granted and, like other achievements in social work education, care will need to be taken to ensure that it continues to be recognised and preserved. The new alliance between the schools of social work⁹ and the NZASW suggests that these matters are already recognised. The NZASW is also putting more energy into both its indigenous development and the international community of social workers. This signals recognition of the value preserving what has worked

⁸ In 1998, Canterbury University introduced a four year BSW degree programme.

⁹ The schools of social work have formed themselves into the Aotearoa New Zealand Association for Social Work Education, 1997.

well in the past, developing new methods of practice locally and keeping informed about new trends internationally. The international community of professional social workers is important for the future of social work and the education of practitioners in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in so far as meeting international standards is deemed worthwhile by key interest groups. For example, the ITO, in conjunction with the schools of social work, is working towards the introduction of an accreditation system to recognise the quality of courses offered outside the National Qualifications Framework. This would help to keep accreditation standards honest, by which I mean that introductory level courses should be recognised as such and not confused with professional qualifying courses. Both have their place and are valuable, but the distinction between them is important for the preservation of good faith between all those with an interest in social work education.

This study has recorded the ways in which professional social work education has been organised, resourced and taught in Aotearoa/New Zealand with a view to understanding the influences which have been brought to bear on it. I have argued that social work education has an organic relationship with state provision of social welfare services. At the same time, throughout this study, certain people stand out as leaders, with particular visions for social work and the education of practitioners. Their interests and ideals guided the alliances they formed or belonged to. They frequently acted as catalysts for change, for new directions and approaches. Their belief in the value of social work as an occupation and the consequent importance of preparing people in the best way possible for practice, is a key contribution to the history of social work education. This case study has indicated that social work is at a turning point in its development and that, as a professional group, social workers, if they really uphold the international and national codes of ethics, will have to put themselves on the line both in relation to their practice and how they wish social work education to develop.

Appendix I

The Treaty of Waitangi

Treaty of Waitangi: English Translation of Maori Version,¹ (Professor Kawharu).

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the Chiefs and sub tribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their Chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are so many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Maori and European living in a state of lawlessness.

So the Queen has appointed me, William Hobson a Captain in the Royal Navy, to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the Chiefs and sub tribes of the Confederation, Chiefs of the sub tribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

The First

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government of this land.

The Second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the sub tribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the

¹ Source: The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, The April Report, Vol 11, Future Directions, Wellington: Government Printer.

Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The Third

For this agreed arrangement therefor concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

(Signed) William Hobson
Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation and the sub tribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and marks thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth of February in the Year of Our Lord, 1840.

The Chiefs of the Confederation.

Appendix II

Glossary of frequently used Maori terms

Hapu	sub-tribe
Hui	meeting, gathering
Iwi	tribe
Maatua Whangai	Maori kin-based foster care programme
Marae	meeting ground
Pakeha	non Maori, European
Puao-te-ata-tu	Daybreak
Tangata Whenua	people of the land
Tauiwi	foreigner, non-Maori
Tino rangatiratanga	Maori sovereignty, self determination
Whakapakari	make mature; strengthen
Whanau	extended family
Whanaungatanga	extended family relationships

This glossary is based on and adapted from Ryan, P.M. (1985). The revised dictionary of modern Maori. Auckland: Heinemann Publishers.

Appendix 111 (a)

Participant Information Sheet Social Work Education in New Zealand.

Introduction

This project is being conducted by Mary Nash, as part of the research towards her doctoral thesis. She can be contacted at the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University, Palmerston North. Ph. (06 350 5225)

The Study

This study is concerned to document the development of social work education and training in New Zealand, and to consider the social and political influences which have influenced it. It is timely that there should be an examination of the intellectual origins for the teaching of social work in New Zealand. Knowledge of the early aspirations for and debates about what should be taught and how, will assist in the analysis of current developments and directions in the education and training of social service workers.

Interviews will be carried out with people who have been involved in the shaping of social work education. The interviews will focus on the opinions of the participants concerning these matters.

Research questions

The research questions will concentrate on the following areas:

- 1) Accounts of the participant's personal involvement in the provision of education and training for social work.
- 2) Participants' perceptions of debates over curriculum and pedagogy for social work in New Zealand, and how these may relate to what is happening today.
- 3) The development of a theoretical understanding of the direction in which provision of education and training for social service workers is moving in New Zealand.
- 4) The relevance and influence of Tangata Whenua views and contributions to the development and implementation of policy for social work education and training.

Procedure

Once participants have agreed to take part in the project, they will be involved in at least one interview, and possibly one focus group discussion. Confidentiality will be preserved. Participants will see the transcripts of their taped interview so they can indicate if they prefer that particular comments not be used. Tapes will be stored securely.

Some participants may be well-known and influential in social work education. They will be invited to indicate whether they are comfortable being named or identified in connection with what they say. If they choose not to have their name used in connection with what they say on tape, their wishes will be respected. In such instances the use of pseudonyms may be discussed to address confidentiality and anonymity.

Supervisors for this research are:

Dr Robyn Munford

Mr Mervyn Hancock

Dr Wanda Korndörffer.

All may be contacted through the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, at Massey University.

Appendix III (b)

Consent Form

I have read the information sheet for this study of social work education and its development, and have had the opportunity to discuss this with the researcher.

I agree to be involved in the study and to take part in one or two interviews at mutually convenient times.

I know that I can withdraw at any time.

I know the interview(s) will be taped and transcribed, and that I will be sent a copy of the transcript, at which point I can indicate any material I would prefer not to be used in the final report.

I understand that if I desire it, confidentiality will be maintained and identifying characteristics will be disguised.

I understand that the researcher will not use my name without my written permission.

I agree that the tapes from the interview will be lodged in the Social Science Archives at Massey University, six months after the thesis is completed. The tapes will be embargoed for ten years, or longer should I request it.

I agree that Mary Nash may use the information gathered by this research for her thesis and for publication of academic work. Copyright of publications will rest with her.

Signed: Participant

Signed: Researcher

Date:

Appendix III (c)

Guidelines for use of information from taped interviews between:

Interviewer: Mary Nash

and

Respondent:

Please circle your response.

1.

I am willing to be identified by name and position as being interviewed for this research.

yes/no
2.

I am willing to be quoted by name from the transcript of my taped interview.

yes/no

If you answered 'No' to question 2, please answer question 3.

3.

I am willing for quotes from my transcript to be used so long as I remain anonymous.

yes/no

Signed:

Appendix III (d)

Questionnaire and semi-structured interview

Name

Age

Address

Ethnicity

Involvement in Social Work Education

Student when

where

Educator when

where

Employer when

where

Current status:

Retired

Employer

Political

Administrative

Educator

Other

Educational Background

Social work qualification

Other tertiary qualification

Other

Semi-structured format for interview

Introduction and check out about use of tape recorder.

Explain why person has been contacted. Fill in questionnaire

The research questions will concentrate on the following areas:

- 1) Can you tell me about your personal involvement in the provision of social work education?

- 2) What is your opinion of the work of the NZASW in connection with education and training for social work?
 From 1964 to formation of SWTC in 1972
 During the time of the SWTC till its demise 1985
 Since then

- 3) Can you tell me your views on the influence that social policies leading to restructuring have had on social work practice? Whose policies?

- 4) In your opinion what effect do you think these changes in social work practice are having on social work education and training?

- 5) How do you think employers have influenced education and training for social work?

- 6) What are your views of the competency movement in social work education and training?

- 7) How in your opinion have Tangata Whenua views contributed to the development and implementation of policy for social work education and training?

- 8) What do you see as the role of the Women's Movement and feminist theory in shaping social work education?

Appendix IV

Five Historical Timelines

1. Historical time-line for Social Work Education: 1949-1995
2. NZASW Education and Training Standing Committee, 1964-76: A summary adapted from that compiled by the Marie Sommerville for the NZASW Education and Training Committee in 1976.
3. NZASW Membership, Registration and Education and Training 1976-83
4. Timeline of Presidents of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers
5. Merv Hancock's career

1. Historical time-line for Social Work Education: 1949-1995

- 1927 John Beck, first superintendent Child Welfare, strong advocate for social work education, published his influential report on social work in USA & Canada
- 1940 Federation of University Women called for training for social workers
- 1943 New Zealand Council for Education Research held an "informal conference": "Training for Social Work"
- 1949 Professor David Marsh Head of School of Social Sciences.
- 1950 First intake for Diploma in Social Science, University College Victoria, Wellington.
- 1950s Social Science Cadetships introduced.
- 1960s Social Work Trainee scheme introduced.
- 1960s Certificate courses in social work, Auckland, Waikato, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago Universities, available through university extension departments. At least 500 people were granted these certificates. Course status was pre-professional and did not aspire to NZSWTC accreditation.
- 1963 Tiromoana Social Work Training Centre opened.

- 1964 NZASW, the professional association of social workers, was formed at the end of 1963. The constitution dates from 7/2/64.
- 1965 New Zealand Social Work first published (Journal of the NZASW)
- 1965 First course for social work supervision, Tiromoana, Run in conjunction with VUW staff/State Services Commission
- 1971 M.A. (Applied) in Social Work offered at Victoria.
Prof McCreary becomes Head of the School of Social Science.
- 1972 Amalgamation of Child Welfare Division and Social Security resulting in the Dept. Social Welfare.
"Social worker" becomes a State Services occupational category.
- 1972 First Student Unit, Wellington Public Hospital.
- 1973 New Zealand Social Work Training Council established.
- 1974 Tiromoana began offering three month, pre-entry induction training for new staff.
Taranaki House Training Centre (Auckland) opened with same programme.
- 1975 Basic Minimum Standards developed by NZSWTC
Auckland, M.A. in Sociology in Social Welfare and Development (with Mobil oil funding).
- 1976 Massey University, BSW Degree and Canterbury University, M.A. in Sociology (Option 2: Social Work), first year intake.
- 1977 SCORITE Report issued.
Auckland Regional Council of Social and Community Work Training established.
- 1978 Rochford and Robb Report.
- 1979 NZSWTC Review of Minimum Standards
Brian Manchester resigned from NZSWTC to take up appointment as Assistant Director-General, Social Welfare
- 1980 Certificate of Qualification in Social Work introduced by NZSWTC
Auckland University ceased intake for Social Welfare and Development Course
- 1981 NZSWTC Report on Activities
- 1982 Auckland College of Education: Diploma in Social Work
- 1983 Minister of Social Welfare requested NZSWTC prepare report on training needs of Community workers
- 1984 Second review of minimum standards
- 1985 NZSWTC reviewed
- 1986 NZSWTC disestablished
- 1986 NZCETSS established in December

- 1991 NZCETSS publishes accreditation guidelines for social work courses.
- 1994 Waikato Polytechnic: Diploma in Social Work
Christchurch Polytechnic: Diploma in Community Work
- 1995 NZCETSS disestablished and replaced by the Industry Training Organisation now known as Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi
- 1997 Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi Industry Training Organisation publishes Guidelines for Education Providers.
National Certificate and National Diploma registered on NZQA Framework.

2. NZASW Education and Training Standing Committee, (E&T) 1964-76: A summary adapted from that compiled by the Marie Sommerville for the NZASW Education and Training Committee in 1976.

- 1964-65 Education and Training Standing Committee appointed.
Convenor: Major Thelma Smith

Terms of Reference:

1. To attend to all matters on education and training on behalf of the Association.
2. To bring down a report and recommendation to National Council on all such matters.
3. To arrange and run such seminars for the Association as may be judged necessary.
4. To collaborate with branches in educational activities and in the running of seminars.
5. To investigate the establishment of a Course in Social Work for our membership.

A National Certificate in Social Work was developed, but the tertiary institutions did not adopt it.

Several national seminars of overseas visiting social workers were arranged.

- 1965 Templeton Course for Workers in Institutions, Christchurch, Course for supervision, Tiromoana. Co-operative effort between SSC, Professor Minn, Tiromoana and NZASW.

1966 E & T Committee moved to Wellington,
Convenor, Mr Ken Daniels.

Certificate of Social Work Course, Dept. of University Extension
Auckland University, approved at biennial conference.

Sub-committee appointed to act for Association in relation to the
Course and supervision.

Committee asked, by National Council, to review the School of
Social Science, VUW. The review was positive and requested more
student places and masters and doctoral degree programmes and a
Bachelor of Social Science.

National Council made representations to the Director General,
Education for a Certificate in Social Work Course to be established
through the Technical Correspondence Institute. (turned down)

SSC advised that SSAC had made two places in each course at
Tiromoana available to social workers from voluntary agencies.

Nine day course for workers in Institutions for the Aged run in
conjunction with Presbyterian Church, Otago.

1967 Two year Certificate in Social Studies, University Extension Dept,
VUW.

Sept First meeting between Ed & Tr Committee and the State Services
Social Science Advisory Committee to discuss matters of mutual
interest.

1968. E & T Committee moved to Christchurch.

It recommends to Conference that the Association work toward the
establishment of a National Council of Social Services.

Oct After much negotiation, Canterbury University, Dept of Extension
Studies agreed to run a two-year certificate course for social workers.

New Order of Reference proposed to and accepted by National
Council in the interests of continuity and prioritising. Priorities
for the committee listed as

- (a) To evaluate the role and function of a social worker (in order to determine what the educational requirements are).
- (b) To compile evidence of the need for social work education and to promote this research in the field.
- (c) To undertake a review of existing facilities for education and training.
- (d) To initiate a joint study group of all concerned with training and education (social workers, their employers, their teachers and Government) with a view to the possible establishment of a Council for Social Work Training.
- (e) To communicate directly with all interested persons in pursuit of a joint Council and to publish such preliminary statements as the Committee thinks are required (cf Rule 21).
- (f) To serve as a Board of Studies until a fully representative Council is set up.

Nov. NZASW Interim Board of Social Studies established by the E & T Committee, to recognise the Certificates in Theory and Practice of Social Work.

1969 Efforts to persuade all with an interest in social work education to consult with each other and form a consultative body.

E & T published Social Work Training in New Zealand.

1970 January Conference on Social Work Training.

E & T committee proposed the establishment of a Council of Social Work Training and Conference agreed but decided it did not have the resources to set on up. Instead, it set up a working party to carry out research on the training needs of social workers, in order to establish a policy on social work training.

Tasks for incoming E & T committee:

1. Liaison with Interim Board of Studies
2. Investigation of private practice
3. Investigation of the role of the supervisor
4. Training needs of members.

Clarification of terms of reference for Interim Board of Studies which became answerable to E & T.

July Interim Report of E & T calling for comprehensive research strategy on which to base a social workforce plan.

Sept E & T published Social Work Supervision in New Zealand .

Oct Leaflet: Courses of Education and Training in Social Work appropriate to members of NZASW.

Nov National Council reminded members it had not achieved its resolution, in 1969, to guarantee provision of one year training on appointment for all new social work appointments.

Regional E & T Committees set up to manage supervision and related matters for the Certificate Courses. To act as agents to the Interim Board of Studies.

1971 E & T met with Professor McCreary, on his appointment as Professor of Administration at VUW, to discuss matters of mutual interest. McCreary invited their ideas/submissions. He pointed out that no professional association could dictate to a university. The possibility of a social work educators interest group was canvassed. This was established in May 1971.

NZASW was encouraged to meet with the SSAC, and advocate for student units.

May Interim Board of Studies first awarded 16 Certificates in Theory and Practice of Social Work and 3 in the Theory of Social Work, Canterbury University.

Ongoing talks between Association and Universities of Otago, Auckland and Massey about provision of social work courses.

E & T statement on Private Practice and the NZASW.

Oct E & T Committee convened Education and Training Conference to discuss its Statement on Standards of Education and Training (Part I - III), which were adopted by National Council in November.

Nov Social Work Educators Interest Group agrees to liase with E & T.

18 certificates in Theory and practice of Social Work awarded to Auckland Course graduates.

1972 E & T committee moved to Auckland.

March: Consultations with Otago University (re Medical Social Work course) and Auckland University (re. Introduction of a Diploma course).

Aug. Opposed the Otago Medical Social Work proposal, deemed inadequate, unrecognised and unsupervised.

1972 Supervision in Social Work (eds.). Swatland, R. and Mason, B.

Minister of Social Welfare decided to establish NZSWTC.

Further efforts to persuade Auckland and Massey Universities to introduce courses.

E & T, on behalf of NZASW, sent a submission to the Director general, Social Welfare, accepting in principle the establishment of the NZSWT, hoping it would have a measure of independence and autonomy, broad educational representation although having an employer focus.

Ken Daniels, as co-opted member of E & T Committee, was delegated responsibility to form a sub-committee in Palmerston North to negotiate with Massey University for a social work course.

1973 Certificate Course at Otago proposed.

Ruth Swatland appointed to NZSWTC for NZASW.

42 Certificates in Theory and Practice of Social Work awarded.

Good return to the postal survey of members. Results indicate that 50% of members had no tertiary qualifications.

1974 E & T moved to Dunedin. NZASW encourages the NZSWTC to co-ordinate social work training.

August, E & T expressed frustration at losing the initiative over policy development for social work education.

Communication difficulties between E & T and National Executive and adjusting to new role given the work of NZSWTC.

1975 NZASW requested for two representatives on NZSWTC, refused.

National Council endorsed proposal to hand over functions of Interim Board of Studies to NZSWTC by end of 1975. This was not accepted by NZSWTC and in the end formal recognition of Certificates was left to the universities.

Canterbury and Massey University to offer professional social work courses.

Statement issued by E & T endorsing the universities as appropriate institutions for professional social work education, rather than technical institutes or teachers colleges.

1976 E & T recommended to NZASW Conference that Regional Education and Training Committees be disbanded and the E & T committee move to Palmerston North.

3. NZASW Members' Education and Training Issues, 1976-1982

1976 News and Views, 1976. (12) 1. calls for members to discuss issues around registration. Advantages put forward were that it would:

1. protect the employers and clients
2. professional development
3. encourage training
4. encourage skills-development
5. give social workers protection.

Disadvantages: the small pool of qualified social workers

The risk of undermining "the unqualified in a situation where they are the back-bone of the service" (1).

- 1979 NZASW News and Views, Issue 51, Editorial (Owen Sharpe) noted that the NZASW is still divided over the question of registration and that there were some who wanted to leave and start up a new group of social workers who would implement a model of registration. The arguments against registration are rehearsed: although qualifications are important, there are too few of people with qualifications to make registration workable. There has been a higher staff turnover among younger, academically qualified staff. Advocates more in-service, generic courses to attract and retain mature people. (1-2).
- 1980 December, NZASW News and Views: "Clear decision on Membership" Headline
 "One of the hottest issues at NZASW Conference this year was the membership question. The 1978-80 national executive based in Christchurch sought approval on a proposal from the membership committee---To restrict membership, from May 1, 1981, to those who had "satisfactorily completed a course of professional s.w. training" which leads to the NZSWTC CQSW. After much discussion, the proposal was defeated, 141 against, 45 in favour. A later motion was put (by those defeated) to make "membership of NZASW open to all who apply" (p9). Again, this was defeated by a large majority.
- 1981 August, News and Views,
 1. Mr Hannifin, the NZASW President, endorsed the open membership arrangement. Encourages social workers to have qualifications but indicated that these need to be at an attainable level.
2. News Supplement, an anti-springbok tour statement: "The NZASW abhors the presence of the representatives of the oppressive anti-apartheid system, namely the Springbok rugby team in NZ."
- It supported peaceful protests, and condemned the police behaviour.
- 1982 November, NZASW Executive in Auckland rented an office in Trades Hall, on the same floor as the PSA. This symbolised the orientation of the NZASW towards unionism and social justice.

Hectic and controversial are two words used to describe the work of the Executive. The goals of the National Executive were published:

- 1. To be an effective political pressure group, speaking out on social and political issues with a particular concern for disadvantaged groups in society and with changing oppressive social structures.
- 2. To work towards greater participation by members in all aspects of NZASW....
- 3. To broaden the membership base of NZASW by attracting social workers who have not previously seen the Association as representing their interests.
- 4. To aim for recognised standards of practice to enhance professional accountability and protection for clients.
- 5. To increase the number of certificated social workers in practice by:
improving access to training opportunities
supporting the development of a range of basic, specialist and advanced courses, both part-time and fulltime.
encouraging employers to recognise professional social work qualifications, (NZASW News and Views in Social Work, November, 1982: 1).

1982 Biennial Conference, Auckland, theme was Social Justice - A social work concern for the 80s Conference speakers: Mr Alf Kirk, Federation of Labour economist, Ian Shirley called for social workers to link the private troubles of their clients to the social structures and systems of privilege and power which make them poor and Sr Pauline O'Connor, a staunch and well-known community worker from Christchurch, gave a practical example of working with the powerless to bring about change. Maori input to the conference was welcomed.

4. Timeline of Presidents of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers

1964-66	Mr Mervyn Hancock	Child Welfare
1966-68	Rev Leo Downey	Catholic Social Services
1968-70	Mr W. Wadsworth	School Guidance Counsellor
1970-72	Major Noel Manson	Salvation Army

1972-74	Mr John Fry	Christchurch City Council Community Advisor
1974-76	Ms Erica Brodie	YWCA & Methodist Social Services
1976-78	Mr Mike O'Brien	Health Services
1978-80	Ms Mary Gray	Health Services
1980-82	Mr John Hannifin	Alcohol & Drug Services
1982-4	Ms Gaye Tozer	Health Services
1984-6	Mr J. Murphy	Department of Social Welfare
1986-88	Ms Sarah Fraser Kathy Holland Rahera Ohio	Child and Family Health Services Kaitiaki President, followed by
1988-90	Ms Lynne Briggs	Health Services
1990-91	Jenny Blagdon	
1991-2	Ms Lynette Stewart	Disability Services
1992-94	Mr Buster Curson	Child & Family Health Services
1994-96	Mr Buster Curson	Child & Family Health Services
1996-98	Mr David McNabb	Private Consultant & NZCYPFS

5. Merv Hancock's career

1949	Child Welfare Division, Head office
1950-51	Social work student, Victoria University
1951-57	Basic grade child welfare officer, Gisborne
1956	Took three months out to visit USA
1957-60	Senior child welfare officer, Dunedin
1960-66	District child welfare officer, Palmerston North
1966-75	Private practitioner, Palmerston North
1975-82	Director of Social Work Unit, Massey University
1983-	Private Practitioner, Palmerston North

The National Conference has been organised by the Auckland Association of Social Workers acting for the interim Steering Committee appointed at the Study Conference of Social Workers at Dunedin in February, 1962.

STUDY GROUP

CONVENOR

Mr E. W. Braithwaite, School Counsellor
Mt. Roskill and President of the Auckland Association of Social Workers.

CONFERENCE SECRETARY

Mr. F. E. Grinlinton, District Probation
Officer, Papakura.

CONFERENCE TREASURER

Mrs. M. Barr, Medical Social Worker,
Green Lane Hospital.

COURSE WARDEN

Mrs W. H. Archdall, Case Supervisor
Crippled Children's Society, Auckland.

INFORMATION OFFICER

Mr W. Emerson, Probation Officer,
Auckland.

MEETINGS will be held in the Upper
Lecture Theatre Block C behind Main Arts
Building, University of Auckland. Access
from Princes or Symonds Street.

"Social Work is the process of helping people with the aid of appropriate social services to resolve or mitigate a wide range of personal /social problems which they are unable to meet successfully without such help. This process calls for both knowledge and skill."

**NEW ZEALAND
SOCIAL WORKERS**

**NATIONAL
CONFERENCE**

4th-7th FEBRUARY, 1964

Auckland

Tuesday, 4th February

10.30-12.00 a.m. Civic Reception to be extended by His Worship the Mayor, Mr. D. M. Robinson to visiting social workers.

Responders: President, Auckland Association of Social Workers. Mr. E. W. Braithwaite.

12.30-1.15 p.m.—Luncheon: O'Rorke Hall

2.00-2.30 p.m.—Official Opening: The Minister of Social Welfare, Hon. Mr. D. N. McKay.

2.30-3.00 p.m.—Keynote Address: Mr. J. R. McCreary, Deputy Head, School of Social Science, Victoria University of Wellington.

Chairman: Father L. V. Downey, M.B.E. Director, Catholic Social Services, Auckland.

3.00-3.15 p.m.—Tea Break.

3.30-5.15 p.m. *The Presentation of the Draft Constitution.*

Chairman: Mr S. R. Morrison, Director of University Extension Department, University of Auckland.
Introduced by Mr M. W. Hancock, District Child Welfare Officer, Palmerston North.

Panel: Mr. T. Ball, Assistant Manager, Boys Training Centre, Levin.
Mrs E. M. Garrett, Court Conciliator, Palmerston North.

Miss M. Barrett, Social Worker, Child Health Clinic, Palmerston North.

5.30-7.00 p.m.—Dinner, O'Rorke Hall.

7.00-8.30 p.m.—Constitution Continued.

8.30 p.m.—Social Evening, O'Rorke Hall. Auckland Social Workers entertain their guests.

Wednesday, 5th February

9.00-10.30 a.m.—*Social Work Training available in New Zealand.*

Chairman: Professor R. Winterbourn, Dean Faculty of Arts and

Head of Education Department, University of Auckland.

Ten Minute Talks.

The School of Social Science, Mr J. R. McCreary.

The Certificate in Social Studies: University Extension Dept. University of Auckland — Dr. P. Becroft, University Extension Lecturer.

State Services Commission: Social Work Training Policy. Mr. N. Angus, Supt. Staff Training, State Services Commission.

Probation-in-Service: Mr R. C. Te Punga, District Probation Officer, Auckland.

State Services Commission Course: Mr T. H. J. Austin, Course Director, Social Workers Training Course, Tirimona, Wellington.

Nurses Post Graduate Course: Miss A. Jones, Supervising Medical Social Worker, Auckland Hospital.

Church and Voluntary Training Courses: Major T. Smith, Matron, Bethany Hospital, Salvation Army, Auckland.

10.30-11.00 a.m. Tea Break.

11.00-11.30 a.m.—*Social Work Training Needs:*

Chairman: Dr. W. D. Barney, Senior Lecturer, Education Department, University of Auckland.

Speaker: Dr. J. H. Robb, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Science, Victoria University of Wellington.

11.30-12.15 p.m.—Discussion Groups.

12.15-12.30 p.m.—Group Reports.

12.30-2.00 p.m.—Luncheon, O'Rorke Hall

2.00-2.25 p.m.—*Standards of Social Work.*

Chairman: Professor Winterbourn.

Speaker: Miss Beryl Mason, Lecturer, School of Social Science, Victoria University of Wellington.

2.30-3.00 p.m.—Discussion Groups.

3.00-3.30 p.m.—Group Reports.

3.30-4.00 p.m. Tea Break.

4.00-4.25 p.m.—*Proposals for Social Work Training:*

Chairman: Dr. J. E. Tong, Senior Lecturer, Psychology Department, University of Auckland.

Speaker: Mr. John Morrison, Anglican Social Services, Christchurch.

4.30-5.00 p.m.—Discussion Groups.

5.00-5.30 p.m. Group Reports.

5.30-7.00 p.m. Dinner, O'Rorke Hall.

7.00-8.30 p.m.

Summaries of Recommendations on Training Needs. Standard and Future Proposals.

Chairmen: Professor Winterbourn and Drs. Tong and Barney with three Associates.

8.30-9.30 p.m.—Summing up and final recommendations.

Presented by Mr John Morrison.

Thursday, 6th February

9.00-9.45 a.m. *Introduction to the Code of Ethics:*

Chairman: Dr A. M. Finlay, Barrister and Solicitor.

Speaker: Rev. A. M. Elliffe, Supt. Presbyterian Social Service Association, Dunedin.

9.45-10.30 a.m. *Conference Discussion:*

Chairman: Dr. W. J. D. Minogue, University of Auckland.

Dunedin Panel: To respond to questions.

10.30-11.00 a.m. Tea Break.

11.00-12.30 p.m. — Discussion Groups. Otago members to be allocated to groups as consultants.

12.30-2.00 p.m.—Luncheon, O'Rorke Hall

2.00-3.00 p.m.—Groups Reports.

3.00-3.30 p.m. *A Provisional Code of Ethics for Social Workers in N.Z.?*

Chairman: Mr K. J. Flint, District

Child Welfare Officer, Auckland.

Presentation: Rev. A. M. Elliffe.
3.30-4.00 p.m. Tea Break.

4.00-5.15 p.m. *Chairman:* Reserved.
Speaker: Reserved.

5.30-7.00 p.m. Dinner, O'Rorke Hall.

7.30-8.00 p.m. *Report by Conference Secretary:* Mr. F. E. Grintentan.

Chairman: Father L. Downey.

8.00 p.m.—*Report by Conference Finance Section:*

8.30 p.m.—Mr J. G. Luckock, District Child Welfare Officer, Otahuhu, and Acting Treasurer of Auckland Association of Social Workers.
Mrs. M. Barr, Medical Social Worker, Green Lane Hospital and 1964 Conference Treasurer.

8.30-9.30 p.m.—Delegates from Social Worker Associations meet to discuss Policy matters.

9.30 p.m. Supper.

Friday, 7th February

Presentation of Amended Constitution.

9.00-10.30 a.m.—*Chairman:* Mr. S. R. Morrison.

Associate: Mr M. W. Hancock.

10.30-11.00 a.m. Tea Break.

11.00-12.00 p.m. *Chairman:* Mr T. H. J. Austin.

Speaker: Professor W. G. Minn, Head of School of Social Science, Victoria University of Wellington.

12.00-12.30 p.m. Final Address: National President.

12.30-2.00 p.m.—Luncheon, O'Rorke Hall

2.00-5.30 p.m. — National Executive Meeting.
Sightseeing tour of Auckland.

8.00 p.m.—**FINALE** — Social Evening convened by Auckland group for those remaining in City overnight.

APPENDIX VI

REVISED FEBRUARY 1976

NEW ZEALAND SOCIAL WORK TRAINING COUNCIL

MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR AN ACCREDITED COURSE IN SOCIAL WORK

Education Institution

1. The course is to be provided within a distinctive and identifiable social work unit or department, located within an educational institution.

Qualifications of Staff

2. The teaching staff of the unit is to include a nucleus of professionally qualified social workers and:

- (a) any person teaching the theory and method of social work must have a professional education in social work and not less than two years experience as a practising social worker after qualifying and must maintain some direct and continuing involvement in social work practice with clients; and
- (b) the head of the unit must have a recognised academic qualification which if not in social work or social administration must be accompanied by related qualifications or by experience in the fields of social work or social administration.

Assessment

3. Completion of the course is to be recognised by the award of an appropriate degree, diploma or certificate.

4. The teaching institution is to take account of standards achieved both in academic attainment and in field practice in awarding the qualification.

Entry Requirements

5. The minimum expected educational qualification for entry is the Sixth Form Certificate or University Entrance or equivalent qualification, although alternative qualifications and experience may be accepted in special circumstances.

6. Admission to the course or that section of the course providing professional education in social work is to be decided by a selection process to determine suitability for social work and ability to acquire knowledge and develop skills.

Length of Course

7. The professional course in social work is to consist of at least two teaching years incorporating full-time study and practical field work in each year.

Course Objectives

8. The primary objectives of the course should be:
- (a) through a generic course in social work to develop in the student skill in using a recognised body of knowledge and theory to contribute to the improved social functioning of individuals, groups and communities;
 - (b) by including a substantial practical component in the course to facilitate the integration of theory with practice; and
 - (c) through the use of appropriate methods in the programme of education to encourage the personal growth and development of the individual student and his effective practice as a social worker.

Course Content

9. The curriculum shall include the following as aspects of total course content. They need not necessarily be presented as specific course elements.

- (a) Study of the Physical, Social and Psychological Development and Behaviour of Children, Adolescents and Adults of all Ages:
People should be considered individually, in the context of the family, small groups, residential institutions, other organisations and as part of the social system. The various forms of deprivation, disability and disorder and their effects should also be included.
- (b) Study of Society, its Structure, Processes and Problems:
The study of institutions (e.g. the family), social organisations, small groups and communities, their internal dynamics and inter-relationships, social values, social change, social deviation and social implications of disease and disability. This should include the study of plural societies with particular reference to New Zealand.
- (c) Study of the Principles and Practice of Social Work:
As a subject this includes the application to particular situations of much that is learned under various academic subjects contained elsewhere in the curriculum and knowledge derived from the analysis of social work practice. It covers an extensive range of knowledge and skills since social workers work as community workers and group workers as well as with individuals and families and often have some responsibility for the administrative functioning of their service. Throughout, students will need to think about the roles and tasks of social work and its professional ethic in a variety of settings, with a variety of people and across cultural boundaries. They should also examine the philosophy of ethical thinking with particular reference to social work ethics.

(d) Social Administration: The Study of Social Welfare Policies and Services:

The social welfare policy has evolved and how it is formulated and influenced, with particular reference to New Zealand, at the various levels from the local community to the national setting. It will include examination of the roles of local and national government, and voluntary and statutory welfare services in New Zealand including their growth and inter-relationships.

(e) Social Research:

An introductory study of social research and statistics with the emphasis on assessing the validity of research and findings. Consideration of research design, methods of data collection, measurement and processing and the application of research to social work practice and to the social services.

(f) Agency Organisation and Management:

Consideration of the principles of administration with special reference to the management of social welfare agencies.

(g) Elements of Law relating to Social Work Practice

10. Although the course is to give generic training, the course structure may include concentrations in areas of special interest, e.g. child care, recreation, residential care, care of the aged and criminology; and opportunity may be allowed for students to develop personal skills, e.g. arts and crafts, audio/visual materials, drama, and other communication skills.

Weighting in the Curriculum

11. It is not intended that specific periods of time be allocated to different elements of study but it is intended that a substantial part of the course in each year be devoted to the principles and practice of social work and the acquisition of knowledge of social welfare agencies. Adequate field work must be included.

Fieldwork

12. The course shall include fieldwork placements involving the practice of social work as follows:

- (a) Supervised social work practice involving work with clients, groups or communities totalling not less than 120 6-hour day's (a full day is to be regarded as a normal span of a day's operations for the agency with which the student is placed and should normally be not less than six hours); visits of observation, while valuable to students, are not included in this time allocation;
- (b) Variety of experience in terms of social work method and agency setting, organisation and administration;

- (c) One placement of sufficient duration to provide opportunity for the student to become engaged in continuing social work practice for a significant period;
- (d) Regular fieldwork teaching related directly to the student's individual experience so that he can increase his knowledge and develop skills through the application and testing of theory with practice.

13. Suitably trained supervisors are to provide regular supervising consultation for students during all fieldwork placements involving direct work with clients and active social work practice and there should be regular consultation between the teaching institution and the supervisors.

Provision for Special Circumstances

14. In applying these minimum requirements to specific courses the following variations may be permitted:

- (a) Relevant course prerequisites or any other appropriate requirements needed prior to the award of the degree, diploma or certificate may be taken into account in relation to clause 9.
- (b) Study credits which are deemed to be relevant to social work education may be taken into account in relation to clause 9.
- (c) Full-time courses in existence at 1 January 1974, will be eligible for accreditation provided there is no major deviation from the minimum requirement. Any accreditation of such courses will apply for years during which the course has been offered. However, from 1 January 1977, courses accredited under this clause must fully meet all requirements to retain their accreditation.

Application for Accreditation

15. Applications for a course to be accredited shall be lodged with the New Zealand Social Work Training Council in accordance with procedures drawn up by the Council for this purpose. The Council will:

- (a) accredit courses which meet these requirements; and
- (b) maintain a register of accredited courses.

16. The Council shall have the right to remove a course from the register if the course fails to continue to meet these minimum requirements.

17. The Council shall review each accredited course at intervals of not more than three years.

Appendix VII

Definitions of Social Work, Community Work and Youth Work, by the Ministerial Review Committee Report on the NZSWTC. (1985)

Social Workers

The term 'Social Worker' is a general category used to designate many different employment positions in the social services. Included in this widely used category are those employed predominantly as Social Caseworkers, Residential Social Workers, Social Work Educators and Administrators.

Social Workers use a variety of methods and approaches in providing social services to various sectors of the population.

They are involved in:

- investigating the nature, cause, and extent of individual and collective social problems;
- responding with help to individuals, households, families, small groups and communities in the resolution of these problems; assisting clients to mobilise their own resources, and encouraging the exercise of choice and participation in the provision of care and protection;
- organising and participating with people in securing and utilising community resources;
- promoting the development of equitable social policies and planning for the welfare and self-fulfilment of human beings.

In summary the tasks involve: assessment, planning, intervention, support, organisation, consultation, co-ordination, advocacy, reporting, evaluation and research.

Community Workers

The term 'Community Worker' is a general category for the group of people who work with community based groups. It includes field work, supervision and administration. People who use the title Community Worker are to be found in local Government, voluntary organisations, religious groups, action based community groups and on occasions central Government.

The National Working Party on Community Work Training have a set of "Aims and Objectives" of Community work. These are:-

To Change Power Structures By:-

- promoting equality of resources.
- seeking to influence and change statutory, voluntary and private organisations to make them more responsive, and open, to the needs and demands of community groups.

To Spread Knowledge By:-

- developing awareness and understanding of issues through social and political education.
- enabling people to develop the expertise and skills necessary to further their own objectives.
- facilitating access to information.

To Encourage Self-determination By:-

- the developing of community groups to work on issues of common concern.
- seeking to create unity (often through recognition of diversity) among groups within a locality around issues of common concern, on a basis of mutual respect.
- encouraging the development of alliances and networks in order to achieve common goals and influence decision-makers within society.

In summary the tasks involve planning, organising, implementing f evaluating, report writing, fund raising, research, and negotiating and lobbying.

Youth Workers

Youth workers use the same approaches and practices as Community Workers.

What makes Youth Work different is that it focuses on a specific group of the population – young people.

Such a focus requires additional special knowledge. Two examples illustrate the point – working with unemployed young people and the use of sport and recreation.

The Review Committee was aware of the dramatic impact that the negative aspects of the economic and social environment had made on young people in particular. Unemployment has affected then more than any other group. This has forced Youth Workers to include employment creation to their skills and to link these to those that they have in group work and recreation.

The Review Committee is also aware that responsibility for youth Development, and related issues, lies with the Department of Internal Affairs. This does not mean however, that development of Youth Worker training should be left to that Department. Rather, it should be a joint responsibility of all of those who seek to provide services for young people – whether they be workers or agencies; statutory or voluntary; paid or unpaid; full-time or part-time.

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Department of Social Welfare Archives

Files: TC 2.1-17 (NZSWTC agendas and minutes)

TC 3.1 (Background papers)

TC 3.9 (Overseas visitors)

TC 3.10 (Ministerial correspondence)

TC 5-4 (University of Auckland)

(C) 5-1 (NZSWTC, Correspondence with DSW)

(C) 5-2 (NZSWTC, Reports and Discussion papers)

(C) 5-3 (NZSWTC, Minutes at Council and Standing Committees)

(C) 5-4 (NZSWTC, Ministerial Review Committee)

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University Calendars

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